STEVENSON STIRS SOUTHERNERS' IRE ON RIGHTS PLANK

Times / New York Wed. 8-8-56

Demand for an Integration Stand Brings Threat to Withdraw Support

STRONG BACKERS WAVER

Harriman Followers Spread Word Bias Views Are 'Too Liberal' for South

By W. H. LAWRENCE
Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Aug. 7—The Stevenson Presidential bandwagon struck a civil rights roadblock today.

A demand by Adlai E. Stevenson for a stronger civil rights plank than the Democrats adopted in 1952 stirred angry reactions among Southern convention delegates counted as his supporters.

Backers of Governor Harriman of New York seized upon the controversy in an effort to drive a wedge between Mr. Stevenson and a big bloc of delegates he has counted upon to win the nomination on the first ballot in the convention opening next Monday.

These were the major developments:

¶Mr. Stevenson said that the civil rights platform plank should express "unequivocal approval" of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

¶His statement shook the big Southern bloc leaning toward his nomination. Senator Sam J. Ervin Jr. of North Carolina said the stand "might cost him [Mr. Stevenson] the election." Former Gov. John S. Battle of Virginia, rated as a leading Stevenson partisan, said the demand for endorsement of the Supreme Court decision was "one thing we won't go along with."

¶Harriman supporters warned Southern delegates that, in effect, Mr. Stevenson's stand was "too liberal" for Southern home acceptance. This was a switch from the Harriman argument among Northern delegates that Mr. Stevenson was "too moderate" on civil rights and other platform issues.

¶Through it all Mr. Stevenson remained so confident of quick nomination that he was talking to his closest supporters not about winning in the convention but about the type of campaign he would wage to beat President Eisenhower in November.

¶Former President Harry S. Truman denied that he had expressed any preference for any of the Presidential candidates. Speaking by telephone from Kansas City, Mo., he said "it remains to be seen" whether he will intervene in the Stevenson-Harriman battle before the convention begins balloting next Thursday night.

¶Stevenson forces expect an endorsement tomorrow from Oscar L. Chapman, who was President Truman's Secretary of the Interior. Until now, Mr. Chapman has denied any Presidential preference, and has said he would go along with whatever course Mr. Truman took. This stirred new speculation that the former President would not find Mr. Stevenson unacceptable as a candidate.

When the Democrats opened pre-convention platform hearings yesterday, there was an atmosphere of unity. Mr. Stevenson's backers said enough votes already were assured to give him nomination on the first ballot.

Times / New York Paul M. Butler, Democratic National Chairman, said he doubted there would be a minority report on platform issues and that the North and South instead would compromise their differences.

From Mr. Harriman's campaign manager came a statement banning any "Harriman bloc" on the platform committee and generally construed as conciliatory.

Wed. 8-8-56 This atmosphere of harmony vanished suddenly this morning. Several newspapers, including The New York Times, reported authoritatively Mr. Stevenson's desire to have the platform spell out endorsement of the Supreme Court's desegregation decision.

In the Democratic Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Mrs. eBrnice Kingsbury of Montana, a Harriman backer, rose to demand whether this report represented Mr. Stevenson's opinions. She asked also whether he had communicated them to the chairman, Representative John W. McCormack of Massachusetts. Representative McCormack said he had no such communication, and observed that the newspapers sometimes were wrong.

"Would the committee invite Mr. Stevenson or his representative to appear before it on Friday when the civil rights plank will be up for discussion?" Mrs. Kingsbury asked.

Representative McCormack said it was not up to the committee to summon anybody but that it was ready to hear anybody who wished to appear.

There was an element of mystery about whether the newspaper accounts accurately reflected Mr. Stevenson's views on civil rights. There was no documentation offered from his headquarters here.

Then word passed through the convention city that while Mr. Stevenson had not been willing to be quoted directly in interviews with newspapermen, he had said precisely the same things in an interview filmed for television broadcasting this evening.

There was a big audience of delegates and newsmen for the television news broadcast of John Daly for the American Broadcasting company at 7:15 P. M.

The film showed Mr. Stevenson being intetviewed on whether he would make a direct approach to the resolutions committee concerning the civil rights plank. He said he already had expressed "some views" on this plank.

"Is your stand as before — one of moderation?" he was asked.

"I don't know what that means," Mr. Stevenson replied. "No one has ever defined it for me."

"That puzzles a lot of us, sir," remarked his interviewer.

"I've had a very strong feeling that the platform should express unequivocal approval of the [supreme] court's decision, although it seems odd that you have to express your approval of the constitution and its institutions," Mr. Stevenson remarked.

If the South, as a bloc, were to abandon Mr. Stevenson in this convention and work for the nomination of another candidate such as Senator Stuart Symington of Missouri, this defection would cost the 1952 nominee 188 of the 696½ votes his supporters claim on the first ballot.

A total of 686½ votes is required as a majority for nomination in this convention. If the South held out for as many as three ballots, Mr. Stevenson probably would be eliminated, in the view of many politicians.

Before the civil rights controversy exploded with unexpected force, Mr. Stevenson had been talking to his supporters about the kind of campaign he expected to wage in the November election. He entertained no doubts at all about his nomination in a talk at a private dinner last night with contributors to his campaign fund.

That meeting was closed to the press, but an authorized version of Mr. Stevenson's remarks was made available today.

He argued that the Democrats could win this year by putting the Republican Administration thoroughly on the defensive. He argued that there were "sound reasons" why Phesident Eisenhower could be beaten.

Among them were these:

¶Although the President undeniably is a popular man, voters are growing more and more aware that he is not a strong President.

¶Even before the President's heart attack, there was a feeling which has grown since—that he is only a "part-time President."

¶The Democrats can take the offensive in a Presidential campaign for the first time in two decades. Four years of Republican Administration have provided plenty of ammunition for the Democrats to use in this campaign.

¶Widely published public opinion polls, reflecting strong Republican sentiment, do not reflect true Democratic strength, as measured b ygains in city elections, state and Congressional elections since 1952.

¶Farmers have made known a "deep and marked dissatisfaction" with Administration policies, and this is true especially among farmers who originally would vote Republican.

¶Because the Eisenhower Administration has followed a policy of drift at a time of great revolutionary change in the world, its foreign policy record is vulnerable.

It was also former President Truman's view that the Democrats were at the beginning of a victorious campaign. He said he was coming here to watch the nomination "of a ticket that can win."

"Any good Democratic ticket can beat this outfit," said Mr. Truman. "The people are sick and tired of the kind of Government the Republicans have given them."

The expected endorsement by former Secretary Chapman was a plum the Stevenson forces had prepared in advance of the civil rights quarrel. They thought it would go far to quell rumors that Mr. Truman favored Mr. Harriman and considered Mr. Stevenson unacceptable.

When Mr. Chapman arrived here today, he was told his own announcement would be interpreted as reflecting that of Mr. Truman.

"It will be," Mr. Chapman said, "but it shouldn't be."

Mr. Stevenson's statement on the civil rights issue came at a time when the Harriman forces still were concentrating their fire on the argument he was too moderate and that a course of moderation would result in Democratic defeat.

KEFAUVER SCORES FOE ON RACE TALKS

Times / New York

Asserts Stevenson Is Using 'Smile and Smear' Tactic—Likens It to Republicans'

Sat. 5-26-56

By JOHN N. POPHAM
Special to The New York Times.

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla., May 25—Senator Estes Kefauver accused Adlai E. Stevenson today of employing "a smear and smile technique" in discussing the thorny issue of race relations in this state's Presidential primary.

The Tennessee Senator charged that his rival for the Democratic Presidential nomination "has exhibited an attitude that is remarkably parallel to the attitude President Eisenhower takes when Vice President Nixon makes vicious attacks on Democrats."

Senator Kefauver's remarks concerned an attack on him last Tuesday by former Governor Millard F. Caldwell of Florida, who is a Stevenson candidate for delegate to the National Convention. Mr. Caldwell pictured Senator Kefauver as "a left of liberal integrationalist."

Mr. Caldwell made this remark while introducing Mr. Stevenson to a crowd on the capitol steps at Tallahassee.

Disclaimed by Stevenson

Mr. Stevenson later said that he "disclaimed responsibility" for Mr. Caldwell's criticism of Mr. Kefauver.

For the next two days, Senator Kefauver repeatedly declared that he had been "shocked" that Mr. Stevenson had not "strongly denounced" Mr. Caldwell for "this scurrilous and vicious attack on me."

Turning today to the Tallahassee incident for the third day in a row, Senator Kefauver said "this has now become the kind of smear and smile technique of which we had such a dose from Republicans in the elections of 1952 and 1954."

"When Vice President Nixon makes his vicious attacks, President Eisenhower says he didn't read about them," Senator Kefauver remarked.

"And when Mr. Caldwell makes his vicious attacks on me, Mr. Stevenson, though sitting right behind him, says he didn't hear the words," the Tennesseean added.

Florida's primary takes place next Tuesday and California's follows one week later. Nearing the finish line of both contests, Senator Kefauver has been striking hard to heighten issues of political value in both states.

In support of this tactic he has stressed a complex of accusations. These would imply that Mr. Stevenson, by contrast with Senator Kefauver, should be regarded as a doubtful liberal on such issues as race relations, machine politics and public assistance to elderly citizens.

At seven stops along Florida's west coast today, the Tennesseean continued to criticize Mr. Stevenson for evtoing in 1951 a 10 per cent increase in old age pensions in Illinois. Mr. Stevenson was then governor of Illinois.

During the day, Senator Kefauver "apologized" for having said yesterday that Mr. Stevenson had been retained as an attorney to represent the Radio Corporation of America "in a government antitrust suit." He noted today that the suit had been brought against R. C. A. by the Zenith Radio and Television Company.

However, the senator said that Mr. Stevenson had not answered 'my principal complaint." Thus Mr. Kefauver added, his trival had "maintained silence on the great issue of the growth of monopoly and the consequent threat to free enterprise."

By RUSSELL BAKER
Special to The New York Times.

FORT LAUDERDALE, Fla., May 15—Adlai E. Stevenson adopted a policy of massive indifference today toward Senator Estes Kefauver's attack-a-day campaign against him.

Associated Press Wirephoto

NEW CONVENTION STANDARDS: Painters put finishing touches to three-sided delegation standards to be used at International Amphitheatre in Chicago for Democratic sessions.

When told that the Tennessee Democrat had accused him of waging a "smear and smile" campaign in Florida, Mr. Stevenson announced that he would have "no further comment on these remarks by Senator Kefauver."

His associates say that the running barrage of charges coming from the Kefauver camp is being interpreted as evidence that the Senator is "desperate" about his chances for a Florida victory.

The line being adopted, one aide said, is to refuse to "dignify" the Senator's charges with daily rebuttals.

Senator Kefauver has accused Mr. Stevenson of vetoing old age benefits when he was Governor of Illinois and of tinting the Democratic Party with big capitalism by his legal services for the Radio Corporation of America. Mr. Stevenson has called these "false charges."

In addition, the Kefauver camp has been circulating literature depicting Mr. Stevenson as a zealot for Negro rights and an enemy of the aged population.

The Florida primary, with twenty-eight convention ballots at stake, will be held Tuesday.

Confidence has been growing steadily in the Stevenson fold for the last week and Senator Kefauver's switch to the meat-cleaver assault has only heightened the suspicion that the Tennessean's chances are sinking.

Declines to Smear Rival

A Fort Lauderdale reporter this evening offered Mr. Stevenson a chance to smear Senator Kefauver with the pink brush of communism, but Mr. Stevenson declined.

A news magazine story, asserting that Mr. Kefauver was the preferred candidate of the Communist party, was a feature of a television news report out of Miami last night.

The reporter asked Mr. Stevenson today to elaborate on this theme. "I have no comment on it at all," Mr. Stevenson said.

He hoped, he said, that Senator Kefauver "doesn't let that trouble him at all. * * * I don't attach any importance to it at all."

This was a relatively light day for Mr. Stevenson's campaign. The pursuit of votes did not begin until a luncheon appearance before some fifty state labor leaders at a Miami hotel.

He told the group that he regretted that Mr. Kefauver had again started calling him the candidate of the "bosses." This charge, he noted, first was made in the Minnesota primary campaign.

Mr. Steveson said most of his delegates in Florida were small office-holders who had been elected by popular vote.

The "bossism" charge was "bad" because "it divides the Democratic party . . . at a time when we need all the strength and unity we can summon," Mr. Stevenson said.

A Wiser Stevenson Emerges This Year

Constitution P. 4
Wed, 8-8-56
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Adlai Stevenson's supporters in Chicago are claiming a first-ballot victory. This could be, though the odds still favor his choice on the second round because of the favorite-son votes in the first.

But more and more the nominee of 1952 seems assured of the honor and the opportunity in 1956. He remains the most forthright and candid man in politics. His latest statement, free of double talk, will not please all the South, but it should reassure those who believe in honesty and who want to know where a man stands. Atlanta Ga.

Mr. Stevenson said that segregation was a national problem, not regional, and that there is discrimination in the North as well as the South. He wishes it were not politically necessary for either party to affirm in its platform that the Supreme Court decision is the law. There should be no need to say so.

He deplores the attempt to deal with the whole problem on the narrow basis of the court decision.

"The party must not be accused of opportunism," he said.

It is obvious Mr. Stevenson is now a more mature and aware political personality. He benefited by his long, arduous, and often discouraging primary fight. There are no conflicting emotions as in 1952 when what he really wanted to do was run for re-election as governor of Illinois. He was, in fact and truth, a reluctant draftee for the nomination.

Now he is a candidate seasoned by the primaries and close to the people.

This year his earnest conviction is that it is in the national interest for President Eisenhower to be defeated in November. The odds are against him. This does not deter him. He believes if the issues are discussed the people will understand and agree with him.

He is not the dramatic new figure he was in 1952, eloquent and forthright in a degree rarely met with in politics. However the fact that his eloquence is well established does not mean it will not again thrill the nation as before when the campaign actually begins.

Wright, Integration Foe, Dead

JACKSON, Miss., May 5 (AP) Former Gov. Fielding Wright, one of the Nation's leading states' rights advocates and an unreconstructed rebel in the South's fight against integration, died last night of a heart attack.

Wright

The 60-year-old statesman, a candidate for Vice President on the States' Rights Party ticket in 1948, suffered a heart attack and died 20 minutes later.

Mr. Wright made a bid for another term as Governor during last summer's elections, but finished third among five candidates. He spent the last few months supporting the prosegregation white iCtizens' Councils movement and lashing the U. S. Supreme Court's decisions outlawing segregation.

Mr. Wright led the Mississippi walkout of the 1948 National Democratic Convention in a dispute over the nominees for President and Vice President. The States Rights movement was conceived as an aftermath and other Southern states rallied to the cause.

Born in Rolling Fork, Miss., he received his law degree from the University of Alabama and was admitted to the bar in September, 1916. He practiced in Rolling Fork and Vicksburg before moving to Jackson when he became lieutenant governor in 1940.

He commanded Company B of the 106th Engineers during World War I. He served in the state legislature. He was speaker of the house 1936-40 and moved into the governor's chair on the death of Gov. Thor— Bailey in 1946 while serving as lieutenant governor.

He was Democratic National Committeeman at the time of the death.

An active attorney and an ardent fisherman during his "retirement" from 1952 to the summer campaigns last year, he retained his interest in many county, city and civic enterprises.

Survivors include his widow, Mrs. Nan Kelly Wright, whom he married in 1917; a son, Fielding Wright Jr., Jackson; a daughter, Mrs. Charles Hunt, Jackson; his mother, Mrs. J. H. Wright of Rolling Fork; his brother, Henry J. Wright of Jackson; two sisters, Mrs. Leonard C. Hicks of Jackson and Mrs. Lewis Dowdy of Rolling Fork; and four grandsons.

Douglas Says He'd Be Glad

Party Would Be Better Off If Dixiecrats Quit

By GENE SCHROEDER

CHICAGO.—(INS) — Sen. Paul Douglas (D) Ill., said here last Friday that the Democratic party will be "better off" if what he termed "Dixiecrats" walk out of the nominating convention over the civil rights issue.

Douglas told reporters at a news conference that he would not be surprised if "certain elements" of the South quit the Chicago convention should a strong civil rights plank be adopted for the Democratic platform.

Emphasizing that he believed most of the southern delegates would remain, the Illinois senator declared:

"If such a walkout of Dixiecrats and White Citizens Council supporters do leave the floor, personally my pillow will not be wet that night with tears."

Douglas said the Democratic party "should not be intimidated" by threats of a walkout, and added:

"The party will be better off and stronger if they do walk out. We should do what is right and I think a large portion of the South will go along and accept a civil rights platform."

If such a rebellion occurs, Douglas said, it probably would involve only "certain elements of four states—Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and South Carolina."

Identifies 'Certain Elements'

In identifying the "certain elements," the Illinois senator mentioned former Supreme Court Justice James F. Byrnes of South Carolina and George B. Timmerman Jr., governor of South Carolina.

Douglas continued:

"While there are strong elements in these four states against a strong and positive civil rights platform, there are other powerful internal forces in those states who want to prevent a walkout by approving a civil rights statement."

On the issue of integration, Douglas said he did not believe in making a "whipping boy" of the South and asserted that the northern states are not without sin in handling the Negro question.

But Douglas maintained that he was opposed to appropriating federal school funds for areas which refuse to adopt integration in their school systems as ordered by the United States Supreme court. He said:

"I don't feel we should appropriate money to be used to violate the laws of the land."

Douglas said he planned to join with Sen. Herbert Lehman (D) N. Y., in bringing about a showdown battle on the senate floor over the Powell amendment to the federal school aid bill.

The amendment calls for withholding funds from states which have not begun to comply with the Supreme court decisions declaring public school segregation unconstitutional.

Douglas said he also believed the "Southern manifesto" signed by more than 100 southern senators and congressmen set back the relations between the races. The "manifesto" was a declaration opposing the integration order.

Asked whether he believed President Eisenhower would run for a second term, Douglas replied:

"I'm not a doctor, but I have been struck by the way certain doctors have been popping off on the subject—especially the incoming American Medical association president, Dr. David Allman.

"Without having examined the President, this doctor said Mr. Eisenhower was better off healthwise than any other candidate in either party.

"Just as the A.M.A. doesn't like politics in medicine, I don't like medicine in politics. If we're opposed to state medicine, we should also be opposed to the medical state."

Douglas said that one of the chief strains on a man's health are the mental and moral burdens imposed by his duties.

"And the job of the Presidency," he said, "is the most crushing in the world."

Douglas also urged public support for a social security bill amendment extending benefits and rehabilitation to some two million disabled workers in the nation.

Douglas said the measure is in jeopardy because of opposition from the administration and the A.M.A. Under the proposal, an additional half of one percent—split between workers and employers—would be added to weekly paycheck deductions to provide "protective insurance" in event of disabling illnesses.

Douglas Favors Dixiecrat Ouster

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Under the proposal, an additional half of one percent—split between workers and employers — would be added to weekly paycheck deductions to provide payments up to $108.50 per month in event of disabling illnesses.

Something The Mississippi Negro Can Applaud

Advocate
Jackson, Miss.
Sept. 8.25-56

Thoughtful Negro citizens of Mississippi. despite the present adamance on the question of civil rights and the school problem will find something well worthy of applause in the decision of Governor J. P. Coleman, along with other elected officials and authorized Democrat Party leaders of the state to support the candidates nominated by the Democrat National Convention for President of the United States.

In spite of the current preoccupation with the question of civil rights, the worst condition presently effecting the Mississippi Negro is economic, and likewise the worse condition effecting the state of Mississippi is economic.

In 1948 when the leaders of the Democrat Party in the state joined in the formation of the socalled Dixiecrat Party to oppose the election of President Truman, mainly over the question of civil rights, the subsequent election of President Truman, caused the state to lose the patronage of the Democrat Party, and likewise the election of President Eisenhower in 1952 has meant little or nothing patronage wise, as effecting the economic condition of the Mississippi Negro and of the state as measured by the economic development in other states, influenced by political patronage, during the same period.

In other southern states during the same period, influenced by political patronage, hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent in the erection of all kinds of manufacturing plants and military installations, payrolls of hundreds of millions of dollars have been thus created in the states, while nothing of the kind has come to Mississippi, with even Camp Shelby, one of the largest military reservations in the country lying idle, while none of the plants operated in Mississippi during the war have been put into operation.

The economic conditions and opportunities in Mississippi today are a reflection of the penalty to which the state was subject because of its leadership in the revolt against the National Democrat party, and its candidates in 1948.

The decision of Governor Coleman, along with the party leaders of the state to support the Democrat Party candidates, gives the assurance, that if the party is successful in its bid for a return to power in November, Mississippi will have a welcome seat at the council table, and a right to demand a share in the distribution of the fruits of victory, which should mean increased economic opportunity for all the people of the state

Negro citizens of Mississippi can afford to stand and watch the evolving progress of civil rights but there need for greater economic opportunity, greater job opportunity is all but imperative.

Again we say, in spite of their preoccupation with civil rights and the school problem, thoughtful Negro citizens of Mississippi will find something well worth applauding in the decision of Governor J. P. Coleman and the authorized Democrat Party leaders of the state to support the candidate for President and Vice-President of the United States nominated at the Democrat National Convention.

Even the Dixiecrats Learn!

Courier
Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sept. 21-56

Current political moves among Democrats in the Deep South indicate that, beyond doubt, the Dixiecrats have learned something from their 1948 debacle.

There is no doubt that most of the machine Democrats in Deep Dixie are violently opposed to desegregation and civil rights, but there is also no doubt that they will have to subscribe to a platform which contains verbiage favorable to civil rights in an effort to maintain national unity within the party.

If they followed their natural inclinations, the Dixiecrats would quit the Democratic party to go it alone; but the loss of patronage after 1948 has taught these professional politicians a lesson, and they are going along with the program whether they like it or not.

We can therefore take with a grain of salt any talk about high principles and unswerving moral determination coming from the Dixiecrat spokesmen because their present actions in buttering up to the national organization is proof that they are motivated by expediency rather than principle.

The Farm Belt: Talk of an Election Revolt Is Just Talk

Inquirer 7.18
April 3-56
Philadelphia
1956

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

OMAHA, Neb., June 2 (AP).

THE farm belt, five months before Election Day and before his Democratic opponent has been nominated, looks pretty safe for President Eisenhower.

While Mr. Eisenhower probably won't do as well in the corn country as in 1952, recent rains and higher farm prices have sent GOP hopes rising like the first sprigs of green in the fields.

The outlook could change completely by the time the November election rolls around. But at the moment, talk of a farm revolt is mostly just talk from Democratic politicians.

So, if the election were run off today, Mr. Eisenhower would be favored in the corn belt to plow under Adlai E. Stevenson, Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, Gov. Averell Harriman of New York, or anyone else the Democrats might send against him.

These are some of the outstanding impressions collected in a sampling of current sentiment in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, South Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin.

Nine of the 10 States—all except South Dakota—rate among the first 12 in the Nation in value of farm products.

These States also rate high in political importance. Together they offer a prize of 119 electoral votes — more than a fifth of the total.

In each of the 10, the farm vote can be the controlling element in a close election. And in a tight national election, the farm belt can be the decisive factor. It was credited with giving President Truman his upset victory in 1948.

This reporter's survey led him to these views:

This year, there are no indications at the moment that another upset might be in the making in the farm belt. That doesn't mean that a political uprising against the Administration couldn't build up among farmers in the five months before the election—particularly if hog prices slump again or drought continues to besiege States already hard-hit by lack of rain.

Some farmers definitely are going to switch from the Republican to the Democratic banner this fall. But right now it doesn't look as if there will be enough to swing the farm belt or any appreciable part of it over to the Democratic column.

The degree to which Mr. Eisenhower's farm belt margin may be cut depends partly on whom the Democrats nominate.

Harriman is considered an outsider. Stevenson appears to be less popular than he was four years ago when he ran against Mr. Eisenhower and lost the election and every farm State.

Through the farm belt as a whole, Kefauver would give Mr. Eisenhower his toughest battle.

Missouri would be an exception. A home-state Democrat, Sen. Stuart Symington, would have the best chance there against Mr. Eisenhower and would be a good bet to win the State. Missouri, incidentally, has been on the winning side in every Presidential election since 1904.

Farm State voters are showing little concern about Mr. Eisenhower's health. Among the rank and file in both parties, there is widespread willingness to take the word of the President and his doctors that he is able to run.

The one great issue out here, understandably, is the farm issue. You just don't hear much of anything else.

And regardless of this issue, Mr. Eisenhower has a valuable backlog of personal popularity. A lot of farmers like him even though they may not like his farm program.

His farm bill veto didn't seem to hurt him much, if at all. A pair of localized random polls in adjoining portions of Minnesota and South Dakota came up with exactly opposite results on that.

A majority of farmers questioned by a Sioux Falls, S. D., newspaper said Mr. Eisenhower shouldn't have vetoed the bill. A majority of those checked by a Worthington, Minn., paper, said the veto was right.

Farmers are split, too, over the soil bank plan that would pay farmers for taking land out of production. Some want it, some don't.

There's a possibility that Mr. Eisenhower again will outrun the GOP ticket in November and that Democrats will maintain or improve on their seats in Congress. There also is the fact that, even if there is no rebellion, plenty of farmers still are unhappy.

Some Democrats are running with unusual zest for Congressional and State offices in the corn belt and many Republicans are running scared, with hands clutching at the Presidential coattail.

Unrest in the farm belt generally seems to have subsided a bit within the last few weeks.

Hog prices have started coming up. Prices of cattle, soybeans and milk have climbed, too. Rain splashed down on some parched patches of the corn belt. South Dakota Republicans tell you that when it rains, "it's raining votes."

But there is another side to the picture. Farm incomes still are down. Consequently, many farmers are keeping their hands in pockets. This has affected business in small towns—the implement and auto agencies, clothing stores, banks, and feed, fertilizer and seed dealers.

Talking with farmers, you get the idea that political forces are pulling them in all sorts of directions. The question is, which direction? And for that there is no possible way of getting an accurate answer—until November.

34d 1956

BY- GEORGE GALLUP

South leads opposition—

Bias against Catholic president dips sharply

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

There has been a marked decline over the last 16 years in voter prejudice in this country against a Catholic nominee for president.

In 1940, the Institute found a majority of 62 per cent of the voters questioned in a survey voicing no objection to voting for a generally well-qualified nominee of their party who happened to be of the Roman Catholic faith.

Today, the proportion who say they would vote for a Catholic nominee has jumped to 73 per cent—or virtually three out of every four voters.

EVER SINCE the 1928 presidential election, in which Gov. Alfred E. Smith, a Catholic, was defeated by Herbert Hoover, students of American politics have believed a Catholic could not be elected president.

GALLUP

The question may again come up in this year's Democratic nominating convention. Ohio's favorite-son presidential candidate, Gov. Frank J. Lausche, is a Catholic. Lausche has served five terms as governor of the Buckeye State.

THERE ALSO is increasing speculation that the Democratic convention may turn to either Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts or Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City; both of whom are Catholics, for the party's vice presidential nominee.

To determine the extent of prejudice against voting for a Catholic today, the Institute assigned its nationwide staff of reporters to put the following question to a sample of voters, scientifically selected from every walk of life to provide an accurate cross-section of U. S. opinion:

"IF YOUR PARTY nominated a generally well-qualified man for president this year, and he happened to be a Catholic, would you vote for him?"

The vote today, compared with a similar survey in March 1940:

VOTE FOR A CATHOLIC

	Today	March 1940
Yes, would	73%	62%
No, would not	22	31
No opinion	5	7

One year ago, the Institute found 69 per cent saying they would vote for a Catholic nominee, 23 per cent saying they would not, while 7 per cent expressed no opinion.

THE 1940 STUDY was conducted at a time when former Postmaster General James A. Farley, a prominent Catholic layman, was being widely talked of as a possible Democratic presidential candidate by Democrats who, like Farley himself, opposed a third term for President Roosevelt.

It is interesting to note in today's survey results that "political tolerance" is related to a person's education and age.

CROSS-ANALYSIS of the data shows that persons under 50 years of age are more likely to say they would vote for a Catholic than are those over 50. Similarly, those who attended college are more likely to say they would vote for a Catholic than are those with less formal education.

Here is today's vote by education levels and by age groups:

BY EDUCATION

	College	High Sch'l	Grade School
Yes, would	79%	77%	63%
No, would not	17	19	31
No opinion	4	4	6

BY AGE GROUPS

	21-29 Yrs.	30-49 Yrs.	50 Yrs. & Over
Yes, would	83%	79%	62%
No, would not	14	17	31
No opinion	3	4	7

BY SECTIONS of the country, the strongest opposition to a Catholic nominee shows up in the Democratic South, where more than one voter in every three is opposed.

(Gov. Smith lost seven states in the South to Mr. Hoover in 1928—Texas, Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Virginia.)

Here is the vote today by geographical regions of the country:

EAST—81 per cent would vote for a Catholic, 15 per cent would not, and 4 per cent express no opinion.

MIDWEST—74 per cent would, 21 per cent would not, and 5 per cent express no opinion.

SOUTH—59 per cent would, 35 per cent would not, and 6 per cent express no opinion.

FAR WEST—75 per cent would, 20 per cent would not, and 5 per cent express no opinion.—(c)

Demos Gain in Latest Poll; Ike, Nixon Progress in South

34d

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J. — As the presidential race enters the homestretch, the latest institute surveys of voter preference show the following results:

THE GALLUP POLL

For the first time since the campaign began, there has been a slight drop-off in support for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket nationwide.

Whereas a mid-October report showed the GOP ticket polling 56 per cent to 44 per cent for Stevenson-Kefauver, the comparable figures now are Eisenhower-Nixon 55 per cent, Stevenson-Kefauver 45 per cent.

On the other hand, there has been a two-point gain for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in the South since the institute's last report on this area in late September. However, the Republican candidates are still running behind the vote they received in the South four years ago.

September survey figures showed Eisenhower and Nixon polling 43 per cent of the popular vote in the South to 57 per cent for Stevenson and Kefauver. Now the GOP percentage is 45 per cent. In 1952, Mr. Eisenhower polled 49 per cent of the popular vote in the South to 51 per cent for Stevenson.

Interviewing in the latest survey was completed before the exchange of letters between President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Bulganin of Russia on the ban of H-Bomb tests.

What effect this will have on the outcome of the election remains to be seen.

It must be pointed out that 8 per cent of all voters questioned remain undecided.

The latest survey results:

"If the presidential election were being held today, which candidates would you vote for — Eisenhower and Nixon or Stevenson and Kefauver?"

Eisenhower-Nixon	51%
Stevenson-Kefauver	41
Undecided	8

If it is assumed that the 8 per cent who are undecided either will not vote, or, if they do, will vote in about the same way as the "decideds," the figures become:

Eisenhower-Nixon	55%
Stevenson-Kefauver	45

In the 1952 election, Mr. Eisenhower polled 55.4 per cent of the popular vote nationwide to 44.6 per cent for Stevenson.

On Oct. 10, the institute reported the standings of the candidates as follows:

Eisenhower-Nixon	52%
Stevenson-Kefauver	40
Undecided	8

In the South, with 146 electoral votes, the latest standings are:

Stevenson-Kefauver	50%
Eisenhower-Nixon	42
Undecided	8

Mr. Eisenhower polled 48.9 per cent of the popular vote in the South in 1952 and captured the electoral votes of five states — Virginia, Florida, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Texas.

Gallup Poll—

Northern Negro Still Remains Loyal To Democratic Party

By JOHN M. FENTON
Gallup Poll Staff Representative

PRINCETON, N. J., Aug. 4.—No matter what happens in Chicago next week on the civil rights issue, present indications are that Northern Negroes will go heavily Democratic in this November's election.

Nearly four years of a Republican Administration—during which the Supreme Court's decision on school integration was handed down—have done little to win Northern Negroes away from the party of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

In short, the Negro still tends to base his politics on his pocketbook rather than on his race—and when the Negro thinks of his pocketbook, he thinks Democratic.

The civil rights issue has had some effect on Northern Negroes. Emmet Till, Arthurine Lucy and "the bus boycott" are household words today in New York's Harlem, Detroit's Paradise Valley and Chicago's South Side.

FDR Still Remembered

But memories of the late President Roosevelt and his efforts to improve the Negro's lot don't fade easily. With many Northern Negroes out of work and "just walking the streets" at present, the typical Negro in the North is still basically a Democrat.

Seventy experienced reporters have conducted a survey to learn why the Northern Negro still is wedded to the Democratic Party.

Taking the period since 1946, for example — the years since World War II when both the Democratic and Republican administrations were active in behalf of the Negroes—the Negro is overwhelmingly of the opinion that the Democrats have done more for him, as the following figures show:

"Which party—the Republican or the Democratic—has done the most for Negroes in the past 10 years?"

The vote:

NORTHERN NEGROES

Democratic	67%
Republican	16
No difference, no opinion	17

The Negro's first concern today is that of getting enough money to feed, clothe and keep his family in a decent fashion. Only after this is accomplished, does he find the time and interest to think about the civil rights problem. Until he has a job and sufficient money to pay his bills, Autherine Lucy and her plight have secondary importance.

But even when the Negro is considering the question of equal rights and desegregation, he is not ready to give the GOP all the credit.

Many Northern Negroes, for example, think very highly of former President Truman for his civil rights efforts with the FEPC. They have seen the Fair Employment Practices Commission at work; they have yet to see Mississippi's schools integrate the races.

Although they realize desegregation cannot come about immediately in the South, Northern Negroes want to see widespread action taken on the school question just as they want some action on the state of their pocketbook.

In brief, before the Northern Negro goes back to the "party of Lincoln" he wants, first, evidence that the Republicans—both in good and bad times—will see that he has employment, and, second, that any GOP civil rights measures are ones which actually take some action and do not just state policies.

To date, the typical Negro in the North does not feel the Republicans have provided the evidence on either of the above counts.

If the elections for Congress were being held today, Negroes in the North would likely go Democratic by the same heavy margin they did in the 1954 Congressional elections.

Here is the question asked on that score and the results compared with the Negro vote in the North in the last Congressional election:

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this state — the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?"

The vote today, compared with the Negro vote in 1954:

NORTHERN NEGROES

	Today	1954
Democratic	77%	77%
Republican	23	23

(A total of 5 per cent of all Negro voters interviewed in the study were undecided as of today.)

Question Arises

A question that naturally arises when discussing the Negro vote for Congress is the effect that the Southern white Democrats would have on the Negro vote—particularly in light of incidents in the South since the Supreme Court's decision.

Many observers have wondered how the Northern Negro could vote for a party that included in its ranks such "white supremacists" as Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, or Georgia's Gov. Herman Talmadge.

With the Northern Negro, however, the explanation seems to be one of "out of sight, out of mind." Negroes in the North are aware of the Southern Democrats—but this awareness does not seem to be having an appreciable effect on their party allegiance.

One gets the impression when talking with Northern Negroes about the Southerners, that the typical Negro thinks, in effect, of two Democratic parties—the one in the South, representing much that he opposes, the other, in the North, a party that has long looked out for his welfare. It is the "second party" that determines his vote as of today.

TOMORROW — The Northern Negro's attitude on leading Democratic contenders and the kind of race President Eisenhower is likely to run.

GALLUP POLL

Gallup Poll—

Women Still Leading Men In Voting For Eisenhower

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., June 12. — The political maxim that women voters follow the pattern of male voters appears destined for the scrap heap.

In 1952, women voters gave General Eisenhower a much higher percentage of their vote than the men did — by a margin of 58 per cent for women to 53 per cent for men.

Today, in an Institute "trial heat" race matching Eisenhower against Stevenson, the women still give a higher percentage of their vote to Eisenhower than the men do.

But it is interesting to note that the pattern of male voting today more closely parallels that of women voters than was the case four years ago.

Institute interviewers asked men and women voters in all walks of life:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower were the Republican candidate and Adlai Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?

WOMEN VOTERS

	With Undecided	Without Undecided
Eisenhower	63%	65%
Stevenson	34	35
Undecided	3	—

MEN VOTERS

Eisenhower	61%	63%
Stevenson	36	37
Undecided	3	—

The growing importance of the women's vote can be seen from the fact that there are 2½ million more women than men in our adult population today and the disparity in numbers is growing.

It is still too early to make an estimate of the number of women who will vote in the coming election, but it is entirely possible that more women than men will vote on Nov. 6.

In the last presidential election, 65 per cent of the male adults of the country voted, compared to 61 per cent of the women.

From a political point of view, the increasing emphasis on the women's vote is important because it tends to work chiefly to the benefit of the Republican

General Eisenhower, in 1952, had a majority of popular votes over Stevenson of 6,600,000. Men voters accounted for 1,700,000 of this majority; women accounted for 4,900,000. Or, putting it another way, three-fourths of the majority by which Eisenhower defeated Stevenson can be accounted for by the vote of women.

In the election of 1948, women gave the Republican candidate a slightly higher percentage of their vote than their male counterparts did. Whereas men gave Dewey 44 per cent of their vote, women gave him 46 per cent.

An Institute check of those who voted in the 1954 Congressional election reveals that the women voted for GOP Congressional candidates in greater proportion than the men did.

Here is the party preference nationwide by men and women in the last Congressional election:

1954 VOTE FOR CONGRESS
NATIONWIDE

	Men	Women
Republican	45%	50%
Democratic	55	50

Again, it is interesting to note that, whereas in the 1954 Congressional elections, women voted five percentage points more Republican than the men, today the Republicans have gained strength among men to the point where men are within two points of being as Republican as the women.

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this state—the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?"

VOTE FOR CONGRESS
NATIONWIDE

	Men	Women
Republican	48%	50%
Democratic	52	50

Here is the vote by men and women in the 35 states outside the South:

VOTE FOR CONGRESS
OUTSIDE SOUTH

	Men	Women
Republican	51%	54%
Democratic	49	46

Survey indicates—

States Righters could poll 4 per cent of Southern vote

BY GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

The independent States' Rights Party movement has made comparatively little headway to date in the South, judging by results of the Institute's first measurement of presidential voting sentiment since the party held its nominating convention in Richmond, Va. in mid-October.

In the states below the Mason-Dixon line as a whole the various States' Rights candidates today poll 4 per cent among voters who have made up their minds, compared to 52 per cent for Stevenson and Kefauver and 44 per cent for Eisenhower and Nixon.

1956 POLITICAL SCOREBOARD ☆ GALLUP POLL

THE INSTITUTE'S last reported figures for the South among voters who had made up their minds was 55 per cent for Stevenson and Kefauver and 45 per cent for Eisenhower and Nixon. These figures were based on interviewing completed just before the States' Rights Party convention.

In 1948, the last election in which the States' Rights Party played a role, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina polled 17 per cent of the popular vote in the South as the party's presidential candidate.

THROUGHOUT THE South, interviewers for the Institute put the following question to voters in a new survey:

"If the presidential election were being held today, which candidates would you vote for—Eisenhower and Nixon, Stevenson and Kefauver, or Andrews and Werdel?"

(In Kentucky, the names of Sen. Harry F. Byrd and Sen. William E. Jenner were substituted for Andrews and Werdel.)

THE RESULTS AMONG Southern voters who said they plan to vote in the November election:

SOUTHERN VOTERS	
Stevenson-Kefauver	49%
Eisenhower-Nixon	42
Andrews-Werdel, Others	4
Undecided	5

If it is assumed that the 5 per cent who are undecided as of today either will not vote, or, if they do, will vote in about the same way as the "decideds," the above figures become:

Stevenson-Kefauver	52%
Eisenhower-Nixon	44
Andrews-Werdel, Others	4

IN THE 1952 presidential election, Gov. Stevenson polled 51 per cent of the popular vote in the South to 49 per cent for Gen. Eisenhower.

It must be pointed out that today's figures represent sentiment throughout the South, and do not apply to any one individual state. The States' Rights ticket in some states may run well ahead of the sectional figure, and run behind in others.

GOV. THURMOND, for example, in 1948 polled 72 per cent of the vote in South Carolina while polling only 17 per cent in the South as a whole.

The 13 Southern states include Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas.

The new party has qualified to be on the ballot in nine of the Southern states and five in the North. The nine Southern states are Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Kentucky.

IN ADDITION, write-in votes for States' Rights candidates will be counted in a total of 23 states. Two of these are in the South—Florida and North Carolina. No such provision is made in Georgia and Oklahoma.

The party is running under different names in the various states and in at least two states the presidential candidates are different.

In Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, for example, the party appears on the ballot as the "States' Rights Party in Tennessee," the "States' Rights Party of Virginia," and the "States' Rights Party of Kentucky." In New Jersey, on the other hand, it is listed as the "Conservative Party."

IN MOST STATES, the presidential candidate is T. Coleman Andrews, business executive of Richmond, Va., while the vice presidential candidate is former Republican Rep. Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif.

In Kentucky, the presidential candidate is Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and the vice presidential nominee is Sen. William E. Jenner of Indiana. A slate of Independent electors, who have been reported as endorsing Sen. Byrd, appears on South Carolina's ballots.

Both Sen. Byrd and Sen. Jenner have said that they are not candidates.

ANDREWS WAS a former commissioner of internal revenue, appointed by President Eisenhower in January, 1953. Andrews resigned from the post in October, 1955 and has been out stumping against the income tax and against school desegregation.

This year marks the fourth time in the last three decades that an unsettled political climate has affected the established custom of the South's voting solidly Democratic.

IN 1928 WHEN Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith were the opposing candidates, the Democrats lost seven of the 13 Southern states to the GOP—Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—largely because of the religious issue.

In 1948, the Dixiecrat movement resulted in the loss of four Southern states for Harry S. Truman—South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.

In 1952, Gen. Eisenhower polled 49 per cent of the vote in the South and captured five states — Virginia, Florida, Texas, Tennessee and Oklahoma and came within 700 votes of taking Kentucky.

IN THE 1948 election, the Institute's figures showed the following vote in the South:

OCTOBER, 1948 —SOUTH ONLY—	
Truman	49%
Dewey	31
Thurmond	19
Wallace	1

The election results in the South were as follows:

1948 ELECTION —SOUTH ONLY—	
Truman	52.6%
Dewey	29.5
Thurmond	17.4
Wallace	0.5

States' Rights Party's Hold Small To Date In Southland

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Nov. 1.—The independent States' Rights Party movement has made comparatively little headway to date in the South, judging by results of the institute's first measurement of presidential voting sentiment since the party held its nominating convention in Richmond, Va., in mid-October.

In the states below the Mason-Dixon line as a whole, the various States' Rights candidates today poll four per cent among voters who have made up their minds, compared to 52 per cent for Stevenson and Kefauver and 44 per cent for Eisenhower and Nixon.

Last Dixie Figures

The institute's last reported figures for the South among voters who had made up their minds, was 55 per cent for Stevenson and Kefauver and 45 per cent for Eisenhower and Nixon.

These figures were based on interviewing completed just before the States' Rights Party convention.

In 1948, the last election in which the States' Rights Party played a role, Gov. J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina polled 17 per cent of the popular vote in the South as the party's presidential candidate.

Throughout the South, interviewers for the institute put the following question to voters in a new survey:

"If the presidential election were being held today, which candidates would you vote for—Eisenhower and Nixon, Stevenson and Kefauver, or Andrews and Werdel?"

(In Kentucky, the names of Senator Harry F. Byrd and Senator William E. Jenner were substituted for Andrews and Werdell.)

The results among Southern voters who said they plan to vote in the November election:

Stevenson-Kefauver	49%
Eisenhower-Nixon	42%
Andrews-Werdel, Others	4%
Undecided	5%

If it is assumed that the five per cent who are undecided as of today either will not vote, or, if they do, will vote in about the same way as the "decided," the above figures become:

Stevenson-Kefauver	52%
Eisenhower-Nixon	44
Andrews-Werdel, Others	4

In the 1952 presidential election, Governor Stevenson polled 51 per cent of the popular vote in the South to 49 per cent for Mr. Eisenhower.

Not Individual States

It must be pointed out that today's figures represent sentiment throughout the South, and do not apply to any one individual state.

The States' Rights ticket in some states may run well ahead of the sectional figure, and run behind in others.

Governor Thurmond, for example, in 1948 polled 72 per cent of the vote in South Carolina while polling only 17 per cent in the South as a whole.

The 13 Southern states include Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Arkansas and Texas.

The new party has qualified to be on the ballot in nine of the Southern states and five in the North.

The nine Southern states are Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, Texas, Alabama, South Carolina and Kentucky.

Write-Ins In Others

In addition, write-in votes for States' Rights candidates will be counted in a total of 23 states. Two of these are in the South—Florida and North Carolina. No such provision is made in Georgia and Oklahoma.

The party is running under different names in the various states and in at least two states the presidential candidates are different.

In Tennessee, Virginia and Kentucky, for example, the party appears on the ballot as the "States' Rights Party in Tennessee," the "States' Rights Party of Virginia," and the "States' Rights Party of Kentucky." In New Jersey, on the other hand, it is listed as the "Conservative Party."

In most states, the presidential candidate is T. Coleman Andrews, business executive of Richmond, Va., while the vice presidential candidate is former Republican Representative Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif.

In Kentucky, the presidential candidate is Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia and the vice presidential nominee is Senator William E. Jenner of Indiana.

A slate of independent electors, who have been reported as endorsing Senator Byrd, appears on South Carolina's ballots.

Deny They're Candidates

Both Senator Byrd and Senator Jenner have said they are not candidates.

Andrews was a former commissioner of Internal Revenue, appointed by President Eisenhower in January, 1953. He resigned from the post in October, 1955, and has been out stumping against the income tax and against school desegregation.

This year marks the fourth time in the last three decades that an unsettled political climate has affected the established custom of the South's voting solidly Democratic.

In 1928, when Herbert Hoover and Alfred E. Smith were the opposing candidates, the Democrats lost seven of the 13 Southern states to the GOP—Florida, Kentucky, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia—largely because of the religious issue.

In 1948, the Dixiecrat movement resulted in the loss of four Southern states for Harry S. Truman—South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama.

In 1952, Mr. Eisenhower polled 49 per cent of the vote in the South and captured five states—Virginia, Florida, Texas, Tennessee and Oklahoma and came within 700 votes of taking Kentucky.

34d 1956

By- GEORGE GALLUP

Democrats Favored in Congress Race

Herald P.2-F
Wed. 5-30-56
Miami, Fla.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

. . . Republican Prospects Brighter Poll Shows
. . . Party Still Needs Gains Outside the South

PRINCETON, N. J. — Although Republican Party prospects for recapturing control of the House of Representatives appear to be somewhat brighter, the Democratic Party still holds the lead in Congressional voting sentiment throughout the country.

GALLUP

In the first Institute test of party strength since President Eisenhower's announcement that he would run again, more voters today say they favor the Democrats in races for the House than favor the Republicans.

However, GOP strategists can take comfort in the fact that the party has picked up strength since an identical survey in early March of this year.

Each voter was asked:

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this state — the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?"

Today's vote for the nation's 435 Congressional districts:

VOTE FOR CONGRESS —NATIONWIDE—

Democratic	51%
Republican	49

In the survey three months ago, which was based on interviewing completed just prior to the President's announcement, the figures were:

VOTE FOR CONGRESS —NATIONWIDE— (Early March, 1956)

Democratic	53%
Republican	47

Because of the heavily Democratic pattern in the South, a clearer picture of the Congressional race today can be seen by looking at the two-party vote in the 35 states outside the South.

In this crucial battleground area, the Republicans have climbed from 51 per cent in March to 53 per cent today. However, they still fall short of the necessary 55 per cent which recent experience shows they must obtain outside the South to offset the Democrats' advantage in the South.

The GOP has been able to achieve this feat only twice since New Deal days — in the big Republican year of 1946 (when they won both Houses of Congresss with 57 per cent of the vote outside the South), and in 1952 (when they won the House by the narrow margin of 3 seats with 55 per cent of the vote outside the South).

Here is the trend in states outside the South since 1946:

VOTE FOR CONGRESS —OUTSIDE THE SOUTH—

	Rep.	Dem.
1946 election	57%	43%
1948 election	50	50
1950 election	53	47
1952 election	55	45
1954 election	50½	49½
July, 1955 survey	50	50
Oct. 1955 survey	52	48
Mar. 1956 survey	51	49
TODAY'S survey	53	47

In 1952, General Eisenhower polled 56.8 per cent of the vote in this area, compared to the vote for Republican Congressmen of 54.9 per cent.

In the 13 states in the South, where the vote for Congress seldom changes from year to year, latest survey results indicate that the GOP vote has dropped a point since the March check.

Here is the trend of the vote in the South since 1946:

VOTE FOR CONGRESS —SOUTH ONLY—

	Rep.	Dem.
1946 election	29%	71%
1948 election	21	79
1950 election	20	80
1952 election	20	80
1954 election	22	78
June, 1955 survey	22	78
Nov. 1955 survey	24	76
Mar. 1956 survey	24	76
TODAY'S survey	23	77

In 1952, Eisenhower ran ahead of his party in the South by the phenomenal margin of 28.5 percentage points, polling 48.9 per cent to 20.4 per cent for GOP Congressmen.

Nationwide, Eisenhower polled 55.4 per cent, compared to 49.8 per cent for Republican Congressmen and thus was the first GOP candidate since 1928 to run ahead of his party.

Hoover in 1932, Landon in 1936, Wilkie in 1940, and Dewey in 1944 and 1948, all polled a smaller percentage of the total major party vote than did Republican candidates for Congress.

Today's results are of special interest because they provide an excellent measure of basic party strength, apart from the personal popularity of candidates for the presidency.

Two things should be borne in mind in interpreting the survey figures:

1. They concern only candidates for the House of Representatives, since every Congressional district will hold elections in November for the House. Only one-third of the Senate, or 32 members, will come up for re-election.

2. The latest figures are a reflection of sentiment five months in advance of the election and should not be construed as a forecast of what will happen on Nov. 6.

The Institute plans to continue its barometer of Congressional party strength at regular intervals between now and the November election.

Eisenhower Is Winning Union Vote, Poll Shows

Herald Tribune P.13
Wed. 5-30-56
New York, N.Y.

Gallup Finds 56% For President; But Farm Vote Is Seen Shifting

By George Gallup
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., May 29.—The hard core of Democratic party strength since the early days of the New Deal has been the overwhelming vote which labor union members have given the party.

Now, for the first time in twenty years, this group shows evidence of giving a majority of its vote to the Republican candidate in the November Presidential election.

In 1952, Mr. Eisenhower got a substantial vote from union members, polling 39 per cent. Today, in an Institute "trial heat" race against Adlai Stevenson, he gets a majority of 56 per cent.

Farm Vote Seen Shifting

Whether leaders of union labor will be able to bring them back into line remains to be seen.

While Republicans will cheer the impressive gains that President Eisenhower has made among labor union members, Democrats at the same time can take heart from the fact that the farm vote shows signs of moving away from the Republicans.

Since 1952, when Mr. Eisenhower polled 67 per cent of the farm vote—the highest received by any Republican candidate in twenty years—there has been a shift of 6 percentage points among farmers in favor of the Democrats.

Seen Polling 61%

Today, Mr. Eisenhower polls 61 per cent of the farm vote—just 5 points more than he polls among union members.

The political preferences of union members and farmers are revealed in a survey by the Institute in which a cross-section of organized labor and also of farmers was interviewed from coast to coast to determine their preferences if Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson are the opposing candidates, as follows:

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower were the Republican candidate and Adlai Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?

The preferences of union members today, with the undecided vote excluded in the second column of the table:

UNION MEMBERS ONLY

	With Undecided	Without Undecided
Eisenhower	54%	56%
Stevenson	42	44
Undecided	4	—

The vote of farmers today:

FARMERS ONLY

Eisenhower	58%	61%
Stevenson	37	39
Undecided	5	—

The labor union vote went overwhelmingly for President Roosevelt in the 1936, 1940 and 1944 elections, and for President Truman in 1948, reflecting the cleavage of political sentiment along economic lines.

Shift in '48-'52

Between 1948 and 1952, however, there was a shift among union members of 13 percentage points in favor of Mr. Eisenhower, and today's survey would indicate that there has been a further shift since 1952 of 17 percentage points.

Here is the trend of the vote among union members and among farmers, as recorded in Institute surveys just after each election:

% REPUBLICAN OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN LAST 5 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS —UNION MEMBERS ONLY

	% Rep.
1936 election	20
1940 election	28
1944 election	28
1948 election	26*
1952 election	39
Today's survey	56

% REPUBLICAN OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN LAST 5 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS —FARMERS ONLY

	% Rep.
1936 election	41
1940 election	46
1944 election	52
1948 election	48*
1952 election	67
Today's survey	61

*The figure is the Republican percentage of the four-party vote in 1948.

Prior to the 1952 election, the vote of union members for the Republican Presidential candidate had averaged about 18 percentage points lower than the Republican vote nation-wide.

On the other hand, the vote of farmers for the Republican Presidential candidate had averaged about 4 percentage points higher than the Republican vote nation-wide.

Many Adults Uninformed on Candidates

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute Of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J. — The problem that any political candidate faces is how to become better known to the voters of the country and how to become known favorably.

GALLUP

With this year's presidential campaign shortened to a two-month's period, candidates will have to bestir themselves a good deal earlier to overcome the handicap.

The Institute has just completed a unique political quiz in which an accurate sample of adults across the country were asked to identify six Democratic presidential possibilities and to see how many of them they could recognize from pictures.

The six were Averell Harriman, Lyndon Johnson, Estes Kefauver, Frank J. Lausche, Adlai Stevenson and Stuart Symington.

Of the six, Stevenson is the best known today. Almost nine out of every 10 voters, or 88 per cent, were able to correctly identify his name and 76 per cent could recognize his picture.

Kefauver comes next, with 83 per cent identifying him correctly and 60 per cent recognizing his picture.

In the case of Harriman, Lausche and Symington, about half as many adults were able to recognize their pictures as know who they are, while only one-fourth as many could recognize Johnson as know who he is.

Education, of course, has a lot to do with how well-formed voters are on candidates, but there are some surprising gaps in even the college-trained voter's information.

More men than women were able to identify the candidates and recognize their pictures. Only one woman in four could identify Johnson and Symington and only one in five knew who Lausche is.

Interviewers from Maine to California questioned a representative sample of adults, asking first:

"Will you tell me who each of these men is — or what he does?"

	% Correctly Identifying
Stevenson	88%
Kefauver	83
Harriman	51
Johnson	32
Symington	31
Lausche	25

By way of comparison, Vice President Richard Nixon was correctly identified by 86 per cent of adults.

The above percentages can be projected into millions of adults very simply. With 102 million civilian adults in the population today, the figures mean that Stevenson, for example, can be identified by roughly 90 million persons, Nixon by 88 million, and so on.

The fact that a candidate is not well known at this time doesn't mean that he should be counted out.

Four years ago, an April, 1952 institute report showed that only 33 per cent of voters were able to identify Stevenson, who at that time was governor of Illinois. Yet he successfully won the Democratic nomination at the Chicago convention in July.

Voters were next handed a card with photographs and asked:

"Here are some photographs of men in the news. Will you please look at them and tell me their names?"

	% Recognizing Picture
Stevenson	76%
Kefauver	60
Harriman	25
Symington	13
Lausche	13
Johnson	8

Hollywood's Bob Hope was recognized by 83 per cent and Bing Crosby by 80 per cent.

While one half of the college-trained adults questioned in the survey could identify Lausche, only 26 per cent could recognize his picture. Johnson was identified by 57 per cent of those who attended college, but only 22 per cent could recognize his picture.

Only one adult in every 50 who attended grade school could recognize Johnson from his picture.

Here are today's scores by education levels:

COLLEGE

	% Identifying Name	Picture
Stevenson	98%	91%
Kefauver	97	79
Harriman	81	49
Symington	62	29
Johnson	57	22
Lausche	50	26

HIGH SCHOOL

	% Identifying Name	Picture
Stevenson	92%	82%
Kefauver	89	66
Harriman	53	26
Johnson	32	7
Symington	31	14
Lausche	24	13

GRADE SCHOOL

	% Identifying Name	Picture
Stevenson	75%	57%
Kefauver	64	37
Harriman	29	11
Johnson	18	2
Symington	12	4
Lausche	12	4

It may come as something of a shock to Symington that he was identified by one voter as a "Navy man." Lausche was thought to be a "baseball pitcher," "football manager," and a "great theatrical producer."

Johnson was identified as the "commissioner of labor" and as a "detective." One voter thought Harriman was a "news columnist," another identified him as a "presidential press secretary," and still another voter thought he was an executive of Montgomery Ward and Co.

Kefauver, in one woman's book, was an "actor," while Nixon was thought to be a "great football player."

One woman, asked who Stevenson was, answered positively, "Oh, he's the man with the hole in his shoe."

2 Out of 3 Republicans Support Nixon in Poll

48% of Independents Back Him As Eisenhower's Running Mate

By George Gallup
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., May 17.—Richard M. Nixon is the top choice of two out of every three Republican voters today for the party's 1956 Vice-Presidential nomination.

A nation-wide survey just completed by the Gallup poll finds that Mr. Nixon has not only picked up strength since earlier this year among members of his own party but that he also has gained ground among the all-important bloc of independent voters.

As of today, 48 per cent of independents say they would like to see Mr. Nixon as President Eisenhower's running mate in November.

One-Third Opposed

The forces opposed to Mr. Nixon will likely point up the fact that one-third of all Republican voters today prefer some one other than the incumbent as the party's nominee for the office of Vice-President.

Certainly, there is far less unanimity among Republican voters on Mr. Nixon than on Mr. Eisenhower. A January survey, prior to Mr. Eisenhower's second-term announcement, found 82 per cent of Republicans and 65 per cent of independents at that time naming Mr. Eisenhower as their No. 1 choice for the Presidential nomination.

With the Republican nominating convention in San Francisco just three months away, the institute assigned its interviewing staff to talk to an accurate cross-section of voters in all walks of life and living in every section of the country.

All persons classifying themselves as Republicans were handed a card containing the names of several Republican Vice-Presidential possibilities and were asked:

"If Eisenhower is the Republican candidate for President, which one of the persons on this card would you like to see as his running mate for Vice-President?"

The vote:

REPUBLICANS ONLY

	P.C.
Richard M. Nixon	66
Harold E. Stassen	7
Thomas E. Dewey	7
Henry Cabot Lodge	4
John Foster Dulles	3
William F. Knowland	3
Milton Eisenhower	2
Christian Herter	2
Others, no preference	6
	100

Under "others" were Sen Everett M. Dirksen, Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith.

Last January, prior to President Eisenhower's announcement that he would be available for a second term, a similar poll found Mr. Nixon the top favorite of 55 per cent of Republicans for the Vice-Presidential nomination. Chief Justice Earl Warren was second with 13 per cent.

Vice-President Nixon has been a much more controversial figure outside of his own party, and there has been considerable speculation that his name on the Republican ticket would cost the party the vote of many independents.

Here is how independents voted in today's survey:

INDEPENDENTS ONLY

Richard M. Nixon	48 p. c.
Thomas E. Dewey	9
Harold E. Stassen	8
Henry Cabot Lodge	6
William F. Knowland	6
John Foster Dulles	6
Christian Herter	3
Margaret Chase Smith	3
Milton Eisenhower	2
Others, no preference	9
	100 p. c.

In the January survey, Mr. Nixon polled 38 per cent of the vote of independents, compared to Mr. Warren's 25 per cent.

The survey also finds that, if the convention choice were narrowed down to Mr. Nixon and Governor Herter of Massachusetts, rank-and-file Republicans would prefer Mr. Nixon by a margin of better than 8 to 1, as follows:

"Suppose the choice for Vice-President were narrowed down to Vice-President Nixon and Governor Herter of Massachusetts. Which one would you prefer to have the Republican convention select?"

The vote of Republicans:

Nixon	83 p. c.
Herter	10
No opinion	7

POST-ELECTION QUERY

Sunday Star Washington, D. C. Sun. 11-11-56

Is the 'Solid South' A Thing of the Past?

By DAVID KOONCE

An Eisenhower steamroller that was no respecter of tradition or geography last week left the Democratic Party's political coroners the task of deciding which Republican blow to the Solid South was the mortal one.

Observers on the scene of the accident—it was indeed an accident, since it was not planned that way by the G. O. P.—were convinced that there was not one, but many reasons for it.

President Eisenhower on Tuesday added the Deep South State of Louisiana to the four Southern States he took from the Democrats in 1952, and everywhere in the old Confederacy except in Mississippi and South Carolina he increased his 1952 percentage of the total Eisenhower-Stevenson vote.

While the Democrats nationally were slightly strengthening their hold on Congress, they failed to unseat a single one of the seven Republican Congressmen in five of the Southern States, and they came close to losing another House seat in Florida.

The Reasons

According to informed Southerners, this is what gave the Republicans their increased strength in the region which once was ground under the heel of Republican "reconstruction":

- The ever-increasing Negro vote swung to Mr. Eisenhower this year.
- The unions, seriously wounded in the South by a national policy of pro-integration, could not hold their members in line for the Democrats.
- The "poor white" economic class is gradually disappearing as the South becomes more urban and industrialized, and the middle income and upper income groups are greatly increasing their numbers.
- Southerners have finally broken the habit of blindly voting the straight Democratic ticket. This began in 1948, and was given great impetus in 1952 and 1956 by the personal popularity of Mr. Eisenhower.

A comparison of the President's percentage of the total Democratic-Republican vote in 1952 and 1956 shows clearly what has happened to the solidarity of the South (figures rounded):

	1952	1956
Alabama	35%	42%
Arkansas	43%	43%
Florida	55%	58%
Georgia	30%	34%
Louisiana	47%	56%
Mississippi	39%	31%
North Carolina	46%	49%
South Carolina	49%	36%
Tennessee	50.1%	51%
Texas	53%	56%
Virginia	56%	59%

There is no way of determining with any degree of accuracy the actual number of voting Negroes in the South, but it is increasing steadily—Negro registration is up and voting in predominately Negro urban precincts is heavier. This year, unlike 1952, this vote was won by the Republican candidate for President.

For instance, the preponderantly Negro 20th precinct in Raleigh, N. C., which voted 918 to 118 for Mr. Stevenson in 1952, went to Mr. Eisenhower this year by 526 to 253. Winston-Salem's Columbia Heights precinct, almost all Negro, voted 750 to 21 for Mr. Stevenson in 1952, but on Tuesday gave him a majority of only 281 to 238. And one preponderantly Negro box in Birmingham which went heavily for Mr. Stevenson in 1952 voted 808 to 480 for Mr. Eisenhower this year.

Negro desertion of the Democratic Party was attributed partly to the fact that the Democratic leadership in State Legislatures has championed the many schemes in the South to delay compliance with the Supreme Court's decision knocking out segregation in public schools. Many Negroes also are said to have been influenced by the fact that the desegregation decision came during Mr. Eisenhower's administration.

Unions Not Effective

E. L. Holland, editorial writer of the Birmingham News, says that "the unions just didn't hold their people together in the cities." He pointed specifically to heavily-organized Mobile and Birmingham and Montgomery, which also has a strong union element, all of which went for Mr. Eisenhower. The same was true in other cities where unions are strong—Tampa, Winston-Salem, Greensboro, Charlotte, Savannah, New Orleans and Chattanooga.

Jonathan Daniels, Raleigh publisher and author of books on the South, believes that much of the Democratic Party's appeal, born out of the depression and the New Deal, has disappeared in the South.

"Nobody any longer regards himself as being one of the 'po' folks,' " Mr. Daniels says. "Everybody down here has become middle class, or at least regards himself so."

He adds that the ever-growing group of well-to-do persons reaping the benefits of a diversified, industrialized New South "favored Ike last time, but this time, these precincts went solidly for him."

Much of the South's factory work force is composed of families in the lower economic class recently forced off poor farms after failing to eke out a living. To them, factory wages, although lower than in the North, provide luxuries beyond the reach of a failing farm tenant or sharecropper and they are, comparatively, in an upper economic class.

Al G. Dickson, executive editor of the Wilmington (N. C.) Star-News, who has kept an eye on Southern voting trends for many years believes also that the "war issue" caused a last-minute switch by many voters to Mr. Eisenhower. "It was just another case of the voters not wanting to change horses," he said. He, too, agreed that the improved conditions of the economy in the South weighed heavily in Mr. Eisenhower's favor.

It was generally believed that the farm issue spared the Democrats an even greater disaster in the South. The cities gave the President his majorities, and in the earlier counting there were signs that the President was sweeping the South as though it were New England. But when the returns started coming in from farm areas, the tide was swept back somewhat. In many rural precincts (it is in the country that the Negro vote is lightest) Mr. Eisenhower failed to get a single vote.

'On a Silver Platter'

Mr. Holland says that one of the most significant aspects of the Republican showing was that it was made in the absence of effective G. O. P. organization and with practically no effort. "This strength was handed to them on a silver platter," Mr. Holland said, "and if they don't do something about it, they're missing a mighty good bet."

He suggested that Southern Republicans stop running men for local offices who are known only for their Republicanism and instead "recruit men known in their communities." He added that Republican strength had increased in Alabama even though the party officials there had spent the campaign "loafing." If there were any Republican rallies during the campaign in Alabama, he hadn't heard of them, Mr. Holland said.

Almost as he spoke, Alabama Republican leaders announced plans for early meetings to build a grass-roots organization.

And in Washington, National Chairman Leonard Hall declared: "The results show that the South holds great promise for the Republican Party. We expect to take full advantage of it and build State and local organizations everywhere in the South and induce young and attractive candidates to seek office."

Now that Mr. Eisenhower has helped dispel Southern historic reluctance to vote Republican, most informed observers believe that the one-party South is a thing of the past. The difficult break with tradition, they feel, needs only some assistance from national Republican leaders to bring a true two-party system to Dixie.

POLL GIVES IKE VOTE MARGIN IN WASHINGTON

Daily Tribune Sat. 10-20-56 Chicago, Ill. P. 8-h

Only a 'Miracle' Could Save Langlie

[First of a series analyzing west coast political situation.]

BY SEYMOUR KORMAN

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Seattle, Wash., Oct. 19 — President Eisenhower is favored to win this far northwest state by a narrow margin over Adlai Stevenson, but nothing less than a political "mircale" would allow Republican Gov. Arthur B. Langlie to win a United States senatorial seat over the incumbent Democrat, Warren Magnuson.

The Republicans figure to retain the six congressional posts they now hold, and the Democrats to keep their one.

These are indications from a Tribune survey in Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane and rural areas.

Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity is expected to get him the state's nine electoral votes, altho not as easily as in 1952 when he confounded most predictions and took what was once called "the soviet of Washington" from Stevenson. The 1952 election figures here were: Eisenhower, 599,107; Stevenson, 492,845.

Democrats Have Hope

Democrats make only a cautious claim that Stevenson could reverse the result this Nov. 6; some of them say it could be a "photo finish" and Stevenson has a hope.

Republicans believe Ike's margin will not approach the 107,000 votes of 1952, but that he will win the state by perhaps 30,000 to 50,000 votes. Independents lean toward the President by a slim majority.

Mr. Eisenhower's welcome here Oct. 16 and 17 was bigger and noisier than that accorded Stevenson the week before.

A principal reason, tho, why the President's 1952 lead has been cut sharply and why there is even a possibility he could lose the state is the big turnout of Democrats to support Sen. Magnuson, seeking his third term, and to beat a "right to work" referendum.

Swings State Right

Langlie has been a very able governor during the two terms since 1948 [he was also governor from 1940 to 1944] and repaired the state budget

ravages wrought by Democratic Gov. Mon Wallgren in the 1944-48 term.

Under Wallgren, one of former President Truman's New Deal cronies, the state was a hotbed of communism and the remark "the 47 states and the soviet of Washington" was current. Langlie brought the state nearer to political center.

Langlie had intimated he wanted no more elective offices but, with the President's blessing and support, he entered the senate race against Magnuson. Langlie gained national stature as chairman of the 1956 governors' conference and as keynote speaker at the G. O. P. national convention in August.

Suffers Bad Blow

Then he suffered a severe blow in the Sept. 11 Washington primary. In that primary, unlike in most other states, voters do not declare party affiliation, but cross lines and split tickets at will and the balloting is a "popularity contest." Magnuson beat Langlie by 152,489 votes. The unofficial count was: Magnuson, 431,480; Langlie, 278,921.

Magnuson is liked by Republicans as well as Democrats because he has maintained close contact with his constituents and has brought federal largesse to the state in the form of dams and irrigation projects. Businessmen of both parties are grateful to him for aid in getting government contracts and for fostering legislation favorable to fisheries and timber interests.

In campaigning, Magnuson has accused the Eisenhower administration of discriminating against farmers and "little people." He has never mentioned Langlie by name nor replied to Langlie's barbs.

Praises Ike's Regime

Langlie has lauded the Eisenhower regime, has called Magnuson a playboy type and has demanded Magnuson make public his income tax returns, so the public can judge whether the senator used his position to benefit financially in air line and radio stocks. As yet, Magnuson has not disclosed those figures.

The right to work referendum was sponsored by management groups which felt that union membership as a job-holding requisite was a tyrannical demond. But Washington is probably the most powerfully unionized state in the nation and all the leading candidates, Republican as well as Democratic, are against the referendum and it seems certain of defeat.

The Democrats, however, are trying to make it a party issue against the Republicans and are calling for a big vote against it in hopes some of the turnout will weigh against President Eisenhower on the top of the ballot.

Some Farmers Lost

Some dairy farmers and cattlemen are dissatisfied with the Republican administration and there will be some defection to Stevenson in agricultural districts. But the farm issue is not a major issue here, nor is the matter of President Eisenhower's health, nor is there any notable sentiment against Vice President Nixon.

Democrat Don Magnuson [no relation to the senator] of Seattle is seeking his third term as congressman-at-large and is expected to win easily over Republican Phil Evans, Seattle civic leader.

In the six congressional districts, the Republican incumbents—Tom Pelly, Jack Westland, Russell Mack, Hal Holmes, Walter Horan and Thor Tollefson — are considered safe. The only close contest is between Holmes and Democrat Frank Le Roux in the Walla Walla district.

Anderson Has Edge

For the governorship, there is a see-saw battle between Lt. Gov. Emmett Anderson, Republican, and Democrat Albert D. Rosellini, Seattle attorney. Anderson is given a slight edge at the moment.

"I'm sure we'll keep this state for President Eisenhower," said George Kinnear, G. O. P. state chairman. "Even if he doesn't take Washington by as big a vote as in 1952, he is still home free. Langlie is in a tough spot against Magnuson, and we're not happy about it, but we might make a horse race. The President's visit here helped Langlie a lot."

"We can make a scrap out of the Presidential race," declared Henry Carstensen, Democratic state chairman. "I'm not conceding anything to Eisenhower. The facts that Magnuson will swamp Langlie and that Democrats will be out in force to knock down No. 198 [the right to work issue] will work against everybody in the Republican column, from Eisenhower down.

Doubt of Victory

"This state was Democratic for 20 years up to 1952. Eisenhower's popularity was at peak that year and he won here, but maybe he can't repeat."

Here are comments from other persons around the state:

A farmer—"Wheat is my big crop and I don't have any squawk. I'll vote again for Eisenhower, the man who made me well."

Another farmer — "We dairymen haven't gotten a fair shake from the Republicans. I'll take a chance the Democrats will do better by us, so I'm going to Stevenson."

An airport employee — "I worked for Ike as a soldier in Europe and I'm working for him again. My family and I will all vote for him."

Novelty shop keeper — "I believe the Republicans haven't given little business a break.

LIST WINNERS IN GOVERNOR RACES

The following table lists winners in the election of state governors.

Arizona	*E. W. McFarland	D.
Arkansas	*Orval Faubus	D.
Colorado	S. L. R. McNichols	D.
Delaware	*J. Caleb Boggs	R.
Florida	*Leroy Collins	D.
Illinois	*Wm. G. Stratton	R.
Indiana	Harold W. Handley	R.
Iowa	H. C. Loveless	D.
Kansas	George Docking	D.
Maine	*Edmund S. Muskie (Elected in Sept.)	D.
Massachusetts	Foster Furcolo	D.
Michigan	*G. Mennen Williams	D.
Minnesota	*Orville L. Freeman	D.
Missouri	James T. Blair Jr.	D.
Montana	*J. Hugo Aronson	R.
Nebraska	*Victor E. Anderson	R.
N. Hampshire	*Lane Dwinell	R.
New Mexico	Edwin L. Mechem	R.
N. Carolina	Luther H. Hodges	D.
N. Dakota	John E. Davis	R.
Ohio	C. William O'Neill	R.
Oregon	Elmo E. Smith or Robt. D. Holmes	R. D.
Rhode Island	*Dennis J. Roberts or Chris Del Sesto	D. R.
S. Dakota	*Joe Foss	R.
Texas	Price Daniel	D.
Utah	George D. Clyde	R.
Vermont	*Joseph B. Johnson	R.
Washington	A. D. Rosellini	D.
W. Virginia	C. H. Underwood	R.
Wisconsin	Vernon W. Thomson	R.

(*denotes incumbent)

FINAL WARD VOTE FOR PRESIDENT

Ward—	Stevenson	Eisenhower
1	16,620	7,060
2	18,343	8,611
3	18,561	10,135
4	20,228	12,117
5	16,373	11,503
6	16,650	12,902
7	19,293	24,906
8	15,620	24,161
9	17,669	26,737
10	20,529	18,234
11	15,787	11,162
12	11,824	13,021
13	19,887	28,445
14	13,256	8,585
15	12,891	17,567
16	13,837	14,222
17	14,628	15,129
18	19,159	32,596
19	19,407	41,078
20	17,415	11,179
21	12,169	8,626
22	13,783	9,306
23	19,243	16,837
24	21,019	3,951
25	13,848	5,650
26	13,776	8,036
27	14,936	4,841
28	15,246	10,542
29	16,404	8,264
30	14,408	16,355
31	15,737	9,996
32	12,121	9,790
33	11,767	15,285
34	12,566	15,458
35	13,778	20,950
36	14,768	20,706
37	14,795	22,138
38	17,532	31,652
39	15,041	21,678
40	19,745	14,077
41	17,564	43,267
42	14,149	11,851
43	11,839	15,039
44	13,130	16,993
45	13,048	22,368
46	15,320	15,910
47	19,307	32,505
48	16,261	19,324
49	19,475	20,365
50	27,313	25,304
Total	808,065	846,414

34d 1956

GENERAL

Democrats and Republicans Choose Their Issues

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

By OVID A. MARTIN

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 21 (AP)—Here is a comparison of the Republican and Democratic platforms on major issues:

FOREIGN POLICY

Republican — Says Eisenhower policies have helped check the threat of global war and advance of communism. Endorses collective security system as basis of U. S. foreign policy. Opposes seat in United Nations for Red China. Urges impartial friendship for Israel and her Arab neighbors but promises support to maintain an independent Israel.

Democratic — Charges Eisenhower administration has followed policy of "bluster and bluff" in foreign affairs with result country has lost world leadership and anti-Americanism grows abroad. Promises to sell defense weapons to Israel. Declares true nonpartisanship needed in conduct of foreign affairs. Also opposes seat for Red China in U.N.

TAXATION AND FISCAL

Republican—Promises tax cuts—particularly for low and middle income families and small business—insofar as balanced budget permits. Also pledges further reductions in government spending and maintenance of a "sound" dollar.

Democratic—Favors increase in personal tax exemption from present $600 to $800. Also favors tax adjustments for small business, promises to reduce interest charges paid on national debt.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Republican — Accepts Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools and concurs in court's conclusion that it should be carried out with "all deliberate speed." Opposes use of force or violence to settle the issue. Calls on government to support the court "in every legal means" to bring about end of segregation. Recognizes special problems of the South.

Democratic—Avoids outright endorsement of high court ruling, saying it "brought consequences of vast importance." Rejects "all proposals for use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts." Recognizes Supreme Court decisions as "a part of the law of the land."

AGRICULTURE

Republican — Endorses Eisenhower administration farm programs, featuring flexible price supports and soil bank plan under which payments are made to farmers for reducing production. Restates party goal to achieve "full parity" for farmers in market place and not through use of subsidies. Pledges fewer rather than more government controls.

Democratic—Would repeal flexible system and restore high, rigid supports for basic crops and use production payments to help regain full parity for agriculture which it says existed under Truman administration. Also promises to develop supports for perishable products and to set up food surpluses to low income groups.

LABOR

Republican — Claims GOP has given labor its greatest prosperity and strengthened the process of free collective bargaining. Promises to revise Taft-Hartley Act and to assure equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

Democratic — Charges Republicans with "anti-unionism" in obtaining enactment of the Taft-Hartley law, and promises to repeal it. Promises to raise minimum wage standard from present $1 to $1.25 an hour and to extend its application.

SMALL BUSINESS

Republican — Promises greater aid for small enterprises, including larger share of government contracts, loans at "reasonable" rates of interest and extension of the Small Business Administration now scheduled to expire in mid-1957.

Democratic — Charges Republicans have discriminated against small enterprises in favor of large ones, with result that giant corporations "dominate" the economy. Promises to make more and cheaper loans available to small businesses and to give them tax relief.

RESOURCES

Republican — Praises GOP efforts to conserve oil, forestry, mineral, water, fishery and wildlife resources. Endorses Eisenhower policy of developing these resources on partnership basis with private interests.

Democratic — Charges GOP administration has allowed "special interests" to "despoil" resources for future generations. Promises to double present conservation efforts to develop "aggressive" program to provide abundant supplies of low-cost energy.

NATIONAL DEFENSE

Republican — Claims development of U.S. military strength to point where it is key factor in maintenance of peace. Nation said to have strongest military striking power in world. Promises to strengthen security of the nation while at same time striving for world agreement on disarmament.

Democratic—Charges that GOP has slashed armed strength in efforts to balance budget and reduce taxes for "political considerations." Says that as long as there is no international control of weapons, this country must maintain armed strength to deter war.

ATOMIC ENERGY

Republican—Pledges continuous, vigorous development of atomic energy for national defense and peaceful uses.

Democratic — Charges Republican policies threaten nation with loss of world leadership in this field.

GENERAL WELFARE

Republican — Promises to push government programs to advance physical and mental welfare of the people. Also pledges financial aid for schools, education of physicians, and to encourage the building of more houses.

Democratic — Pledges extended benefits under Social Security system, aid for schools and scientific education, and expansion in housing program. Also promises government aid in medical research.

GOVERNMENT

Republican—Claims Eisenhower administration has increased government efficiency by firing irresponsible, inefficient and disloyal employes. Promises further efforts to increase efficiency of postal system and to promote a non-political Civil Service system.

Democratic—Charges Eisenhower administration with failure to understand or trust federal employes. Promise employe security system that would protect both rights of workers and security of nation. Also promises to "restore" efficiency to postal system.

STATEHOOD

Republican — Pledges immediate statehood for Alaska, with reservations for defense requirements, and for Hawaii. Promises continued encouragment for political and economic growth of Puerto Rico. Favors self-government, national suffrage and representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

Democratic — Charges Republicans have stood in the way of statehood for Alaska and Hawaii and promises action to grant them statehood. Pledges support for the development of Puerto Rico and immediate home rule and ultimate national representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.

South Should Unite Behind the Ticket

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver, Democratic nominee for the presidency and vice presidency, are in Santa Fe, N.M., today meeting with representatives of seven Southwestern states. Tomorrow will find them in Sioux City, Iowa, for a similar meeting. On Thursday they will arrive in Knoxville, Tenn., on their "pulse-feeling" expedition.

It is an intelligent idea. It allows them to find out what regional leaders are thinking. And what they want.

Everywhere Southern political leaders are accepting the nominees and announcing they will remain with the party and support the ticket. If they are not enthusiastic about Sen. Kefauver, they are less so about Richard B. Nixon. If they are not entirely happy with the platform, they are much less pleased with that of the Republicans.

The South's best interests, it seems to us, lie with the Democratic Party. It is the only national party which seeks to balance the needs of all regions. We are pleased to see and have earnestly sought to bring about the development of the two-party system in Georgia. We will continue to do that. But the Republican Party leadership for three and a half years has revealed it will not follow the President's leadership and we see no signs to indicate it will if Mr. Eisenhower wins again. This, added to the Democratic platform on agriculture and small business, makes all the more obvious the fact the South should stay with the party.

We trust that State Committee Chairman John Sammons Bell will attend the meeting in Knoxville Thursday and announce his support of the nominees. His personal prejudices should not override the party and the state. He represents the Democrats, not himself.

The Democratic congressmen and senators will suffer if the Republicans regain control of the House and Senate. Friends of former Gov. Herman Talmadge, for example, should work for the Democratic nominees as hard as they do for him. He will, if elected to the Senate, be in a much better position if the Democrats control that body. For our congressmen and senators to lose their chairmanships and committee positions would be a severe blow.

Therefore, we ask former Gov. Talmadge and Chairman Bell to join with others and announce their support of the ticket. That support should be, on the basis of common-sense evaluation of what it means to Georgia's congressional delegations, a sincere, hard-working effort to pile up a real majority. We cannot afford to "go fishing" or to bolt.

South Carolina's governor, George Bell Timmerman Jr., yesterday blistered President Eisenhower and the Republicans and announced his unequivocal endorsement of the ticket. Gov. Marvin Griffin was present. We trust he, too, will announce on his return home a position which places him alongside Gov. Timmerman.

Alabama's Indifference To The Political Conventions

Advertiser

THERE appears to be a remarkable lack of interest in Alabama in the Democratic and Republican Conventions, the first of which begins next

week. You might almost say that Alabama really doesn't care whether the two parties even hold a convention.

Not the least reason for this indifference is the sense that the South is without friends in either party. To the Alabamian it seems that both parties are simply formations of armies which array three-quarters of the nation against the fourth, the South.

In the case of what is the supreme issue to the South, there is no thought of the South prevailing. The only kind of victory in the convention that is even imagined is one in which the South is not more brutishly poked and misused as a chained hostage to the fortunes of the two parties in North than it was in 1952.

It is all these years since the Civil War and the South has given dog-like devotion to the Democratic Party. In some elections the South was all the Democratic Party was. Its reward has come to be baiting as of the village idiot.

As a matter of fact, its undeviating loyalty has been idiotic. Had the South asserted an independence of the Democratic Party some years ago, had it demonstrated that the Republican Party could successfully bid for its votes, had it ceased yapping about how Grandpap always voted nothing but Democratic—it would not be used as a pawn as it is today.

The South's circumstance is well understood if you put yourself in the place of a national party planner. He cares not more for the North than he does for the South, his business is amassing enough electoral votes to win the Presidency. Be he a Democratic or Republican strategist, he knows that no matter how much the South is inflamed over its role as whipping boy, and no matter if the people in a state like Alabama grow rebellious enough to give 46% or 48% of its popular vote to the GOP—traditional, inert yellow dog allegiance to the Democratic label will get the electoral vote for the Democrats, and that's all you count.

Therefore, both parties compete with one another in contriving enticing civil rights planks to win the minority votes in the pivotal Big Bertha states of the North. Why not? The GOP knows that it can't quite win the South; the Democrats know that they can't quite lose the South.

So the heck with the South.

We waited too late.

You have got to hand it to the colored brother on this; he demonstrated more gumption than the whites. After all, the Republican Party was, in the case of the Negro, the "party of *his* fathers" and for a long time, like today's white Democrat, he voted 'er straight. Along came Roosevelt and the Negro took up the offer of a better deal, transferring his affiliation to the Democrats, the ancient enemy. The Southern white remained a Democrat, heedless and immovable. Now look at him.

IKE

PLATFORMS

They Stand On

COMPARED

Plank-by-Plank

ADLAI

Straw Vote Shows Students For Ike, Faculty For Adlai

Wed. 8-15-56

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 8 — Eisenhower was victorious by 491 votes to 231 over Stevenson in a straw ballot for president held at the Atlanta University summr school on Tuesday. There were nine votes for Harriman, two for Kefauver, and ne each for Warren and Russell.

Although the votes as a whole showed an overwhelming preference for Eisenhower, the faculty and staff gave Stevenson a slight edge, voting 38 for Stevenson, 35 for Eisenhower, and three for Harriman. The 743 ballots cast represented more than 50 per cent of those eligible to vote, much higher than the voting average in the south, according to Dr. C. A. Cascote, professor of history at Atlanta University, who arranged the straw vote.

The results of the election differed sharply from a recent Gallup Poll of northern and western Negro voters, which sowed 77 per Party and 69 per cent favoring Stevenson as president. The Atlanta University poll showed less thar 33 per cent for Stevenson.

In a poll taken at Atlanta University in 1952, Stevenson was the winner by three to one.

Commenting on the results, Dr. Robert Martin, professor of political science at Howard University, and Dr. Robert Brisbane of Morehouse College, both members of the Atlanta University summer school faculty, said that although the results were indicative of Republican gains in the University community, they probably were not representative of the middle class where the Republican Party had made greater gains than among the lower income group.

"The northern Negro is more concerned with economic gains, the southern with civil rights," they said. "The southern Negro is hit by the civil rights issue every day in the press and in his daily life, and he may respond emotionally by voting against the Democrats."

In accounting for the disparity between the Atlanta University results and those of the Gallup Poll, Dr. Bascote stressed the fact that the Negro voter has no part in the formal organization of South and said that the vote might be interpreted as a protest against the consideration shown to southern Democrats by the party, a vote against Eastland, Talmadge and Cook rather than a vote for Eisenhower. He was attempts by southern Democrats to outlaw the the results.

The undergraduate student voted 176 for Eusenhower, 73 for Stevenson, and two for Harriman, the graduates 280 for Eisenhower, 73 for Stevenson, and four for Harriman; two for Kefauver and one each for Warren and Russell.

The Battle of the Planks

The only real political issue in the coming Presidential campaign will be civil rights, and on the eve of the two party conventions, the rival masterminds are working on planks for the party platforms which will deal with the main issue in a way to alienate none and to please all concerned.

For the Republicans, this will not be a difficult task, and Senator Prescott Bush (R., Conn.), platform chairman for the GOP convention, predicts that the party will adopt a very strong civil rights plank, virtually without opposition, although, of course, in general terms.

For the Democrats, the task is going to be very tough because delegates to a Southern party caucus in Atlanta last week agreed to form a bloc to act on the civil rights issue and to prevent the liberal wing of Democrats from dictating a plank unacceptable to the South.

This will certainly take a lot of doing because, on this issue of civil rights, the Democratic party is split right down the Mason-Dixon Line, and the crucial Negro voters are not disposed to swallow a pack of weasel words as they did in 1952 when Senator Sparkman wrote the plank.

All thought of bolting their party this year has been forcibly dismissed by the Southern Democrat leaders, whose sentiments were voiced by Florida delegate Ben Mont Tench, who warned: "If anybody starts talking bolt at this caucus, I'll bolt right out of it."

Considering all of these varied and divergent factors, it is going to be interesting to see by what wizardry the Democrat platform-writers will be able to concoct a plank satisfactory to Negro voters everywhere and white Democrats North and South.

So far, it would seem that the battle of civil rights planks will be rather a one-sided one because the Republicans can talk straight while the Democrats will find it difficult, if not impossible, to match them.

34d 1956

Stevenson's Stand Stronger Than Nixon's, Both Planks

The burning issue of the 1956 presidential campaign unquestionably will be integration of public schools as ordered by the United States Supreme Court. Bal. Amer. cal. 4

Neither party covered itself with glory by the evasive planks adopted at conventions in Chicago and San Francisco.

The Republicans, after a nudge from Mr. Eisenhower, softened a proposed strong stand on the subject. Bal. 10-6-56

The GOP merely "accepted" the Supreme Court edict and "concurred" in the court's instruction that desegregation must be brought about with "all deliberate speed."

It adopted the premise that "education, understanding and goodwill" would be more effective than anything else in securing compliance and rejected "the use of force by any agency."

But the Republicans did favor "the work of the courts being" supported by every legal manner by all branches of the Federal government.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATIC plank, a shade weaker, "recognized" that the Supreme Court decision was the law of the land, but rejected "all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts."

Last week candidates of bothe parties for the first time since the campaign began sought to come to grips with the integration question.

The Democratic candidate, Adlai Stevenson, displaying his usual candor, chose a Southern city, Little Rock, Arkansas, to bare his views.

The Republican vice presidential candidate, Richard M. Nixon, also selected Dixie locales, Houston and Louisville, to spell out his party's position.

Mr. Nixon, in both cities, said solution of the problem was primarily the responsibility of local communities, not the Federal government.

Further, he expressed a preference for a "moderate, steady advance toward integration," but backed away from even this timid approach with the assertion, "We won't solve this until there is a change in the hearts of men."

Thus Mr. Nixon's position is disappointingly weaker than his party's not-too-strong platform.

* * *

IN MARKED CONTRAST, Mr. Stevenson at Little Rock, let it be known that he not only accepts the desegregation ruling, but that he believes it was right.

While recognizing that many of his hearere disagreed with that view, Mr. Stevenson nevertheless affirmed that now under the Constitution segregated schools were not permissible and all law-abiding citizens must comply with the court's ruling.

Further, he expressed confidence that the decision would be carried out as prescribed by the Supreme Court and reiterated his party's platform rejection of the "use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts."

Moreover, he repeated his belief that the office of the President should be "used to bring together those of opposing views to create a climate for peaceful acceptance," something that Mr. Eisenhower has consistently refused to do.

* * *

WE THINK Mr. Stevenson's forthright and courageous Little Rock statement elevates him from the politician class to the exalted rank of statesman.

Not only is his position stronger than that of Mr. Nixon, it goes far beyond either the Democratic or Republican platforms.

That his bold endorsement of the court's decision as right was enthusiastically applauded by his Southern audience is a welcome indication that the White Citizens Councils and Ku Klux Klan by no means represent the majority opinion in the segregation states.

SOUTH WILL KEEP COMMITTEE HEADS

Times P. 30-C

Democrats Remain in Key Posts — One Change in Senate, 2 in House

Thurs. 11-8-56

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 7—Democratic Congressional victories assure that most important committee chairmanships in both houses will remain in the hands of Southern members.

In the Senate, the only change will be in the Foreign Relations Committee, whose chairman, Walter F. George of Georgia, retired recently to become a special envoy to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. His seat will be taken by Senator Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island.

There will be two changes in chairmanships in the House of Representatives. Representative Thomas S. Gordon of Illinois will head the Foreign Affairs Committee, replacing James P. Richards of South Carolina, who has retired.

The House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee will get a new hcairman because of the death of Representative J. Percy Priest of Tennessee. He will be succeeded by Oren Harris of Arkansas.

Following is a complete list of committee chairmen and ranking Republican members:

SENATE

AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY—Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana, chairman; George D. Aiken of Vermont, Republican.

APPROPRIATIONS—Carl Hayden of Arizona, chairman; Styles Bridges of New Hampshire, Republican.

ARMED SERVICES—Richard B. Russell of Georgia, chairman; Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Republican.

BANKING AND CURRENCY—J. William Fulbright of Arkansas, chairman; Homer E. Capehart of Indiana, Republican.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—Matthew M. Neely of West Virginia, chairman; J. Glenn Beall of Maryland, Republican.

FINANCE—Harry F. Byrd of Virginia, chairman; Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, Republican (because of retirement of ranking Republican Eugene D. Millikin of Colorado).

FOREIGN RELATIONS—Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island, chairman; Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, Republican.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS—John L. McClellan of Arkansas, chairman; Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, Republicanism.

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—James E. Murray of Montana, chairman; George W. Malone of Nevada, Republican (also because of Senator Millikin's retirement).

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE—Warren G. Magnuson of Washington, chairman; John W. Bricker of Ohio, Republican.

JUDICIARY—James O. Eastland of Mississippi, chairman; Alexander Wiley of Wisconsin, Republican.

LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE—Lister Hill of Alabama, chairman; H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, Republican.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE—Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, chairman; Frank Carlson of Kansas, Republican.

PUBLIC WORKS—Dennis Chavez of New Mexico, chairman; Edward Martin of Pennsylvania, Republican.

RULES AND ADMINISTRATION—Thomas C. Hennings Jr. of Missouri, chairman (probable, since both Senator Green and Senator Hayden, who outrank him, have other chairmanships); William E. Jenner of Indiana, Republican.

HOUSE

AGRICULTURE—Harold C. Cooley of North Carolina, chairman; August H. Andresen of Minnesota, Republican.

APPROPRIATIONS—Clarence Cannon of Missouri, chairman; John Taber of New York, Republican.

ARMED SERVICES—Carl Vinson of Georgia, chairman; Dewey Short of Missouri, Republican.

BANKING AND CURRENCY—Brent Spence of Kentucky, chairman; Henry O. Talle of Iowa, Republican.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA—John B. McMillan of South Carolina, chairman; Sid Simpson of Illinois, Republican.

EDUCATION AND LABOR—Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, chairman; Samuel K. McConnell Jr. of Pennsylvania, Republican.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—Thomas S. Gordon of Illinois, chairman; Robert B. Chiperfield of Illinois, Republican.

GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS—William L. Dawson of Illinois, chairman; Clare E. Hoffman of Michigan, Republican.

HOUSE ADMINISTRATION—Omar Burleson of Texas, chairman; Karl M. LeCompte of Iowa, Republican.

INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—Clair Engle of California, chairman; A. L. Miller of Nebraska, Republican.

INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE—Oren Harris of Arkansas, chairman; Charles A. Wolverton of New Jersey, Republican.

JUDICIARY—Emanuel Celler of New York, chairman; Kenneth B. Keating of New York, Republican.

MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES—Herbert C. Bonner of North Carolina, chairman; Thor C. Tollefson of Washington, Republican.

POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE—Tom Murray of Tennessee, chairman; Edward H. Rees of Kansas, Republican.

PUBLIC WORKS—Charles A. Buckley of New York, chairman; J. Harry McGregor of Ohio, Republican.

RULES—Howard W. Smith of Virginia, chairman; Leo E. Allen of Illinois, Republican.

UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES—Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, chairman; Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney of New York, Republican.

VETERANS' AFFAIRS—Olin E. Teague of Texas, chairman; Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts, Republican.

WAYS AND MEANS—Jere Cooper of Tennessee, chairman; Daniel A. Reed of New York, Republican.

The Voters Speak

World-Telegram + Sun 10-13

Splits in 'Solid South' Getting Wider

By SAMUEL LUBELL

In a curiously unexpected way this year's Presidential election seems to be contributing to the further development of two-party politics in the South.

Samuel Lubell

True, there is little prospect of President Eisenhower's repeating his 1952 feat of winning four southern states. Even in Florida and Virginia, where he is holding surprisingly well in the cities, his chances may be killed off by many of his 1952 supporters turning to a third party, as I've explained previously.

Still, even if Adlai Stevenson manages to sweep all southern states, it would be a mistake to think this means the South is slipping back into its old, unchallenged one-party mold.

To the contrary, the emotions that have been stirred by this year's election, in my judgment, are weakening rather than strengthening the Democratic party and are preparing the ground for future splits in the "Solid South."

See 'No Difference.'

The fact that so many southerners see "no difference" between President Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson on desegregation has led many to feel, as one Miamian said: "The parties don't mean a thing." When I asked two courthouse officials in Putnam County, Florida, whether they were sticking with President Eisenhower or going back to the Democrats, they retorted: "There is no Democratic party any more."

Even the Southerners who are returning to the ancestral fold are not doing so with evident enthusiasm. One retired engineer explained why he wouldn't vote for Ike again in these words: "All things being equal, a man ought to stick with his party."

Similarly, a painter in Georgia remarked: "I don't feel strongly about either candidate. But, since I've been a Democrat all my life, I'll go back to my party."

The feeling that "both parties are after the Negro's vote" is having another significant effect: It is making it easier for southerners to vote their economic interest. This year's election, in fact, could prove a more revealing test of how the South feels on economic issues than any election since the depression.

Business is 'So Good.'

In Richmond, for example, a 55-year-old contractor was sticking with President Eisenhower because "my business has never been so good." He shrugged off the segregation question by saying: "If I have to go the same way, I'd rather have Eisenhower do the driving."

Other voters, I have noticed, seem to decide their preference on the basis of other issues and then proceed to argue that either Mr. Stevenson or President Eisenhower is "a little more for states rights" than the other.

One young housewife was shifting to Ike because "we're at peace and things are going fine." Asked how she rated the candidates on segregation, she replied, "I think Eisenhower wants each governor to handle it himself."

In contrast, an irate Florida farmer coupled a denunciation of rising farm costs with, "I can't say I like Stevenson's stand on segregation. Still it's better for the South than Eisenhower's."

When you consider how southerners divide on economic lines, a striking fact emerges—the division is much the same as that found in the North.

Leaning to Ike.

In Putnam County, Florida, for example, I found most of Palatka's merchants and the managers of the corporate farms nearby preferred Ike to Adlai. Several said: "I'll either vote for a third party or Eisenhower but never for Stevenson. He's just another Truman."

Mr. Stevenson, in contrast, was the choice of the smaller farmers and mill workers.

Again in the middle-class Shenandoah district of Miami, President Eisenhower was losing only three out of the 20 persons I interviewed who had been for Harry Truman in 1948 and Mr. Eisenhower in 1952.

The return to the Democratic party was heaviest among workers and in the Jewish neighborhoods, where the feeling against Vice President Nixon and how Secretary of State John Foster Dulles has handled Israel runs rather strong.

Further evidence that the South's voting is realigning to become more like the North's can be seen in the reasons people give in explaining how they're going to vote. The most common pro-Democratic arguments are: "I'm a working man and the Democrats are best for me." Or, as a young Miami teacher put it: "We don't like all the good things in this country being cornered by a few rich people."

On the pro-Republican side, the comments usually run: "We're at peace," or "times are good," or "Eisenhower has done a good job."

SOUTH TO BE TOP DOG IF DEMOCRATS WIN

Commercial Appeal

19 Of 32 Chairmanships In Congress At Stake

Memphis, Tenn.

POSSIBLE LINEUPS GIVEN

Special to The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31. — A Democratic sweep in the Nov. 6 elections would make the South top dog in Congress while a Republican one would concentrate power in the Midwest.

This conclusion comes from an analysis by Congressional Quarterly, a private research organization, on who would become congressional committee chairmen in either case. The committee chairman is the powerful middleman between a bill and the floor of the Senate or House where it comes up for a vote. The chairman is in a strong position to expedite a bill he likes or block one he opposes by delaying it to death or distorting it so drastically with amendments that it would never stand a chance of passage on the floor.

Here's How It Works

The party with the most members in the Senate or the House wins all the committee chairmanships. The Democrats go into the election filling all the chairmanships by virtue of a 49-47 lead over the Republicans in the Senate and a 232-203 edge in the House.

The member who has served longest on a congressional committee becomes its chairman when a vacancy occurs. This seniority system — a custom, not a rule—would give the South 9 out of 14 major committee chairmanships in the Senate and 11 out of 18 in the House if the Democrats retained their majority in both chambers.

A Republican majority in both chambers would put Midwesterners in charge of eight Senate committees and nine on the House side. The Northeast would be a close second in committee chairmen power under a GOP sweep with five Northeast Senators and seven Representatives in line for the posts.

The remainder of the geographical representation under a Democratic victory in both chambers: Senate—West, 4; Northeast, 1; House—West, 1; Midwest, 3; Northeast, 3. Under a Republican sweep: Senate — West, 1; House—West, 2.

Help To President

In addition to speeding or slowing legislation to satisfy personal convictions or the voters back home, a committee chairman can be a help or hindrance to a President's program. President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson, Democratic presidential candidate, already have stressed in their campaigns the importance of getting a Congress of their party elected along with them.

Mr. Eisenhower said: "I believe that as a normal thing our country is best served when the White House and the Congress are both run by the same political party for the simple reason that you can then fix responsibility."

Mr. Stevenson said: "I am sure it is even more important for me to have a Democratic-controlled Congress than it is for Mr. Eisenhower to have a Republican-controlled Congress because a large portion of the achievements of the Eisenhower Administration have been accomplished only through the help of a Democratic Congress."

Congressional Quarterly Eisenhower support and opposition figures for the 84th Congress (1955-56) show that a Republican sweep would give Mr. Eisenhower more friendly chairmen on all but four Congressional committees. The statistics show the percentage of times a member of Congress supported or opposed the President's announced position on 117 Eisenhower-issue roll calls in the Senate and 75 Eisenhower-issue roll calls in the House.

What 'Ike' Would Lose

Mr. Eisenhower, if re-elected along with a GOP Congress, would lose 16 percentage points worth of support through the advancement of Senator William Langer (R., N.D.) to chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee in place of Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.); eight percentage points through the advancement of Representative Dewey Short (R., Mo.) to the House Armed Services Committee in place of Representative Carl Vinson (D., Ga.); six percentage points through the advancement of Representative Bernard W. 'Pat' Kearney (R., N.Y.) to the House UnAmerican Activities Committee, and 17 percentage points through the advancement of Representative Daniel A. Reed (R., N.Y.) to the House Ways and Means Committee in place of Representative Jere Cooper (D., Tenn.)

Those losses, however, would be more than offset by big gains he would make under other switches. Past performance statistics indicate Mr. Eisenhower would gain 37 percentage points worth of support through the advancement of Senator George Aiken (R., Vt.) to the chairmanship of the Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee in place of Senator Allen J. Ellender Sr. (D., La.); 52 percentage points through the advancement of Senator Leverett Saltonstall (R., Mass.) to the Senate Armed Services Committee in place of Senator Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.); 42 percentage points through the advancement of Senator Edward Martin (R., Penn.) to the Senate Finance Committee in place of Senator Harry Flood Byrd (D., Va.); 40 percentage points through the advancement of Senator H. Alexander Smith (R. N.J.) to the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee in place of Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.); and 44 percentage points through the advancement of Senator Frank Carlson (R., Kan.) in place of Senator Olin D. Johnston (D., S.C.)

We Endorse Eisenhower

AMERICA has flourished under President Eisenhower for four years. The American people are buoyant, confident, prosperous, at peace. The President commands public trust and confidence in a measure unsurpassed by any other President. Therefore, *The Advertiser* and *Alabama Journal* consider it logical

to entrust America's destinies to President Eisenhower for another four years. In doing so, *The Advertiser* and *The Journal* emphasize they are Independent—belonging to neither party—and that it does not endorse all the platform planks of either party. But a choice must be made between Eisenhower and Stevenson, for one will be President.

President Eisenhower would not be an experiment. Stevenson, no matter how high you rate him, would be an experiment. To borrow the words of the orator who keynoted the 1944 Democratic convention that renominated Roosevelt, "Why take a winning pitcher out of the box?"

The Advertiser-Journal could scarcely do other than support Eisenhower since his performance has so largely fulfilled the expectations described when we first declared for him in January, 1952. At that time *The Advertiser* said:

The Advertiser joins hands with Eisenhower, over the reeking carcass of the Truman party, for two basic reasons—

¶ Now and evidently for years to come, the most important thing of all to America is war—avoidance of war if possible, preparedness if it comes. All else is subordinate to that . . . No man living today combines mastery of both weapons and diplomacy in the same degree as Eisenhower . . .

¶ In the course of the coming years of struggle with Russia, America, on whom the Western World's fortunes depend, must have a stable and wholesome government . . . Nor will it be a time for adventures in government reform and experimental convulsions. It will be a season for a President who can be described as a moderate.

This assessment of Eisenhower seems to us as sound after four years of performance as it was when made in 1952.

★

THERE have, to be sure, been failures of foreign policy. But the man Eisenhower remains the most authoritative and influential agent of peace in the world. What folly would it be to sacrifice this authority and influence.

★

IN OUR domestic affairs there have been no convulsions of governmental reform and rash experiment for the sake of experiment.

What is perhaps most descriptive of Eisenhower domestic policies is the shrill cry of Democrats—all in one breath—that the President is (1) a tool of McKinley reactionaries bent on returning to the past; (2) that he has swiped the New Deal and expanded it; (3) that Democrats in Congress supported him more faithfully than did Republicans.

The contradictions of this cry are obvious.

It is plain that the undergirding of Eisenhower's philosophy is the belief—based on 2,500 years of human experience from the ancient Greek states on down—that as far as possible, public affairs should be left to the operation of natural laws; that government intervention in economic affairs with man-made laws is very likely to be erroneous; that the government should intervene when there is no other course.

★

IN THE field of domestic affairs where lies chief concern of Alabamians, *The Advertiser* and *Journal* can offer no more than cold comfort. Eisenhower does not agree with Alabamians about segregation, any more than does Stevenson—nor any other man who will reach the White House.

Eisenhower and Stevenson, the Republicans and the Democrats, cancel each other out on the race issue as far as Alabama is concerned.

Both endorse the Supreme Court decision. Neither believes in the bayonet approach to compliance.

In one provable respect Eisenhower is more temperate and more acceptable to Alabamians than Stevenson.

Stevenson believes in a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act, which would create an apparatus of federal cops to harass and intercede in the employment practices of every merchant in Alabama, stripping them of their freedom to reject a job applicant because of race prejudice. Stevenson has repeatedly—most recently in Harlem—cited with pride his efforts as Governor of Illinois to enact a state FEPC.

Eisenhower opposes FEPC as unwarranted police interference.

★

BE IT remembered that Eisenhower is unique in the line of American Presidents because of the greedy determination of both political parties to nominate him. In fact, Truman went so far in 1945 at Potsdam as to offer to run for vice president on an Eisenhower ticket. The Democrats, of course, wish until this day that he had cast his lot with them. They are against him because his name is Republican.

★

NOT the least motivation of millions of Americans and thousands of Alabamians in voting for Eisenhower in '52 was the necessity of cleansing the government of the Truman plunderers. That motivation has been more or less erased by the purging of the last four years. The Stevenson crowd swarms with Truman cronies who would like to return to the scene of their crimes, but we must say in candor that it does not seem likely that Stevenson would surrender to that blight.

That reason for supporting Eisenhower is substantially dissolved, but his first four years have dissolved two other considerations that kept thousands of Alabamians from obeying the impulse to vote for Eisenhower:

¶ Many Alabamians were sincerely in fear of a "military mind." None of the characteristics of the "military mind" appeared in the President. In fact, until recently the Democrats were assailing Eisenhower for disabling our security by whittling down the armed services (though at the moment the tinkerer Stevenson demands an end of the draft and the end of nuclear experiments). Otherwise Eisenhower has been one of the most conciliatory and least imperious of the line of Presidents. And even if he were a "military mind" in '52, he is today, by experience and training, a "civilian mind" because he is an American politician who has served one term as President and is making an orthodox race for another.

¶ But a more powerful deterrent than all the rest for many Alabamians in '52 was the dread that Republicans meant depression. This is utterly contradicted by U.S. history, but the anxiety worked powerfully. As a matter of fact, after four years, we enjoy a prosperity unmatched in American history.

"Why take a winning pitcher out of the box?"—*R. F. Hudson Jr., Publisher*

We Like Both Ike and Adlai

We like Ike and we like Adlai.

Both are honest, sincere and capable.

If either one is elected to the Presidency, this country is assured of good government.

There is reasonable evidence that either one of them is healthy enough to stand four years of a rigorous White House schedule.

We see no reason to get excited if the voters should elect Nixon or Kefauver as the Vice President of the United States. Each of them has had long and honorable service in the Senate.

* * *

THERE IS little difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms on civil rights. This issue is most vital to us and to the nation.

Both parties could be more militant to protect all citizens in their rights to work, to vote without intimidation, to secure justice in the courts, and to enjoy free use of public institutions.

Both voice the outmoded view that laws counter to public opinion cannot be enforced.

Republicans and Democrats, Eisenhower and Stevenson, have expressed the belief that laws will not be obeyed until men's hearts are changed.

Abraham Lincoln agonized over the same problem 100 years ago, and in the Lincoln-Douglas debates arrived at this conclusion:—that laws counter to public opinion can be enforced, if public opinion is WRONG.

* * *

UNDER LINCOLN and his successors, the nation enacted and enforced the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments.

Public opinion in the Southern States yielded, because public opinion was wrong.

These Amendments are the law of the land.

As to other issues:—The nation is at peace, employment is at its highest peak in history, the budget is balanced, and some taxes have been reduced. This is the situation today as Mr. Eisenhower nears the end of four years as President.

Under the law, a President may, if elected, serve two terms.

No President, who has established a good record in his first four years in office, has been denied re-election for a second term, if he desired it.

Mr. Eisenhower desires a second term.

His record is reasonably good.

We think he should be re-elected.

NEGRO VOTE SURE, DEMOCRATS TOLD

Capital Rally Hears Truman Call Party Responsible for Most Racial Gains

By BESS FURMAN

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20—The Negro vote will stay with Democrats, party leaders said at a biracial women's luncheon here today.

Former President Harry S. Truman advised the women not to "be blinded by brass, a halo, and a little glamour."

"The brass is tarnished and the halo is about to fall off," he said. "If we Democrats get to work we can win."

Mr. Truman said that Negroes had advanced farther under four Democratic Presidents since the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1869 than they had under eleven Republican Presidents. He said enforcement of that amendment, which gave Negroes the vote, "didn't start until Franklin D. Roosevelt became President."

"It is action, not words, that count," said Mr. Truman. "All the words in a political platform mean nothing without action."

Mr. Truman told of campaigning this year on a special car through Minnesota, "just like 1948," and of having President Eisenhower visit the state soon afterwards.

'Must Be Scared Green'

"They must be scared green when they send a President of the United States out to lick a retired farmer from Missouri," he said.

He then called on "the distaff side" to get out the Democratic vote in "this most important campaign since 1932."

Representative William L. Dawson of Chicago praised Mr. Truman for having outlawed segregation in the Armed Forces and for staging "the first non-segregated inaugural ball."

"I've got so tired of hearing what Eisenhower did for us," he said. "I wanted you to meet the man who really set the pace — Harry S. Truman. When he left the White House there was no question that America was the leader of the free world. We know now the difference between performance and promises made by the Republicans."

Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, former Ambassador to Denmark, said:

"When I think of the high point at which American prestige stood abroad in 1952, and where we stand today, I tremble at the thought of Eisenhower being re-elected, and I shudder at the thought of Richard Nixon."

She also told the luncheon guests at the Shoreham Hotel that she had been traveling with Adlai E. Stevenson on his campaign trips. She reported that the crowds had been "fantastic in size and enthusiasm."

She said that Mr. Stevenson's proposal for stopping tests of hydrogen bombs, while at the same time maintaining military leadership, showed that he "can restore creative constructive policy to lead all free nations."

Sure on 'Another 1948'

"This is another 1948. I am as sure of it as I stand here," Mrs. Anderson said. Her reference was to the year of the surprise victory of Mr. Truman.

Mrs. Anne Hedgeman, assistant to Mayor Wagner of New York, said that she had just traveled through the Suez Canal area, Jordan and Israel, and had found that "straight across that area we are hated and misunderstood."

"Even if Eisenhower makes a trip to Suez, don't be fooled," she said. "A friend of mine in Greece said, 'If you re-elect Foster Dulles you can kiss the Middle East good-by.'"

Mrs. Edith Sampson of Chicago said:

"You hear a lot about the Negro vote going somewhere. It is going to stay where it is, in the Democratic party. Negroes are mature in their thinking. They know their friends. The Democratic party has brought peace abroad and at home. I have traveled the Middle East and I know the anti-American feeling there is due to the mistreatment of the Negro in this country."

India Edwards, former vice chairman of the Democratic party, joined Mrs. G. Mennen Williams, wife of the Governor of Michigan, in saying that women would vote Democratic because of the rising cost of living.

34d 1956

Both parties ban appeals to race, religious bigotry in '56 campaign

Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-11-56

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Both the Republican and Democratic parties are committed this year to presidential campaigns without appeals to racial and religious bigotry.

Leonard W. Hall, Republican national chairman, and Paul M. Butler, Democratic national chairman, have endorsed the position of the clergy and civic groups that such appeals be eliminated from election campaigns.

Mr. Hall announced Sunday that he had joined such leaders in opposing political arguments and statements based on bias or prejudice and agreed to "condemn publicly and emphatically" such actions.

* * *

CHAIRMAN HALL'S pledge was contained in a letter addressed to the Rev. Eugene C. Blake, president of the National Council of Churches in Christ in the U.S.A.; Archbishop Edwin V. O'Hara, Bishop of the Catholic Diocese of Kansas City; Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, president of the Synagogue Council of America;

Mrs. Mildred McAfee Horton, chairman of Christian life and work of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.; George N. Shuster, N.Y.C., and Irvin M. Engel, president of the American Jewish Committee.

In his letter, Mr. Hall also agreed to forward copies of the leaders' statement and his endorsement to Republican state chairmen, with the request that they send them to candidates, district leaders and workers.

HE IS DOING this, he said, to the end that the election campaigns are "in every sense free and worthy of a nation founded on the principles of brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God."

In a telegram to the six national leaders, Mr. Butler pledged his wholehearted support of their goal.

He also announced that he was calling on "all leaders and members of our party to carry out the high principles so firmly set forth in the statement."

He added that the Democratic party "will not condone any activity involving racial or rligious bigotry and will again, as we have in the past, work vigorously to prevent any such activity from developing on any level in the campaign."

No "Secession," But—

FROM the NEW YORK TIMES

Daily World, N.Y.C.
Tues. 7-24-56
Atlanta Ga.

The unanimous declaration of seven Southern Democratic state chairmen on party loyalty, party unity and civil rights is an interesting political document. It makes completely clear what was already evident, that there is little taste this year for anything along the lines of the "secession of 1948, when the bolt was real and earnest. "We do not favor any bolts, walk-outs or third parties. We believe in the two-party system," said the seven chairmen. There is every reason to believe them.

This is not to say that an open split is inconceivable; but it is unlikely. The South, as represented by its leading political figures, is watchful, worried and suspicious lest the segregation issue be pointed up so sharply at the convention that compromise becomes impossible. But it doesn't want to leave the party, if for no other reason than that it has nowhere else to go. The Republicans haven't seriously tried to build up a second party in the South. In the words of one Southern leader, the Southern Democrats just don't want to be "insulted" or embarrassed by their Northern brethern; they don't want to be "beaten over the head" by the liberals; they don't want the platform to draw the issue of civil rights and segregation too explicitly. Such a declaration as the 1952 platform contained would be sufficiently vague to satisfy the Southerners today.

The document of the seven chairmen is interesting not only because of what it deplores, i. e., division within the party, but also because of what it advocates, i. e., protection of "the rights of the states and of the people as guaranteed by the Constitution." It is fascinating to see how the same words can mean different things to different men. "The soverign rights of the states," "the constitutional guarantees," "the rights of the people," mean in the context of this document a continuation of the Supreme Court, a refusal to recognize complete equality of the franchise, of education or sometimes even of economic opportunity.

To most of the rest of us, the words mean quite the opposite. They mean quite the opposite to a major segment of the Democratic party, too; and it will be quite a task that Representative John McCormack of Massachusetts and his platform committee face in trying to reconcile the irreconcilable. Yet in the name of party harmony it has been done before and it will probably be done again. If it isn't, the Democratic convention will produce fireworks over something a good deal more fundamental than the question of which candidate is most likely to win.

GENERAL

Editorials

A Holy Alliance

As this piece is typed, Washington correspondents, taking their cue from key members of the Congress, have just about concluded that the United States Senate will quietly chloroform President Eisenhower's civil rights legislation if, as seems likely, it passes the House. This is a shameful confession knowledge aforehand of the imminence of foul play.

Courier Pitts. Pa. 7-21-56

The Eisenhower civil rights bills need not face death in the Senate unless there are enough REPUBLICAN Senators to condemn them. Filibusters, generally employed to kill such legislation, are always KEPT ALIVE by combinations or alliances of REPUBLICANS and SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS.

The President's bills face the threat of a filibuster in the Senate. The present disposition, therefore, is to give up on them, to let them die in committee. The Democrats don't want them to reach the floor of the Senate so that the Southern wing of the party can embarrass the Northern wing and jeopardize the party's chances in November.

If Republicans had the horse sense some of their supporters would like to attribute to them, it would seem that they would recognize this strategem and make the Democrats face up.

A filibuster may start in the Senate but it need be of very short duration if Republican Senators who are "using" Eisenhower decide for once to support him and avail themselves of the parliamentary device created by one of their own members to kill filibusters.

It was the late Senator Wherry, Republican from Nebraska, who had the rules of the Senate so revised that SIXTY-FOUR SENATORS, acting in concert, can kill a filibuster. That seemed like a formidable number at the time. It is not formidable at this time if Republican Senators want to support Ike and if just a few of them can persuade themselves to be as ardently for civil rights in this country as they would persuade us they are against the denial of civil rights behind the Iron Curtain.

There are NINETY-SIX votes in the Senate. Only TWENTY-TWO of them belong irrevocably to Manifesto states. That leaves SEVENTY-FOUR REPUBLICAN and DEMOCRATIC votes or Senators available to break the back of a filibuster.

These SEVENTY-FOUR Senators are made up of FORTY-SEVEN Republicans, TWENTY-SIX Democrats and ONE Independent.

Clearly, if the twenty-six Democrats and the one Independent voted for cloture, they could not win. But THEY CAN WIN if enough REPUBLICANS will vote WITH THEM. Again, who keep their ears to the ground think they WILL NOT. They regard reactionaries

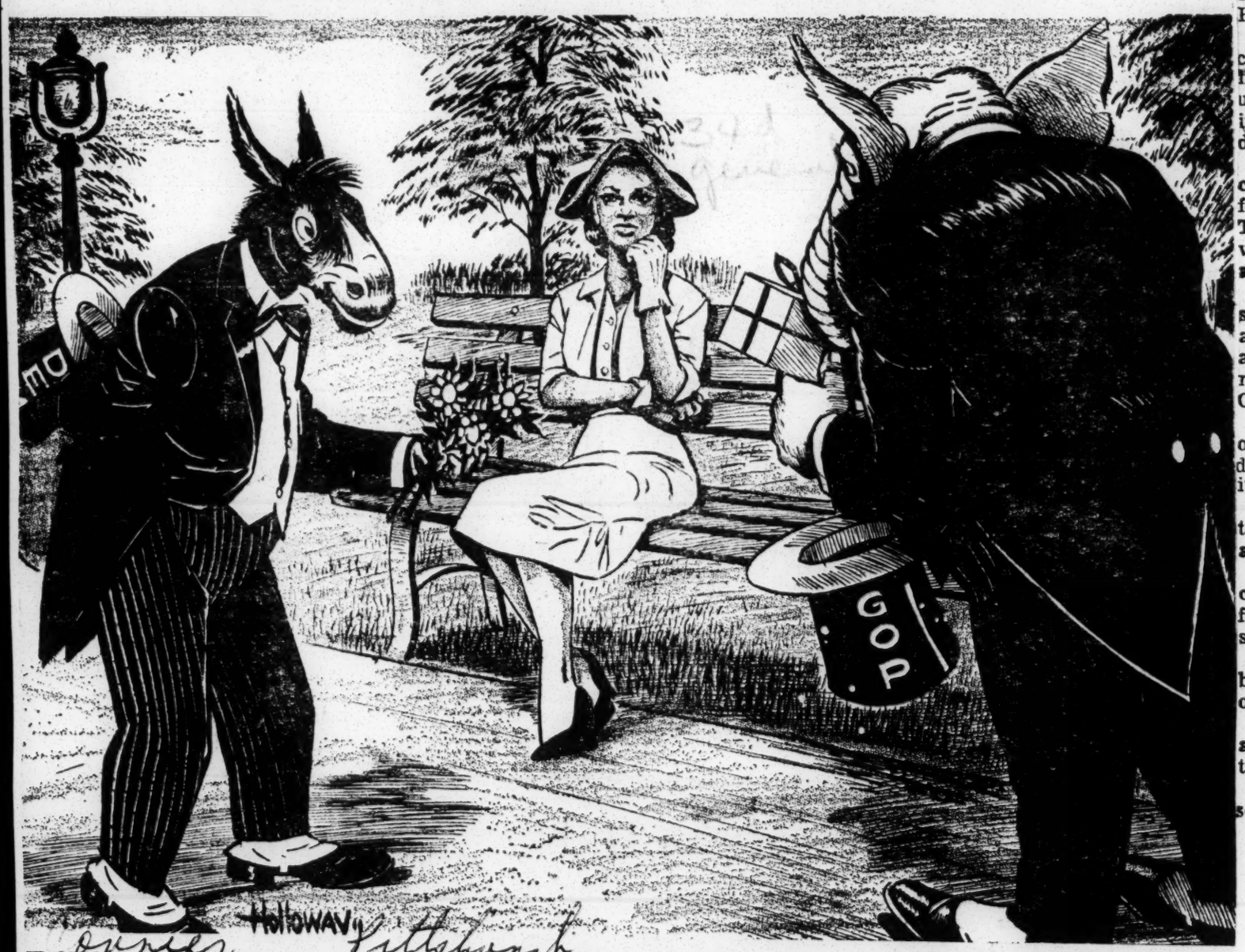
In the past, but frequently, conservative Northern Republicans have voted with conservative Southern Democrats in what has become notorious as an "unholy alliance."

However, it is up to each Republican Senator to SEARCH HIS OWN HEART and determine, in this instance, whether he is going to SUPPORT IKE or USE IKE.

WHAT'S YOUR ANSWER, MR. SENATOR?

When the civil rights bills reach the Senate, the Republican leadership, in response to the appeal of the President, has a chance to perfect a HOLY ALLIANCE, an alliance with Northern Democrats that will almost stop a filibuster before it gets started.

Center of Attention



BOTH the Democratic and Republican parties are wooing the Negro vote this year MORE than ever before because it will be CRUCIAL in the forthcoming presidential election.

A shift of a few hundred thousand Negro votes may well DECIDE the next occupant of the White House and the control of the Congress.

In the last presidential election just a few thousand Negro votes in some states DETERMINED the issue; in certain SOUTHERN states the Negro vote kept them from going Republican for the first time in decades.

This year the Negro vote is a coy and determined maiden whose DEMANDS are high because of the COMPETITION and because of a new realization of her IMPORTANCE.

No more is she to be won by vague and wordy PROMISES nor attracted by cheap verbal TRINKETS unworthy of her added importance and enhanced self-esteem.

This year she wants iron clad GUARANTEES that something concrete and VALUABLE will be given in exchange for her hand.

It will NOT suffice to merely TELL her about the wonders of Lincoln and Roosevelt nor to PLEDGE undying adherence to the Declaration of Independence.

This year she is demonstrating her new MATURITY by demanding everything the swains are ABLE to give, and assurance that she will get it.

She is determined to PROVE that the development of civilization is gauged by the VALUE placed upon womanhood.

BOTH parties will discover that THIS year the Negro vote is a fickle and designing maiden who is more concerned with MATERIAL than sentimental rewards.

The Planks Backfire

The fight of the Southern states for segregation is not going according to Hoyle.

At both the Republican and Democratic conventions, leading Southerners insisted on platform planks banning the use of force from any source in securing compliance to the Supreme Court decision on school integration.

And what happened? Hardly had the conventions adjourned before mobs formed in Tennessee, Kentucky and Texas at the opening of schools to prevent a handful of colored children from attending.

Disorders followed and it was necessary to call out the National Guard and State police to quell the disturbances. Governor Frank Clements who made the decision to call out the Guard in Tennessee said:

"If I'd waited 30 minutes more, some of our citizens would have been lying dead in the streets. That's how close it was.

"It was a terrible situation to have to face. The state couldn't stand by and tolerate it."

We knew and we said so when the conventions were adopting these non-force planks that they were silly and stupid.

No law is worth its salt that is not backed up by police power of the State or Federal government.

When the laws are defied by mobs and hooligans, government by and for the people will perish.

Any platform maker with common sense should have known this.

Republican, Afro-American Dixiecrat Sat. 7-14-56 bedfellows

Baltimore Md.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON — (XNPA)— An unholy alliance of Northern Republicans and unreconstructed Dixiecrats killed the Federal Aid to school construction bill Thursday. P.1

The vote was 224 to 194.

The vote of a majority of the Republicans against the measure was termed "massive hypocrisy" by Rep. Charles C. Diggs (D., Mich.), who supported the bill.

"The moral dishonesty of Republicans was hatched by a wilful band of little men from the South, who although their areas stood to benefit the most from this measure, were willing to sacrifice desperately needed new school construction rather than obtain funds by complying with the Supreme Court decision against segregation," he said.

* * *

HE ACCUSED the Republicans of voting with the Dixiecrats after voting for the Powell amendment to deny Federal funds to states which violate the law by maintaining segregated schools.

"Since the Dixiecrats were generally opposed to Federal aid to education anyway, the responsibility for the defeat of the bill lies squarely in the lap of the Republican party because Northern Democrats voted for the bill."

Rep. Charles A. Halleck, (R., Ind.) blamed the Democrats for defeat of the bill because they refused to accept amendments which would have brought the measure into line with the Eisenhower Administration's recommendations.

* * *

THE AMENDMENTS, offered by Rep. Samuel K. McConnell Jr., (R., Pa.) contained the Administration's formula for distributing grants to the states on the basis of need.

Before the vote on final passage, Mr. McConnell moved to recommit the bill to the House Education and Labor Committee with instructions to report the measure back immediately with his amendments in it.

His motion was rejected on a rollcall vote, 261 to 158.

Rep. John W. McCormack, of Massachusetts, the Democratic floor leader, on the other hand, said responsibility for defeat of the bill "rests on the Republican party."

He pointed out that "There were 119 Democrats who voted for passage of the bill and 75 Republicans, and 105 Democrats voted against the passage and 119 Republicans. I think that speaks for itself."

* * *

REP. KENNETH B. KEATING, (R., N.Y.) said that when the House adopted the Powell amendment, "the word apparently was passed around by the Democratic leadership to kill the bill entirely."

William L. Dawson, (D., Ill.) who had twice spoken and voted against the Powell anti-segregation amendments, voted for the bill, as did also Representative Adam Clayton Powell, (D., N.Y.) and Diggs.

All three voted against the McConnell motion to send the bill back to committee with instructions to report it back immediately.

In a surprise move, the Powell anti-segregation amendment was stricken from the bill during general debate Thursday. But a revised version was later added as a new title and was in the bill which was finally rejected.

* * *

EARLIER, Rep. Graham Barden (D., N.C.) chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee, denounced the bill.

After the Powell amendment had been tentatively accepted on July 3, Barden registered disgust and there were reports that he might not call up the bill for a final vote. This is one of the prerogatives of a chairman.

If that was his intention, after a conference Thursday with Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas, Barden changed his mind, but told reporters he "was washing my hands of it."

He told the House that he had "definitely reached the conclusion that the American people do not want this legislation in its present form."

Barden said "Certain things have happened to the bill that make it very, very obnoxious and objectionable to the people I represent."

He added that "no one need expect any assistance from me or any encouragement for the bill."

* * *

WITH THAT he walked out. Rep. Augustine B. Kelley, (D., Pa.) author of the bill, moved over to the chairman's seat at the committee table.

The parliamentary situation amendment was cleared when Rep. Francis E. Walters, (D., Pa.) presiding, replying to Rep. James Roosevelt, (D., Calif.) said adoption of the Gwinn amendment had stricken all previous amendments, including the Powell amendment

Walter also ruled that there would be no further opportunity to vote for or against the original Powell amendment.

Before debate closed on the bill, the House adopted a new title to the measure banning aid to states operating segregated schools.

* * *

POWELL OFFERED an amendment providing that title IV be added to the bill prohibiting Federal funds to be "allotted or transferred to any state which fails to comply with with the provisions of the Supreme Court."

Powell explained that the "provisions of the Supreme Court" are lenient and require states to move "with all deliberate speed.

As he read the Powell amendment, Halleck told the House, it seemed to him that it took "account of that part of the Supreme Court decision that has to do with the matter of timing."

Rep. Carl Albert, (D., Okla.) questioned Powell's use of the term "provisions of the Supreme Court." He said such a phrase could mean "the equal but separate doctrine."

* * *

POWELL OFFERED to change the word "provisions" to decisions if he could get unanimous consent to do so, but Albert objected.

Roosevelt offered an amendment to meet criticism of the Powell amendment. He proposed to substitute the word "decisions" for "provisions."

Rep. Ross Bass, (D. Tenn.) made the point of order that the Powell amendment was not germane to the bill. Walters overruled the point of order. Bass made another point of order that the word "provisions" was ambiguous. Walters replied that the chair does not rule on the question of ambiguity.

* * *

THE POWELL amendment was adopted by voice vote, Rep. Harold D. Cooley, (D., N.C.) renewed the point of order that the Powell amendment was not germane. Walters ruled that the point of order came too late because the Powell amendment had already been debated.

The Powell amendment carried on a voice vote. On a standing vote, demanded by Kelley, the vote was 177 to 123. the vote was 177 to 123.

Dawson, who had spoken twice and voted against the original Powell amendment, also voted against this one.

Rep. Cleveland M. Bailey, (D. W. Va.) demanded a teller vote, but not enough members stood to get such a vote.

* * *

LATER, KELLY demanded separate roll-call votes on the Gwinn and Powell amendments. On the roll-call vote, the Gwinn amendment was rejected, 168 to 250. The Powell amendment was adopted, 225 to 193.

Powell, Diggs and Dawson voted against the Gwinn amendment. Powell and Diggs, on the roll-call, voted for the Powell amendment, and Dawson against.

The Dawson-Diggs fray got underway following a tear-jerking speech by Dawson opposing the amendment, sponsored by Mr. Powell.

When Dawson had finished his speech, Rep. Charles Boyle (D., Ill.) praised Dawson as a great leader of 15-million colored people."

This statement brought Diggs to his feet with a reply that Dawson was speaking as an individual and not as a leader of 15-million colored people."

* * *

ACTUALLY, THE speech by Dawson was one of the few that he has made "for" or "against" any legislation in this session of Congress.

He began by telling a story of educational conditions in Georgia when he was attending school there nearly 70 years ago. The colored children had only three months schooling per year, he said—and that came at a time when they were not busy in the fields—as compared to the nine-months schools provided for the white children.

He told how hard his mother and grandmother had to work, washing clothes and cooking in order that he might obtain an education in a private school.

He promised his mother before she died to see to it that his brother and sisters all received a college education— a promise which he kept.

* * *

HE RELATED all of this, he said, to prove that he was familiar with the American way of life. But in spite of this he loved America and favored federal aid to education.

If the Powell amendment is attached to this measure, argued Dawson, you will have no school aid bill in this Congress.

Implying that the integration problem should be left to the courts, the Illinois Representative pointed out that, "every right we have gained has been done by the Supreme Court."

Dawson said he favored education for all American children. If someone tried to keep his child from getting an education, he would still want the other fellow's child to be educated.

* * *

FOLLOWING DAWSON'S speech, Cong. Diggs took the floor and stated very firmly that he "didn't see how any reasonable person could oppose the Powell Amendment."

The Powell amendment was right in line with the Supreme Court Decision, stating that no federal funds would be provided for the construction of schools where segregation is maintained.

"How much more time do you want," asked Diggs, "10 years or 20 years or forever? Like the old 'separate but equal' doctrine which was never complied with by the southern states during the entire 56 years of its existence."

* * *

MRS. EDITH GREEN (D., Oreg.), taking the floor in behalf of the amendment said she wanted this legislation to pass the House more than any piece of legislation which she has voted for since she had been a member of Congress.

But "I cannot support it at the price of sacrificing what I believe it right," she added.

Little children, attending schools in a segregated system, she added, will learn in a bitter Democracy that "not all men are equal."

Dawson took the floor again in his own defense, assuring the Congress that if he thought this measure would pass with the Powell Amendment, then he would support the amendment.

Powell really offered three amendments to the bill which were considered and voted on in the bloc.

The first stated that states would receive benefits from these funds "providing that school facilities of the state are open to all children without regard to race, in conformity with requirements of the United States Supreme Court decision; except that if a state plan does not so provide, it shall not prevent payment of funds authorized under this act as such state for use in counties of other political subdivision within the state that are operating their schools in conformity with the Supreme Court decsion."

The second amendment said that payments under this title shall be paid to those state educational agencies desiring aid for certain projects, if "the county or other subdivision in which each project is located is operating its school without regard to race, in conformity with the requirements of the United States Supreme court decisions.

A state plan which meets the requirements of the commissioner (of education) in every other way shall be permitted to be put into effect in those school districts which comply with the Supreme Court decision.

The third amendment states that "any funds allocated to a state under this act which are not paid to said state because of failure to comply" with the anti-segregation proposals" shall be paid to said state at such time as said state does comply, provided such compliance occurs before three years from the date of exactment, not-withstanding any other provisions of this act."

Eyes On Kentucky

Georgia-Journal
Louisville Ky
Fri. 7-27-56

Politicians Expect Fight for Control Of Senate To Center In 11 States

WASHINGTON.—With President Eisenhower again surely in the race for a second term, political realists see a reawakened interest in the fight for control for the Senate this November.

Senatorial elections are always important. Ordinarily their significance is overshadowed heavily by the contest for the Presidency. Assuming no further medical bulletins from the White House, however, the general public this year is apt to consider the result of the presidential contest foreordained.

Without a spellbinding presidential battle, the Senate races are likely to emerge into the national political limelight.

Democrats Lead

The Democrats will enter the Senate battle with a two-seat majority of 49 to 47 and with 17 seats at stake, seven of them in the South. Terms of 17 Republican senators also end this year.

Senators are elected for six-year terms and the terms are staggered so one third of the total of 96 come up for re-election every two years. This year there are two extra races, one in Kentucky, caused by the death of Senator Alben W. Barkley, and the other in West Virginia, the result of the death of Senator Harley M. Kilgore.

By The Associated Press

Strategists for both parties have come to separate decisions that control of the first session of the 85th Congress is likely to be decided in 11 states.

To Republicans, the Democrats are most vulnerable in Kentucky, Oregon, Nevada, New York and West Virginia. Democratic strategists plan to direct their heaviest fire at Republican incumbents in Colorado, Connecticut, Indiana, Illinois, Maryland and Ohio.

Cause for Optimism

One cause of Republican optimism in New York is doubt as to whether Senator Herbert Lehman will try for another term.

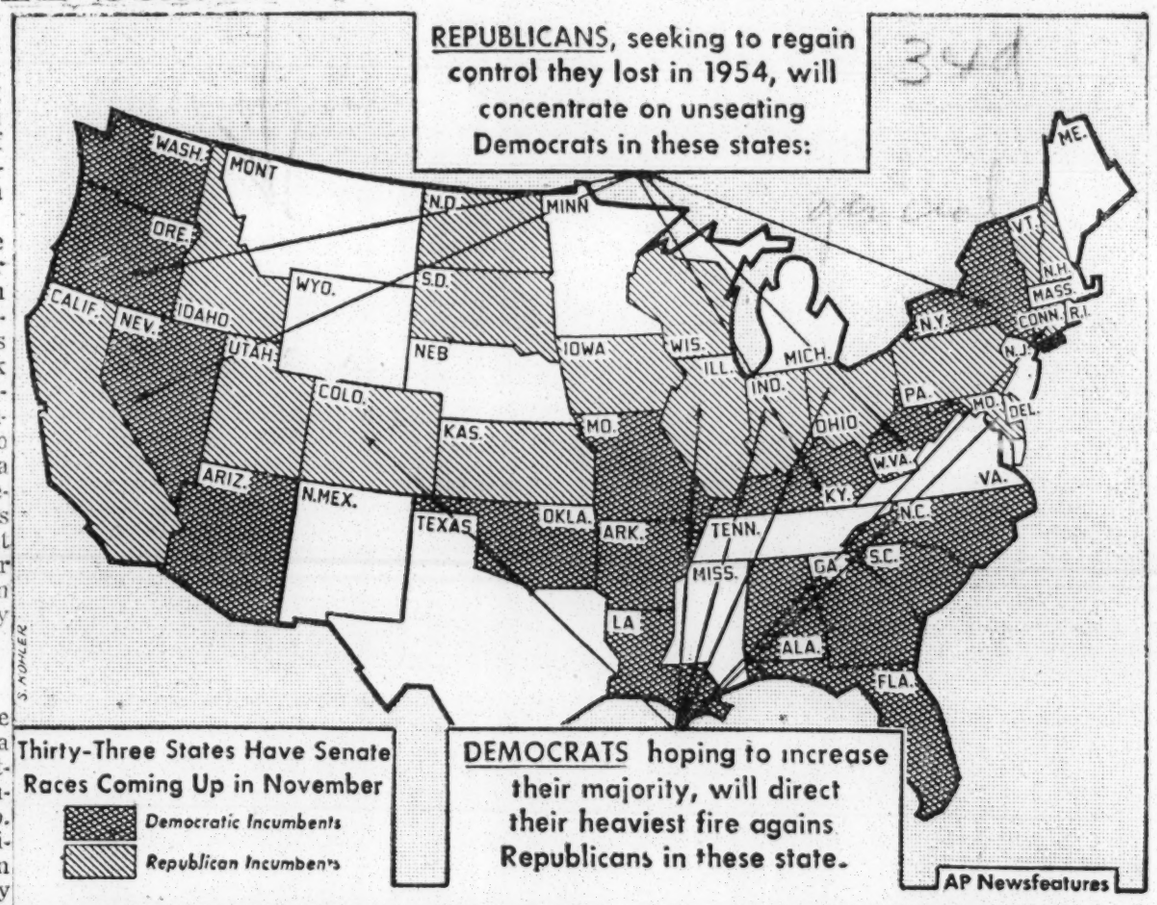
G.O.P. hopes in Kentucky got a big boost from former Senator John Sherman Cooper's announcement that he will campaign against Democrat Lawrence Wetherby for the seat made vacant by Barkley's death. Cooper's chances of beating Wetherby are held better than Thurston Morton's chances of defeating the Democratic incumbent, Senator Earle Clements, in a second Kentucky contest.

In Oregon, Republicans are going all out to unseat Senator Wayne Morse, once a Republican but now a Democrat, with former Interior Secretary Douglas McKay. In Nevada, they think they can beat Democratic Senator Alan Bible, who has reconsidered a previous decision to step out. In West Virginia, a reorganization of the party lineup has given G.O.P. strategists hopes of unseating Democrat William C. Marland with former Senator Chapman Revercomb in the race to fill the seat held by the late Senator Kilgore.

Hope for Lausche

The Democrats now believe Gov. Frank J. Lausche has a better than even chance of beating incumbent Republican Senator George Bender in Ohio. Democratic chances in Connecticut got at least tacit recognition from the Republicans when they named Senator Prescott Bush as chairman of the national convention platform committee. This was an obvious move to aid Bush in what looks like a close race.

Announcement by Senator Eugene Millikin, Colorado Republican, that he will not run again because of illness has increased Democratic chances in that state. The Democrats are betting heavily on farm dissatisfaction in efforts to unseat Republican Senators Homer Capehart and Everett Dirksen in Indiana and Illinois. With former Senator Millard Tydings as their nominee, the Democrats also believe they may push out Republican Senator John Marshall Butler in Maryland.



MAP SHOWS HOW FIGHT FOR SENATE CONTROL SHAPES UP

GOP Like Demos on Negroes

Herald P.17a
Thurs. 8-23-56
Miami, Fla.

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Of Our Convention Staff

SAN FRANCISCO — The Republicans are out to match the Democrats in double talk for the benefit of Negro voters of the North.

LAHEY

The Democrats passed themselves a most moderate civil rights plank at Chicago last week.

But for the benefit of Negro voters in critical Northern cities, the professional liberals at the Democratic convention took to the speaker's stand and said they would like a stronger civil rights statement.

Nobody paid any attention to them, but the record was made, to point to with pride later on Detroit's Hastings Street, Chicago's South Side, New York's Harlem, and Los Angeles' East Side.

A group of Republican leaders from states where the Negro vote could be critical have also issued a "side declaration" to call attention of voters to the fact that they would go further than their party platform on the civil rights issue.

Gov. William Stratton of Illinois and Atty. Gen. Jacob Javits of New York put out a "manifesto" which said, for the benefit of northern Negroes:

"We shall continue in our respective states and in the counsels of our party to work for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision (on segregation in schools) by all means lawfully available to our federal government."

JAVITS STRATTON

The Republicans did not criticize their own party platform in their statement.

They declared, instead, that their own civil rights plank "stands in striking contrast to the Democratic plank, in concurring in the Supreme Court decision on desegregation and in pledging support" of that decision.

Stratton and Javits won the concurrence of delegations from Ohio, California, Indiana and Wisconsin in their independent statement about "implementing" the Supreme Court decision.

The platform was formally adopted by the convention late Tuesday, without debate, and without even a full reading.

Sen. Prescott Bush of Connecticut, chairman of the resolutions committee, read only the preamble of the platform, which sets forth the Republican "declaration of faith."

Bush then asked that the reading of the rest of the platform be dispensed with, and the platform adopted.

What's Cooking in Politics?

Courier Sat. 4-21-56

Roy Wilkins Says: 'Vote GOP'

Pittsburgh Pa. Sat

CHICAGO—Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, has urged Negroes to quit the Democratic party and switch their allegiance en masse to the Republicans. Wilkins made this exhortation at a rally.

Urging his audience to "swap the known devil (Democrats) for the suspected witch (Republicans)," he added that "it could be that the witch might just do better by us."

34d

Magazine Sees Shift to GOP

NEW YORK — "The days when the Democrats could count on getting 80 per cent of the Negro vote are over. They will have to fight for that vote now," according to Newsweek.

Newsweek surveyed Negro leaders in both parties. The results show that "for the first time since 1936, there is widespread dissatisfaction with the Democratic party among Negro voters," Newsweek says.

■

'South Will Go Along'—Sparkman

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Despite a warning by some Southern Senators that the South might form a third party if Senator Estes Kefauver or Governor Averell Harriman of New York gets the Democratic monination, Senator John Sparkman of Alabama predicts the South will support whoever is nominated.

Manifesto War May Defeat 3

RALEIGH, N. C. — Three North Carolina Congressmen are facing stiff competition in this state's primary election because of their refusal to sign the Dixie manifesto which criticizes the Supreme Court decision on segregation.

Congressmen Thurmond Chatham, Fifth District; Harold Cooley, Fourth District, and C. B. Deane, Eighth District, are facing opposition. Representative Dean is opposed by A. Paul Kitchin of Wadesboro, a former FBI agent, who said he would welcome the opportunity to join the other signers of the Southern manifesto.

Disagree Over Ike's Viewpoint

Call P.I. Fri. 3-23-56

Case Criticizes Manifesto, Backs Eisenhower Plea

Kansas City Star

BY ROBERT E. THOMPSON

WASHINGTON.—(INS)— Northern Democrats and a Republican clashed in the senate Friday, March 16, over President Eisenhower's attitude toward the bitter dispute over racial segregation.

Two Democrats, Sens. Herbert H. Lehman of N. Y., and Richard L. Neuberger of Ore., attacked Mr. Eisenhower's call for patience and restraint on the issue, and urged immediate presidential action.

They were sharply rebuked by Sen. Clifford Case (R) N. J., who defended the chief executive and charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics" into the civil rights controversy.

The Senate flareup came as a House member disclosed that the Eisenhower administration may unveil its civil rights proposals this week.

Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D) Mass., chairman of a Civil Rights subcommittee, said he is certain a Justice department spokesman will testify before his group Wednesday, March 21, with the new recommendations.

Lane indicated that his subcommittee may vote out a civil rights bill on the same day although he noted that there are more than 50 such proposals now pending.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said he believes the Lane group will approve his bill which would protect all persons in the exercise of their constitutional freedoms.

Celler, chairman of the House judiciary committee, also advocates establishment of Civil Rights commissions and reorganization of the Justice department to set up a Civil Rights division.

Lehman touched off the senate debate by questioning whether the President was trying to be "a neutralist" in the fight over segregation. He declared:

"I do not want violence. No serious person advocates violence. It must be avoided. But the law must be enforced and I call upon the President of the United States, and the executive branch of the government, to assume the responsibility to see that the laws are faithfully executed."

Case immediately retorted that "any suggestion" Mr. Eisenhower is neutral in the segregation fight is "unwarranted and unfounded." He declared that "the President's belief that the Supreme Court must be obeyed is clear."

When Case charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics," Neuberger countered with the assertion that it was Vice President Richard M. Nixon who "put this into politics" when he referred to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "Republican."

Case replied that he regarded Nixon's remark in a Lincoln Day Speech in New York as "unfortunate" and said he believes the vice president "feels the same way about it."

Neuberger accused the President of offering "inadequate" and "inconsistent" reasons for rejecting his proposal that a White House conference be called on racial problems.

The Oregon Democrat declared: ". . . The situation calls for action as soon as possible. It is incumbent on the President, whose office represents the acme of national leadership, to exercise that leadership in a national crisis as grave and far-reaching as this one."

The Gallup Poll

GOP Shows Huge Gain in Strength

Post & Jersey Herald

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PES

(Another in the Gallup Poll's "Spring Political Springboard" series). Sun. 4-22-56

PRINCETON, N. J.—The GOP, although still the minority party, has narrowed the gap considerably. A year ago, the Institute found that Democrats outnumbered Republicans by 20 million votes. Today's poll finds this:

If every citizen of voting age were required to register now at his polling place, either as a Democrat or a Republican, the Democrats would outnumber the Republicans by 12,700,000 votes.

Here is the present party lineup, based on an estimated total of 98,500,000 citizens of voting age today:

April, 1956	
Democrats	51,700,000
Republicans	39,000,000
"On the fence"	7,800,000

The comparable figures for one year ago, when there was an estimated total of 98,000,000 citizens of voting age:

March, 1955	
Democrats	54,300,000
Republicans	34,300,000
"On the fence"	9,400,000

Washington D C

TO DETERMINE the relative strength of the two parties today, interviewers put the following question to adults from coast to coast:

"If you had to register again today, would you register as a Democrat or as a Republican?"

Those persons who said they would prefer to register as an independent, or as a member of some other party, were asked:

"Supose you couldn't register as anything but a Democrat or a Republican. If this were the case, how would you register?"

The combined results today, together with the figures for one year ago:

	1955	Today
Would you register:		
Republican	39%	43%
Democratic	61	57

While a majority of voters not presently registered with either party would sign up as Democrats if they were required to register, the margin today in favor of the Democrats is not as great as it was a year ago:

	Not Now Registered 1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	37%	46%
Democratic	63	54

Any evaluation of national party strength must take into account the tremendous advantage which the Democrats maintain in the South.

The important political fact today is that the GOP runs about even with the Democrats in the crucial "battleground" states north of the Mason and Dixon line, as follows:

Outside South	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	45%	49%
Democratic	55	51

South Only	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	23%	29%
Democratic	77	71

A breakdown by regions outside the South shows that the GOP has made the biggest gains in the heavily industrial Eastern states.

Dixie Solidarity Talks Open Today In Atlanta

Seven States Join Session For Unifying

Montgomery Advertiser Fri. 7-13-56 P. 1

ATLANTA, July 12 (AP)—The solidarity session of Southern Democratic state chairmen Friday and Saturday apparently will have seven states represented and the best wishes of at least one other.

Chairman Neville Bennett of South Carolina invited party chiefs of 11 Dixie states to confer here on plans for presenting a solid Southern front at the Democratic National Convention.

Alabama and North Carolina today joined the five states which previously had indicated they would be represented.

BEEN 'KICKED AROUND'

Mississippi Chairman Thomas J. Tubb said he could not attend because of prior commitments and has been unable to find a representative who could be present.

But he expressed hope the sessions will produce cooperation "among the Southern states to fight within the framework of the Democratic Party for the position of the South. We want to win some respect; we've been kicked around some you know."

North Carolina Gov. Luther Hodges said he is sending chairman John D. Larkin Jr. to the Atlanta session. He said it was decided to send a representative after he had conferred with North Carolina national committeeman D. Everett Jordan and South Carolina Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr.

BATTLE TO ATTEND

Circuit Judge Roy Mayhall of Jasper, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, will not attend the meeting, according to the office of Gov. Timmerman. Advertiser

Timmerman said his office has received a letter in which the judge declined the invitation because he felt issues announced for the discussion should be up to the state delegation and not the state party chairmen.

Mayhall was not available for comment.

Laurie Battle, vice chairman, siad he will "be on hand as an interested (national convention) delegate who has been trying to get the Southern delegations to unify on a course of action at the national convention and time is of the essence now."

Gov. Earl [illegible]ng of Louisiana and Alan Shivers of Texas previously had said their states would not be represented at Atlanta and Arkansas chairman Tom Harper said he could not attend because of prior commitments.

Representatives from South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Virginia and Tennessee previously had announced they would be present.

In calling the meeting, Bennett said the major item for consideration would be means of balking a strong antisegregation plank in the 1956 Democratic platform. He denied the conference was in any way intended as a third party move.

RACIAL THEME

Advertiser

Dixie Demo Chiefs Meet For Study Of Platform

Sat. 7-14-56 P. 1

Montgomery Advertiser

ATLANTA, July 13 (AP)—Southern Democratic party leaders gathered here today to form a "solid and united Southern" viewpoint on the question of segregation.

The meeting, called by Neville Bennett, South Carolina democratic party chairman, drew representatives from at least nine of the 11 southern states most directly affected in the racial segregation issue and civil rights.

Bennett said the purpose of the meeting was to "create solid and united southern support, so far as possible, to prevent inclusion in the Democratic platform of a pronouncement or stand on segregation to which we could not under any circumstances agree."

THIRD PARTY

He said he did not expect the group to discuss any candidate and he denied that there was a possibility this meeting might lead to formation of a third party.

Asked what steps he expected if the South is not successful in preventing a strong segregation plank in the platform, Bennett replied: "We will have to face that problem when we came to it."

On that note he added, "I personally don't plan to ever walk out of the national convention."

The South Carolina party chieftain said he thought the South would agree to the segregation planks of the 1948 and 1952 platforms.

Bennett said he had no choice for the Democratic nomination and pointed out that 26 of the 40-man South Carolina delegation, meeting recently, voted to support Gov. George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina. He said his state did not, however, have a unit rule and the motion was not a binding pledge to back the governor right down the line. The delegates may vote their wishes if any particular circumstances should arise.

NO POLITICIAN

Advertiser

One newsman said former, Gov. Herman Talmadge of Georgia, now a candidate for the U.S. Senate, had predicted in an interview today that Adlai Stevenson would get the nomination on the second ballot. Bennett said he could not comment on this as "I'm not a politician and don't know anything about politics."

Others already on hand for the meeting were Georgia's Chairman John Sammons Bell, Thomas H. Blanton, chairman of the party in Virginia; and Buford Ellington, Tennessee commissioner of agriculture.

Ellington said he was present only as an observer and "I have no proposals whatsoever to make."

Herbert S. Walters, chairman of the Tennessee Democrats, was expected along with Laurie C. Battle, vice chairman of the Democratic party in Alabama; James M. Milligan, Florida chairman; and John D. Larkins Jr., North Carolina party head.

Bennett said the only two party chieftains who expressed regrets they would not be able to be on hand were Thomas Harper of Arkansas, who said he had "prior commitments," and Thomas J. Tubb of Mississippi, who wrote he would be "tied up in trial court."

George W. Sandlin, Democratic chairman in Texas, and Rufus O. Hayes, Louisiana chairman, both said they would attend, Bennett said.

Mayhall opposes split—

State Demo chief to attend parley

News P. 1 Fri. 7-13-56 B'ham, Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

Judge Roy Mayhall, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, definitely will attend a meeting of state party leaders called at Atlanta at 10 a.m. Saturday by South Carolina Gov. George Bell Timmerman.

The Atlanta caucus, which will be preceded by a preliminary huddle at 8 p.m. today at the Henry Grady Hotel, was called by Gov. Timmerman to discuss a Southwide meeting of Dixie states delegates to map preconvention strategy.

Two other Alabama Democratic leaders—State Rep. Bob Kendall of Evergreen and Judge George C. Wallace of Clayton—announced today they also would attend the Atlanta meeting.

Both are members of this state's delegation to the Democratic National Convention, as is former Congr. Laurie Battle, delegation vice chairman, who had said earlier he would attend.

Kendall and Wallace also are members of a "standby" committee selected to work with other Southern states' delegates in charting a course of action on civil rights at the Chicago convention.

IT HAD BEEN erroneously reported that Judge Mayhall would not attend the Atlanta meeting.

Judge Mayhall said he earlier declined an invitation from Gov. Timmerman to attend a Southwide meeting of delegates to consider Timmerman's proposal to "recess" state party conventions to await national convention developments.

Mayhall said he declined that invitation because he is not a delegate and because he thought Timmerman's proposal at that time should be discussed by the delegates and not by state party chairmen.

"Along with other Alabama Democrats, I am standing for, and I hope we can get, a civil rights plank in the Democratic Party platform that will be completely satisfactory to the people of Alabama and in keeping with our Southern way of life," said Judge Mayhall.

He made the statement after his return to his Jasper home last night from a short vacation.

MAYHALL

"I WILL oppose any effort to establish a third party, "emphasized Judge Mayhall. "And I also will oppose any walk-out.

"I take the position now, just as I always have, that the best way to fight strong civil rights measures is within the Democratic Party and not by walking out or by forming a splinter party and especially by not lining up with the Republicans."

The Atlanta meeting also was planned to discuss ways and means of lining up a solid Southern front at the Democratiic National Convention.

34d 1956

GENERAL

Segregation Issue Periling Two-Party Trend

World Telegram
Herald Tribune
Wed. 4-25-56 P.12
New York Post

By the Associated Press.

BILOXI, Miss., April 21.—Participants in the Southern Assembly expressed belief that the segregation issue has halted a trend toward a two-party political system in the South.

President John D. Moseley of Austin College, Sherman, Tex., heading one of three panels in which the assembly is divided, said in his group yesterday that there was a general feeling that real progress toward a two-party system was being made until the segregation issue came up.

C. Read Granberry of Austin, Tex., executive director of the Texas Legislative Council, said several members of the panel he headed expressed similar views.

The four-day meeting ends tomorrow with a final statement of the concensus on major topics.

States represented at the assembly include Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Tennessee and Oklahoma.

Republicans Make Gain In Winning Workers

Gallup Reports Increase Over '52; Kefauver Outpolls Stevenson

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Apr. 24.—An analysis of the political climate today among the rank and file of labor reveals these salient points about the parties and the possible candidates:

1. Although the Democratic party is still the preferred party of a majority of both skilled and unskilled workers, the Republican party has made some headway in wooing workers away from the Democrats.

2. President Eisenhower, who is personally more popular with workers than his party is, continues to attract a sizable labor vote, as he did in 1952.

3. Of the Democratic candidate possibilities, workers today favor Sen. Estes Kefauver over Adlai E. Stevenson.

An institute survey, previously reported, showed that, in terms of party strength, the Republicans have cut the Democrats' margin from 20,000,000 more voters one year ago down to 12,700,000 today.

The extent to which the two parties have "sold" themselves and their policies to labor is revealed in interviews among a representative cross-section of skilled and unskilled workers. Each worker was asked:

"Which national political party—the Republican or Democratic—do you think is best for people in your line of work?"

Here is the vote today of skilled workers (carpenters, plumbers, electricians, foremen, etc.), together with the comparable vote four years ago:

PARTY BEST FOR SKILLED WORKERS

(Vote of Skilled Workers only)

	1952	Today
Republican	14%	25%
Democratic	57	51
No difference...	12	12
No opinion.....	17	12

And here is the vote of unskilled and semi-skilled workers (operatives, laborers, protective personnel, etc.):

PARTY BEST FOR UNSKILLED WORKERS

(Vote of unskilled workers only)

	1952	Today
Republican	13%	20%
Democratic	57	56
No difference...	13	12
No opinion.....	17	12

In their fight to break the Democratic party's hold on labor, Republican hopes must be pinned to a great extent on the personal popularity of President Eisenhower, who continues to be more popular than his party is with the nation's workers.

This is shown in the results of an institute "trial heat" among workers, in which a possible Republican ticket of Gen. Eisenhower and Vice-President Richard M. Nixon was matched against a possible Democratic ticket of Stevenson and Kefauver, as follows:

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If Eisenhower and Nixon were nominated for President and Vice-President on the Republican ticket and Stevenson and Kefauver on the Democratic ticket, which ticket would you like to see win?"

EISENHOWER & NIXON vs. STEVENSON & KEFAUVER

(Vote of workers only)

	Skilled	Unskilled
Eisenhower-Nixon	51%	48%
Stevenson-Kefauver	47	50
Undecided	2	2

How do workers size up the Democratic candidates?

Each worker was handed a list of names prominently mentioned as candidates and asked:

"Here is a list of men who have been mentioned as possible Presidential candidates for the Democratic party. Which one would you like to see nominated as the Democratic candidate?"

The vote for the top four candidates:

DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES

(Vote of workers only)

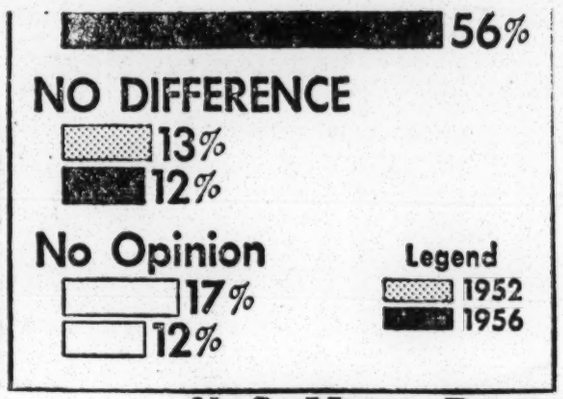
	Skilled	Unskilled
Kefauver	42%	37%
Stevenson	27	31
Lausche	6	4
Harriman	6	6
Others, no opinion.	19	22

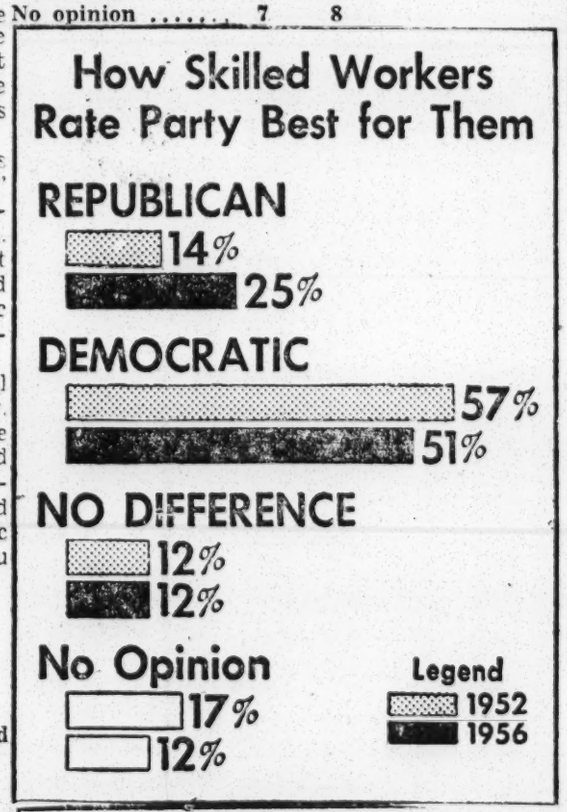
Sen. Kefauver was the definite choice of workers over Stevenson if the convention choice were narrowed down to the two men, as follows:

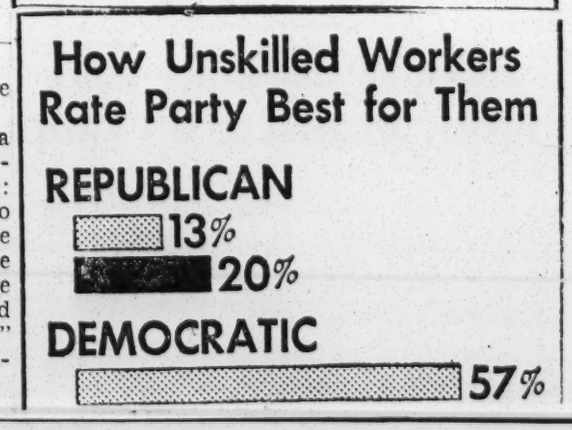
"Suppose the choice were narrowed down to Stevenson and Kefauver. Which one would you prefer to have the Democratic convention select?"

The vote of workers:

	Skilled	Unskilled
Kefauver	62%	50%
Stevenson	31	42
No opinion	7	8







U.S. Must Protect Negro Voting Rights—ACLU

Weekly Pic.
New Orleans La.
Sat. 6-2-56

(Advance) Washington, D. C., May 25—The protection of Negro voting rights in the South must be guaranteed by new federal legislation, the American Civil Liberties Union said today.

The Union's view was presented by its executive director, Patrick Murphy Malin, to the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is holding hearings on civil rights bills.

Emphasizing that the right to vote is indispensable to the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, the civil liberties spokesman said that "there is no worse denial or abridgment of that right than interference with its exercise by threat to life or any other form of coercion.

"Therefore, when a state widely and regularly denies or abridges that right—either directly, or indirectly through allowing such interference—it fails in an elementary responsibility to the people; and the federal government must discharge that responsibility to the people."

The Union also strongly endorsed proposals establishing a Civil Rights Commission to investigate violations of civil rights, creating a Civil Rights Division in the Department of Justice and amending the existing laws to allow the bringing of civil suits against persons who threaten denial of civil rights.

GOP Charts Drive for Negro Vote To Utilize Warren-Led Decisions

WASHINGTON, June 3 — The Republican Party, confident of the re-election of President Eisenhower, is going after the votes of Negroes in the large urban areas of the North in an effort to regain control of Congress.

The GOP has made a careful survey of the states and congressional districts where Negroes

Fewer Negroes to vote Democratic, NAACP leader says. Story on Page 2.

tend to hold the balance of power, and party strategists have been quietly planning a major campaign in these areas for weeks.

Last week, the issue was brought into the open during the Citizens-for-Eisenhower conference in Washington by Richard Tobin, the organization's public

By JAMES RESTON

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

relations chief, who told the delegates a 5-to-10 per cent switch in Negro votes this year "would almost certainly" mean election of a Republican Congress. He added:

"In the context of Supreme Court decisions under a chief justice appointed by President Eisenhower, decisions as historic as the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, we have a wonderful story to tell, and it is my opinion that it has not yet been told sufficiently well to the average Negro voter."

Tobin urged the delegates to emphasize that "a vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland." This is a theme which has previously been developed mainly in private:

It is that continued control of the Senate by a Democratic majority would mean that the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles civil rights legislation, would remain under the chairmanship of Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), a leader of those in the South who are pushing the fight against the Supreme Court's public school integration decision.

In the November election, Republicans must make a gain of two Senate seats and 15 House seats to organize and control the 85th Congress.

GOP chances of winning the Senate by a defection of Negro voters from the Democratic ranks are not good. In only two of the Northern states where Democrats are up for reelection do Negro voters seem to hold the balance of power—in Missouri (7.5 per cent Negro on the basis of 1950 census figures) where Sen. Hennings got 53.5 per cent of the vote in 1950, and New York (6.2 per cent Negro) where Sen. Lehman was elected by 52-6 per cent of the 1950 vote.

Hennings and Lehman, however, have been leaders in the fight for legislation favored by Negro leaders and are not expected to be much affected by the Republican bid for the Negro vote.

AIMING AT THE HOUSE

The House picture offers Republicans greater opportunities. A recent study by Congressional Quarterly, for example, listed 61 congressional districts outside the South where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 census was larger than the winning candidates's margin of victory in the 1954 congressional elections.

Thirty-two of these 61 districts elected Democrats in 1954, 29 elected Republicans. In most of the 32 Democratic districts, however, the Democrats won by such large margins that only a spectacular switch in Negro voters could turn the seats to the GOP column.

There are, however, 13 Democratic-held seats in districts with large Negro populations which were won by less than 55 per cent of the vote in 1954, and these are the principal targets of the GOP campaign.

NIXON NOW QUIET

Republicans are aware of the dangers of inflaming the segregation issue by thrusting it crudely into the campaign. For that reason, perhaps, Vice President Nixon, who was widely criticized for referring some months ago to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "great Republican chief justice," left the segregation tactics last week to Tobin.

Nevertheless, the GOP strategists regard this election as a period of maximum opportunity in their dream of shattering the Roosevelt coalition and regaining the allegiance of the Negroes.

Until 1936, Negroes tended to vote Republican in memory of Lincoln and emancipation. In 1928, however, the Democratic Party gained control of the cities, and throughout the New Deal era the Negroes, mainly for economic reasons, increased the Democratic pluralities in the urban North.

GOP LOOKS AHEAD

Republicans now feel, however, that they have a chance to break this pattern. The Negro population in the North has risen from less than 3,000,000 in 1940 to 5,000,000 today.

In the public school segregation decision, the Democratic manifesto in Congress against the decision and in the person of Eastland, Republicans think they have a combination which can detach a great deal of the Democratic party's Negro voters in the key cities of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland and Cincinnati.

In short, the GOP is looking not only to this election, when it can count on the popularity of Eisenhower to keep it in power, but to the the post-Eisenhower period, when, if it can dramatize the Negro campaign for public school integration, it might be able to establish a new patern of mass voting in the decisive populous states of the North.

GHOST OF THE THIRTIES

Republicans feel they have finally wiped away the ghost of the economic depression of the thirties. They believe they have found a new decisive majoirty in American political life favoring a kind of modified or moderate New Deal.

In addition, they have the argument of peace, and if they now can break or even weaken the Democratic party's hold on 80 per cent of the Negro voters in the North, they can see the prospect of a new Republican era.

That, at least, is the objective and background of what Tobin was talking about here last week.

Carolina And Alabama Vote

Race Figured In Two Congressmen Being Defeated, But It Wasn't Everything

BY JAMES FREE

Washington Correspondent
The Birmingham News

WASHINGTON

THE EFFECT of racial issues in the North Carolina Democratic primary has been exaggerated outside that state just as it was in the Alabama primary a month ago.

Headlines in the non-Southern press made the explanation very simple. In North Carolina, two congressmen were defeated because they failed to sign the Southern manifesto. In Alabama, a strong prosegregationist, it was said, whipped Gov. James E. Folsom in a race for Democratic national committeeman.

In both states, these particular losing candidates did fail to take a firm stand on school integration and related issues. And this oversight did exert an important influence. But it was far from being the whole story.

Two In North Carolina Weak On Other Issues

IN NORTH CAROLINA, beaten incumbents Thurmond Chatham and Charles B. Deane had left themselves vulnerable on other issues. Many in labor unions and on farms seemed to feel that Chatham, a wealthy manufacturer of blankets, devoted his major efforts to something other than helping labor and farmers with their problems. And Deane had a weak defense against charges that he had won little in the way of federal projects for his district in spite of membership on the Appropriations Committee.

Unlike Deane and Chatham, the third Tar Heel who did not sign the manifesto—Harold D. Cooley—stressed that he "despised" forced integration in schools but that he did not agree with some points in the manifesto. And of equal significance, Cooley did some counterattacking of his opponent's own record in the civil rights field.

All in all, it would be just as extreme to claim that Cooley won because he refused to sign the manifesto as to contend that Deane and Chatham lost for the very same reason.

Other factors have to be taken into account to get a fair picture. The same applies to the toppling of "Big Jim" Folsom in an Alabama contest. The governor's lack of success with much of his legislative program, plus widespread attacks on his record in office, caused him to remark only a few weeks before he entered the race for committeeman that, at the moment, he could not be elected dogcatcher.

Of course Folsom's fuzzy stand in the Alabama resistance to integration cost him a lot of votes. But this was only one of a number of reason why a large majority of Alabamians voted against him.

No Candidate Could Be Elected Otherwise

THE AIM HERE is not to suggest that Southern whites regard the segregation issue as unimportant. Blunt truth is that no candidate for a major elective office in the Deep South would have a chance to win any time soon if he did not defend the local practice of school segregation.

But recent Southern primaries have pointed up that the voice of the extremist on the race issue does not drown out other voices that the voters heed. It must be remembered that "moderate" Adlai Stevenson wound up with the bulk of the Democratic convention delegate support from Alabama, North Carolina and Florida.

Indications are, so far, that any unreasonable and extreme demands on civil rights platform issues—demands that could lead to a Democratic Party split—are less likely to come from the South than from other sections of the country.

3rd 1956

31 Presidents Have Died

Defender P. 18

3 Of 'Natural' Causes, 3 By Assassination

Sat. 2-18-56

34 d Obituaries

Chicago Ill.

LOS ANGELES — There have been 33 presidents of the United States. The 34th-Dwight David Eisenhower-is still in office. There are two former presidents still living; 31 have died.

In the listing of 31 presidential deaths, three died of natural decline, or infirmities of old age. They were John Adams, James Madison, and James Monroe.

Three other presidents were assassinated. The first was Abraham Lincoln, who was shot in Ford's Theater by John Wilkes Booth. The others were James Garfield and William McKinley.

The causes of deaths of other presidents ranged from general breakdowns to dropsy and gout. Their diagnosed causes of death, and age at the time is presented in the order each held office:

George Washington, acute laryngitis, 67; John Adams, natural decline 90; Thomas Jefferson, chronic diarrhea, 83; James Madison, natural decline, 85; James Monroe, natural decline, 73; John Quincy Adams, paralysis, 80.

DROPSY KILLS JACKSON

Andrew Jackson, dropsy, 78; Martin Van Buren, asthma, 79; William Henry Harrison, pleurisy, 68; John Tyler, bilious attacks with bronchitis, 71; James K. Polk, chronic diarrhea, 53; Zachary Taylor, typhoid fever, 65; Millard Fillmore, paralysis, 74.

Franklin Pierce, dropsy and inflammation of stomach, 64; James Buchanan, rheumatic gout, 77; Abraham Lincoln, assassination, 56; Andrew Johnson, paralysis, 66; Ulysses S. Grant, cancer, 63; Rutherford B. Hayes, neuralgia of heart, 70.

GARFIELD ASSASSINATED

James A. Garfield, assassination, 49; Chester A. Arthur, bright's disease, 56; Benjamin Harrison, pneumonia, 67; Grover Cleveland, heart failure, 71; William McKinley, assassination, 58; Theodore Roosevelt, embolism, 60, William Howard Taft, general breakdown, 72.

Woodrow Wilson, general breakdown, 67; Warren G. Harding, coronary thrombosis, 57; Calvin Coolidge, coronary thrombosis, 61; Franklin Delano Roosevelt, cerebral hemorrhage.

More Dixie Seats?

News week P. 25

And even if desegregation draws Southern Democrats more closely together, top-level Republican strategists think Eisenhower's popularity will at least hold the five Southern seats Republicans now occupy in the House.

Mon. 3-12-56

Democrats recognize that desegregation is multiplying their troubles. They are afraid of another Dixiecrat splintering if the Democratic platform as much as acknowledges that the Supreme Court's school decision is now the law of the land, as Adlai Stevenson has done.

Dayton Ohio

They also are worried about Republican plans to push a series of civil-rights bills at this session. Proposed bills would: (1) Protect the right of minorities to vote in Federal elections; (2) set up a commission to police civil rights, and (3) strengthen antiviolence laws.

Kentucky's 'Happy' Chandler

Courier

Democrats' 'Dark Horse'?

Sat. 4-7-56

By JOHN L. CLARK

Unless the feudin' and fightin' among Democrats is ended, through compromises or decisions, Kentucky's Gov. Albert B. (Happy) Chandler stands an amazing chance of being the party's presidential nominee at the August convention in Chicago.

Pittsburgh Pa.

As the situation shapes up now, Northern leaders do not want Sen. Estes Kefauver, voters are cool to Adlai Stevenson, and New York's Gov. Averell Harriman is "too New Dealish for present day New and Fair Dealers."

P. 7

Southerners are opposed to all three men.

Senators Stuart Symington and Lyndon Johnson haven't displayed sufficient national support to warrant consideration for the top spot and neither man is regarded as having the ability to unite the party.

"Happy" Chandler, who will be 58 years old on July 14, could be the man to smooth over the breach and probably repair it.

34d

He is a trained lawyer, served as judge, elected to the Kentucky State Senate in 1929, Lieutenant-Governor 1931, Governor 1935, appointed United States Senator 1939, elected for three-year term 1940 and a six-year term in 1942.

Chandler was high commissioner of baseball from 1945 to 1951, and instrumental in having Negroes accepted as players, starting in 1947.

Last year, Kentucky voters honored him with a second term as Governor of the Blue Grass State, after experts had predicted he would not win party nomination in the primaries.

He would be acceptable to the South.

At one time, while United States Senator, he voted with the Southern bloc against outlawing the poll tax.

He has been an executive of insurance companies doing business in Atlanta, other Southern and border states, and was reported as entertaining the 1948 States' Rights candidate J. Strom Thurmond, at his home in Versailles, Ky.

This party, however, received only 10,411 votes, evidence that Chandler did no campaigning.

As a campaigner, Current Biography of 1943 carries this description:

"A swift and educated brain, a vaulting ambition and one of the sharpest instincts in the United States lie behind his automatic, incandescent smile, his hot-palmed handshakes, prancy like a Blue Grass colt, Chandler is a natural politician . . . To him handshaking is not a nuisance but a passionate delight. He knows the first names of nearly every person in Kentucky of voting age, not because it is good politics, but because he likes to know."

With this appealing background, Chandler would be a more formidable presidential candidate than any Democrats mentioned up to date—including former President Harry S. Truman.

'Neutralist' Tag Open Word Battle

Defender Sat. 3-24-56

Chicago Ill P. 1

WASHINGTON—(INS)—Northern Democrats and a Republican clashed in the Senate Friday over President Eisenhower's attitude toward the bitter dispute over racial segregation.

34d general

Two Democrats, Sens. Herbert E. Lehman of N. Y., and Richard L. Neuberger of Ore., attacked Mr. Eisenhower's call for patience and restraint on the issue, and urged immediate presidential action.

They were sharply rebuked by Sen. Clifford Case (R) N.J., who defended the chief executive and charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics" into the civil rights controversy.

EXPECT HOUSE ACTION

The Senate flareup came as a House member disclosed that the Eisenhower administration may unveil its civil rights proposals next week.

Rep. Thomas J. Lane (D) Mass., chairman of a civil rights sub-committee, said he is certain a Justice Department spokesman will testify before his group Wednesday with the new recommendations.

Lane indicated that his subcommittee may vote out a civil rights bill on the same day although he noted that there are more than 50 such proposals now pending.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D) N. Y., said he believes the Lane group will approve his bill which would protect all persons in exercise of their constitutional freedoms.

Celler, chairman of the House judiciary commtitee, also advocates establishment of civil rights commissions and reorganization of the Justice Department to set up a civil rights division.

IKE A 'NEUTRALIST'

Lehman touched off the Senate debate by questioning whether the President was trying to be "a neutralist" in the fight over segregation. He declared:

"I do not want violence. No serious person advocates violence. It must be avoided. But the law must be enforced and I call upon the President of the United States and the executive branch of the government, to assume the responsibility to see that the laws are faithfully executed."

Case immediately retorted that "any suggestion" Mr. Eisenhower is neutral in the segregation fight is "unwarranted and unfounded." He declared that "the President's belief that the Supreme Court must be obeyed is clear."

POLITICS CHARGED

When Case charged that the Democrats were "injecting politics," Neuberger countered with the assertion that it was Vice President Richard M. Nixon who "put this into politics" when he referred to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "Republican."

Case replied that he regarded Nixon's remark in a Lincoln day speech in New York as "unfortunate" and said he believes the Vice President "feels the same way about it."

Neuberger accused the President of offering "inadequate" and "inconsistent" reasons for rejecting his proposal that a White House conference be called on racial problems.

The Oregon Democrat declared ". . .The situation calls for action as soon as possible.

Negro Defection

Northern Democratic governors and party leaders, increasingly concerned over Negro defection to the GOP, are demanding that their Congressional colleagues *do something.*

In recent secret conversations in Washington, Governors Mennen Williams of Michigan, Averell Harriman of New York, and Robert Meyner of New Jersey, reported that the elevation of Mississippi's Eastland to the Judiciary Committee chairmanship had already cost them crucial votes in Negro precincts. They said that Republicans are circulating dodgers stating: "A vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

Note: The talk of a Southern walkout at the convention is dying out. Southern leaders want to stay in the party. Such talk has been replaced by prophecies that the North may try to eject the South in order to win back the Negro vote.

Switch Of Negro Voters To The GOP Predicted

NEW YORK, N. Y. — Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging toward the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson, a study in THE REPORTER revealed last week.

'It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow," the study reports, "the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic Party.."

* * *

IN A COPYRIGHTED article, "The Negro Vote and the Democrats," Robert Bendiner, recent winner of the Benjamin Franklin Magazine Award, also reports that a good segment of the Negro press is moving away from the Democrats, and he quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

Mr. Bendiner, who interviewed Negro political and civic leaders across the country, attributes the feeling against Stevenson to his "gradualist" stand on desegregation and the bitter opposition by southern Democrats to the Supreme Court's decision.

MR. BENDINER points out from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Today, he says, after interviews with Negro political and civic leaders, the swing against Stevenson and the Democratic Party would result in a loss of votes greater than the decisive 15 per cent difference.

* * *

LEADERS of the revolt include officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization theoretically nonpartisan, but which "has run in easy harness with the New Deal-Fair Deal party," Mr. Bendiner says.

Recently, he reports, the NAACP's Washington Director, Clarence Mitchell, warned that if the Democratic Party persists in weighing itself down with such an "albatross" as Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, it may have to "kiss our votes good-bye."

Sees Need for Remedial Legislation Regarding Voting Rights in South

Washington — Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, May 25 urged the Senate Judiciary Committee to report out promptly a pending civil rights bill already reported out by the House Judiciary Committee, because "what is involved would add no new civil rights but calls merely for provisions to protect rights established 75 years ago."

The NAACP leader declared that "protracted hearings at this time" on the bill by the Senate committee "must be interpreted as delaying tactics designed to prevent action in this session" of Congress.

Combines Proposals

The measure reported out by the House Judiciary Committee, HR 627, combines proposals submitted by the Administration with those previously introduced by the House committee's chairman, Representative Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.). It had the support of both Democrats and Republicans in the House committee. The bill provides for:

(1) Establishment of a commission in the executive branch of the government to hold hearings and make inquiries on problems of discrimination;

(2) Establishment of a Civil Rights Division under an assistant attorney general in the Department of Justice;

(3) Protection of the right to vote;

(4) Strengthening of existing civil rights statutes.

Says Many Negroes Cannot Vote

In his testimony, Mr. Wilkins laid greatest emphasis on the need for remedial legislation regarding denial of the vote to Negroes in many parts of the South. He also pointed to "present-day lynchers" who, he said, "arrange economic reprisals or bombings, as well as acts of personal violence, against individuals who do said that in Macon county, Ala., many Negro voters are kept from the polls because "state officials have simply refused to appoint a full board of registrars."

In Monroe, La., Mr. Wilkins continued, "at least 500 colored voters have been taken from the (voting) rolls" because White Citizens Councils representatives "actually invaded the office of the registrar of voting for the purpose of purging colored voters."

Former Governor Intervened

"At one point the action of those who oppose voting by colored people became so flagrant that a former governor of Louisiana went to the office of the registrar to challenge the proceeding. A near fist fight ensued.

The civil rights leader asserted that "Mississippi has run the entire scale from economic reprisal to outright violence in preventing colored people from voting."

He quoted from a March, 1955, issue of the Jackson, Miss., State Times as follows:

" 'Earl W. Crenshaw, circuit court clerk of Montgomery county (Miss.), said the (White Citizens) Councils are very effective. He spelled out their method of operations as follows:

The Council obtains names of Negroes registered (to vote) from the circuit court clerk. If those who are working for someone sympathetic to the Council's views are found objectionable, their employer tells them to take a vacation. Then, if the names are purged from the (voting) registration books they are told that the vacation is over and they can return to work.' "

Voters Registration Dates

Following are the dates by which voters must register in each of the 48 states in order to vote in the Nov. 6 presidential election:

Alabama	Oct. 27	Kansas	Oct. 16 d	Nebraska	Oct. 26 m
Arizona	Oct. 1		Oct. 26 e		Oct. 27 n
Arkansas	No. regis'n	Kentucky	Sept. 8	Nevada	Oct. 6
California	Sept. 13	Louisiana	Oct. 6	New Hampshire	Oct. 27
Colorado	Oct. 22	Maine	Oct. 18 f	New Jersey	Sept. 27
Connecticut	Oct. 13 a	Maryland	Sept. 22 g	New Mexico	Oct. 8
Delaware	Oct. 20		Oct. 6 h	New York	Sept. 18 p
Florida	Oct. 6		Oct. 9 k		Oct. 13 q
Georgia	May 5	Massachusetts	Oct. 5	North Carolina	Oct. 27
Idaho	Nov. 3	Michigan	Oct. 8	North Dakota	No. reg's'n
Illinois	Oct. 8	Minnesota	Oct. 16	Ohio	Sept. 26
Indiana	Oct. 27 b	Mississippi	July 6	Oklahoma	Oct. 26
Iowa	Oct. 27 b	Missouri	Oct. 9-13	Oregon	Oct. 6
	Nov. 6 c	Montana	Sept. 20	Pennsylvania	Sept. 17
Rhode Island	Sept. 7				
South Carolina	Oct. 6				
South Dakota	Oct. 29				
Tennessee	Oct. 17, 27				
Texas	No regis'n				
Utah	Oct. 31				
Vermont	Nov. 3				
Virginia	Oct. 6				
Washington	Oct. 5				
West Virginia	Oct. 6				
Wisconsin	Oct. 24				
Wyoming	Oct. 22				
Alaska	r				
Hawaii	Oct. 10				

a Some towns Oct. 20. b Des Moines. c Elsewhere. d Wichita, Topeka, Kansas City. e Elsewhere. f To Nov. 1. g Baltimore, Montgomery, and Prince George Counties. h In other permanent registration counties. k Elsewhere. m Lincoln and Omaha. n Elsewhere. p Central. q Local. r Established locally. District of Columbia, no voting.

Democratic Zephyrs Blow

The Republican Storm That Rocked The South Seems To Have Abated

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.

By BEM PRICE, *Associated Press Writer*

WASHINGTON—For Democrats, the political winds from the traditionally "Solid South" have undergone a favorable shift in the last three years. The great whirlwinds which blew Texas, Florida, Virginia and Tennessee into the Republican camp in the 1952 presidential campaign are conspicuously calm today.

In brief, the South seems to have returned to normal, although a couple of potential high-pressure areas remain in Texas and South Carolina.

Despite lip service to the idea, the Republicans have made no effort to follow up the advantages acquired in 1952 by setting up grass-roots organizations in the South.

However, in Atlanta, where golfer Bobby Jones and others sparked an Eisenhower-for-President movement, the Republicans mustered 620 persons in December for a $25-a-plate fund-raising dinner.

Hall's Prediction

At that dinner, Republican Chairman Leonard Hall predicted the South "is turning toward the Republicans in such force that in 1956 we will pick up another 10 or 15 Congressional seats." No Southern leader of stature commented on Hall's statement.

If the Southern Governors Conference at Point Clear, Ala., is any indication, the seeds of anti-Democratic revolt which sprouted in 1948 and 1952 over States' rights, the segregation issue, "Reds" and "corruption in government" have failed to flower.

The precise reason is a matter of speculation; but it is fairly certain that the Dixon-Yates power-plant proposals, which were interpreted by some as an effort to scuttle the Tennessee Valley Authority, antagonized a segment of voters.

There was resentment, too, over the Justice Department's intervention in the school-segregation cases. The department asked the Supreme Court to declare segregation in schools (on the basis of race) unconstitutional, and the court later did just that.

Viewpoint Snubbed

The fact that scant consideration was given in Republican Party councils to the Southern viewpoint disillusioned others.

In any case, little sentiment was expressed at the Governors Conference for a third-party movement such as the one which led to the formation of the States' Rights Democratic Party in 1948.

In fact, the only Governor to place much credence in the third-party idea was George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina, who said it was a "strong possibility."

Even the suggestion that the South form a coalition to back a candidate at the 1956 presidential nominating convention was greeted coldly.

Outside of the Timmerman statement, the only other indication of major dissatisfaction among the Governors came from Allen Shivers of Texas, who led that state into the Republican camp in 1952. Shivers, who still considers himself a Democrat, mostly expressed opposition to the nomination of Adlai Stevenson; but whether that portends another Texas revolt if Stevenson is nominated is a matter of conjecture.

One significant factor in the political scene is the emergence of a strong effort to present the Democratic Party in 1956 as a party of moderation. This idea of moderation has been strongly supported by Senator Lyndon Johnson (D., Tex.), Senate majority leader, and repeated by Stevenson. Most Southern leaders also seem to approve.

So far, the indications are that the South has returned to normal; but there are still some rumblings of discontent against "Northern control of the party," labor's close relationship and "left-wing" influences.

By and large, though, the course of politics in the South is back to normal for the time being. To date, no strong man has risen with a strong issue which will shake the South in 1956.

Democratic, Republican Parties hit

Capital Times Madison
Dat 2-11-56

By ALICE DUNNIGAN

WASHINGTON

President Eisenhower's proposal for the creation of a civil rights study commission is branded by Paul Butler as "poppycock."

Baltimore

Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, charged the President with offering such recommendation only as a means of "delaying action" on civil rights legislation.

Leonard Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, replied that the Democrats have been using "delaying tactics" for the past 20 years.

* * *

THE CONTROVERSY arose in two separate conferences with heads of the national political committees by members of the colored press.

In a meeting with Chairman Butler last week, the reporters were told that there was no need for a study commission, such as the President had recommended in his State-of-the-Union message.

The Attorney General already has the authority to make such an investigation, said Butler, and the proposal made by the President was aimed only to defer and delay action beyond a critical date—that of the election.

He accused the Republicans of "talking out of both sides of their mouths" and using artificiality in their claims for civil rights.

* * *

IN RESPONSE to this charge, the Republican chairman stated, Tuesday, that he could not see how anybody could accuse President Eisenhower with insincerity.

"Look at the record," Hall kept repeating. "Mr. Eisenhower hasn't just talked — he has done things. He has demonstrated that he does not believe in second-class citizenship."

* * *

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER in his message to Congress, at the beginning of the second session, proposed the creation of a bipartisan commission to examine "allegations that colored citizens are being deprived of their right to vote," in certain sections of the country.

The Democrat chairman inferred that the Justice Department should investigate this matter without any authorization from Congress, as it already has the jurisdiction to act.

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN chairman, in discussing this allegation, observed that colored citizens were deprived of the right to vote only in states that are controlled by the Democrats.

Butler had stated in his conference that a political party has no right to tell a governor of any state what to do, or how to do it.

He made the same contention when questioned on his position regarding the Southern Democratic Governors meeting to discuss means of circumventing the Supreme Court decision.

A party has no jurisdiction or authority whatsoever to interfere with the rulings of the states, said Butler.

* * *

THE SOUTH'S resistance against the High Court's ruling on school integration is a matter for the courts to settle, said Butler. But, he added, if this question isn't settled, with or without the Powell amendment, the party might take a position on the matter.

Hall would not comment on the Powell amendment, which proposes the witholding of Federal funds from school districts which refuse to abide by the Supreme Court's decision.

He, too, contended that the Supreme Court has spoken and any violation to this ruling is a legal matter.

Hall was reminded of the President's reference to the Powell amendment as "extraneous." A position which was later followed through by Secretary Folsom of Health, Education and Welfare. More recently, the GOP chieftain was told Republican leaders on "the Hill," such as Speaker Joe Martin and Republican Whip Charles Hallock have come out in support of the amendment. Does this mean that the Republicans have switched positions?

Hall replied that he never thought the President was opposed to the anti-segregation features proposed in the amendment, he only feared that such an amendment would kill the bill. And he is very anxious to see a school aid bill passed in this session.

Hall steered clear of any comment on the civil rights measures now pending before Congress. He claimed that he did not know what bills were before the legislative bodies, nor did he know the status of any of them.

* * *

BUTLER, ON the other hand, stated that the time is not yet ripe for proposing civil rights legislation. He had been advised by such civil rights leaders in Congress such as Senator Hubert Humphrey, and by labor leaders that any movement to bring civil rights bills before Congress at this time would be inadvisable. Such measures would only be defeated, and this would only serve to lower the prestige of the bill.

Humphrey could not be reached, and his office declined to comment on this announced political strategy.

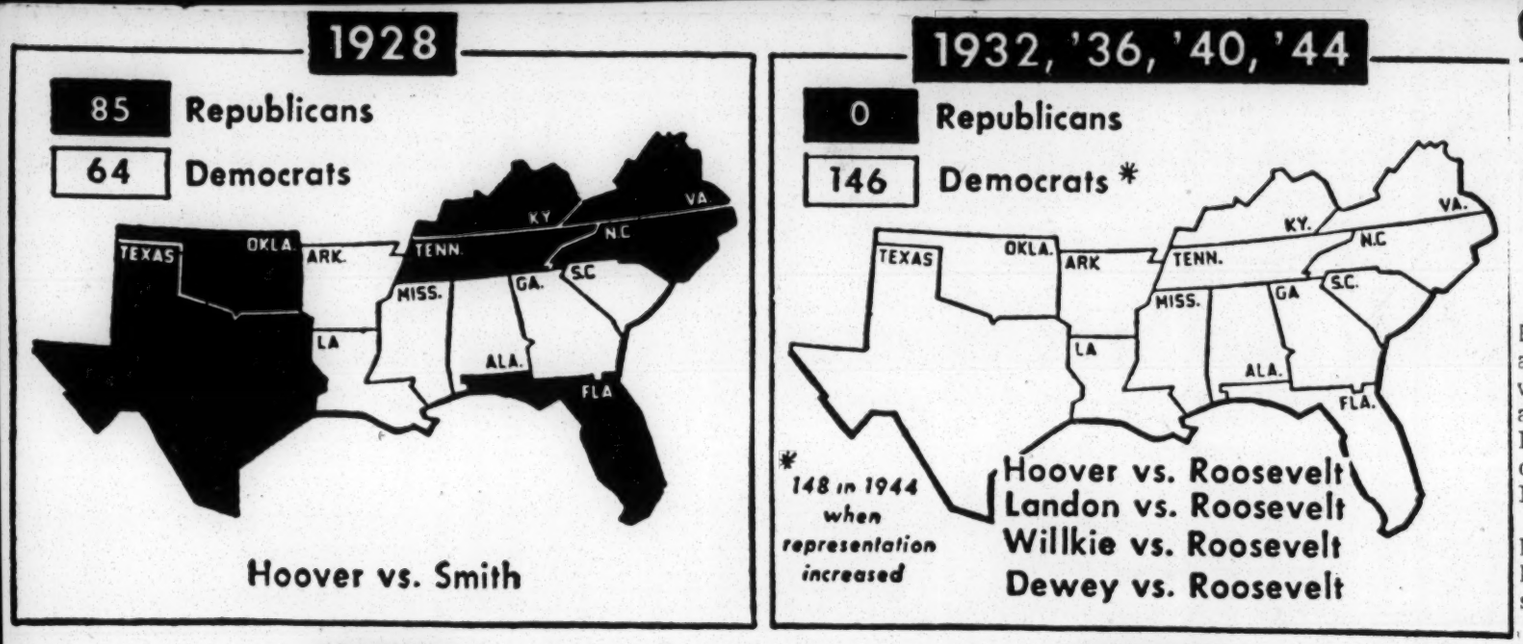
Butler claimed that the only solution to the civil rights problem is to elect more liberals to Congress in 1956 who will be willing to support civil rights legislation.

* * *

THE REPUBLICANS claim that the solution lies with the election of more members of their party to Congress. They are making a start in this direction by organizing more groups in the South and forming more Republican clubs among young people on college campuses.

Val Washington, special consultant to the chairman of the Republican National Committee, said more colored votes would go for the GOP this year than in the last election if Eisenhower runs.

He admitted that the colored voters have not quite bought the Republican party, but they have been sold on Eisenhower.



HERE'S HOW THE SOUTH VOTED FOR PRESIDENT FROM 1928 THROUGH 1952

GALLUP POLL

Journal & Constitution
Sun. 2-12-56 p. 9-B
Atlanta, Ga.

Eisenhower Widens Margin Over Adlai

By GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 11—President Eisenhower today runs ahead of Adlai Stevenson by the widest margin he has held at any time during the last year, largely because of the President's gain in popularity among Independent voters.

In the Institute's latest "trial heat" election race, Eisenhower holds a 5-to-3 edge over Stevenson.

It is the Independent voters—the "in-betweeners"—who throw the over-all balance in favor of General Eisenhower, by picking him over former Gov. Stevenson by about 3-to-1.

Each voter in the survey was asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Adlai Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

IKE vs. STEVENSON

Eisenhower	61%
Stevenson	35
Undecided	4

In today's survey, sentiment among Independent voters divides almost 3-to-1 in favor of Eisenhower as follows:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS
(Today)

Eisenhower	69%
Stevenson	24
Undecided	7

In [illegible]mber, Eisenhower's margin over Stevenson among Independents was as follows:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS
(December)

Eisenhower	65%
Stevenson	29
Undecided	6

Among persons who classify themselves as Democrats, Stevenson is favored over Eisenhower today by about 5-to-2, as follows:

DEMOCRATS ONLY
(Today)

Stevenson	68%
Eisenhower	28
Undecided	4

Here are the figures for December:

DEMOCRATS ONLY
(December)

Stevenson	70%
Eisenhower	26
Undecided	4

An Institute survey reported Friday showed President Eisenhower's personal popularity index is now at the second highest point during the three years that he has been in office, with 77 per cent approving of the way he is handling his White House duties.

The survey also showed that 61 per cent of the nation's voters say they would like to see Mr. Eisenhower run again, and virtually the same number, or 60 per cent, expressed the belief that he will be a candidate.

(Copyright, 1956, American Institute of Public Opinion)

May Charge Ex-Army Officer With Treason

Defender P.1 Sat. 6-2-56 Chicago, Ill.

Says He Broadcast For Reds In China

By ROBERT E. THOMPSON

WASHINGTON —(INS) — Justice Department attorneys debated over the weekend whether a former air force lieutenant accused of broadcasting germ warfare propaganda for the North Koreans can be tried for treason.

House UnAmerican activities committee chairman Frances E. Walter (D) Pa., Thursday sent the department testimony of 38-year-old Louis Wheaton of New York and urged Wheaton be indicted.

The committee investigation is continuing with testimony from a group who attended the fifth World Youth Festival in Warsaw last year.

Wheaton, a World War II Air Corps officer, a Fordham university law school graduate, pleaded the first and fifth amendments when asked if he made two anti-American broadcasts from Peiping in August, 1952.

Confronted with abundant evidence of anti-American activities, He also refused to confirm or deny his authorship of articles which appeared in Red publications.

In requesting treason charges against Wheaton, Walter admitted a legal technicality may prevent any indictment. The constitution defines treason as occuring "in time of war," but the U. S. has never officially declared the Korean action was a war.

Wheaton was specifically asked if he made two broadcasts from Red China during a Communist-sponsored Asiatic-Pacific peace conference. His failure to reply, Walter said, "constituted de facto treason and should not remain unpunished."

Walter added: "If the technicalities of the law should for any reason make prosecution impossible, then I shall introduce legislation to make certain that there can be no recurrence of this kind of anomoly in the future."

Wheaton was called before the committee during its current investigation of suspected Communist efforts to evade a ban on foreign travel of known American Communists.

Wheaton was asked to account for his activities during the fall of 1952, when he had been granted a passport to travel to France and England.

Committee counsel Richard Arens accused him of continuing to Red China without permission.

The witness would neither confirm or deny that he accused American servicemen of herding 300 Korean women and children into a building, pouring gasoline on them and then setting them afire.

In one speech before the Asiatic-Pacific peace conference in Peipins on Oct. 6, 1952, Wheaton allegedly declared: "What has been done in the name of our country (The U. S.) . . against the people of Korea and China is an unspeakable shame against history and humanity."

Wheaton declined to say whether he had ever betrayed America and Rep. Gordon Scherer (R) Ohio, flatly charged: "This man was guilty of treason."

The witness also refused to state whather he is or ever has been a member of the Communist party or whether he headed the American delegation to the Peiping conference.

Wheaton was identified in testimony Wednesday by former Red, William Wallace, as a Communist party member. Wheaton refused to say whether he knew wallace.

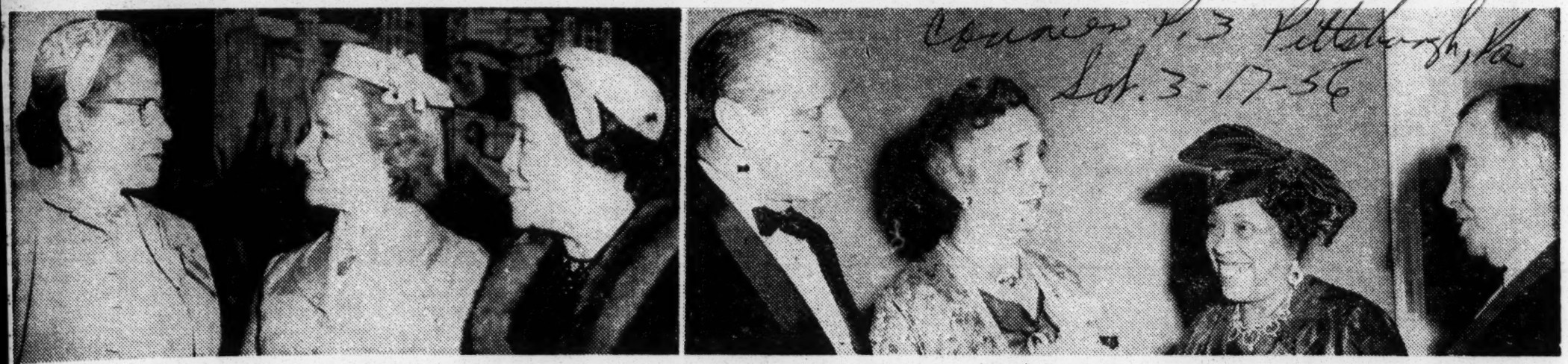
LOUIS WHEATON

34d 1956

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN WOMEN

GOP Ladies Look Forward to Election at D. C. Confab

GOP Ladies— As Vice President Richard Nixon entered the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C., to make an appearance at the National Republican Women's confab, he most graciously granted a request to have a picture with Mrs. Naomi Hatcher (left) of Atlantic City, N. J., and Mrs. Lephree Queen of Albin, N. J. (right). In the center photo, Mrs. Edna Redmond, of Mississippi, member of the Republican National Committee, attended the three-day convention of the Republican Women at the Statler Hotel in Washington. Here she stops for a moment beside the picture of President Eisenhower. In the right photo, among the delegates to the Republican Women's convention at the Hotel Statler in Washington were (left to right) Mrs. Kathleen L. Purnell, Mrs. Addie Toadvine, chairman of Republican Women's Club, and Mrs. Ruth Teagle, all of Salisbury, Md.—Cabell Photos.



Political Talk— Following the luncheon of the Republican Women at their convention at the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C., Mrs. Robert L. Vann (left), president of The Pittsburgh Courier, chats with actress Helen Hayes, who was guest speaker, as Mrs. J. Ernest Wilkins (right), who also gave a few minutes' talk, looks on. Picture at right shows Republican Women's National Conference at the Hotel Statler last week. "Congressional Night" featured a banquet with many top Republican leaders on the program. From left to right are Hon. William F. Knowland, U. S. Senator from California and minority leader of the Senate; Bertha S. Adkins, assistant to Republican national chairman; Mrs. Bessie Mercer Freeman, of Virginia White Speel Republican Women's Club, D. C., and Hon. Joseph W. Martin Jr., of Massachusetts and minority leader, House of Representatives.—Cabell Photos.

34d 1956

S. Carolina Won't Support Ike, Dixie Solon Declares

Daily Worker Atlanta Ga.
7 M. 4-6-56

BY WILLIAM THEIS

WASHINGTON — (INS) — South Carolina's new interim Senator said Thursday there is "not a chance" his state will go for President Eisenhower this November — and that the chief executive might lose some of the southern states he carried in 1952.

The prediction was made by Thomas A. Wofford, who will be sworn in as a Senator Monday to succeed J. Strom Thurmond for the remainder of this session of Congress.

Wofford told a news conference there is a "possibility" that a third party movement would develop in the South if Sen. Estes Kefauver, Tenn., or Gov. Averell Harriman of New York is nominated for the presidency by the Democrats.

But he said that if Adlai E. Stevenson is nominated and approved by the South Carolina Democratic Convention that state will "go along with Stevenson." He said he believes prospects are good that the state organization will endorse Stevenson.

The 1952 Democratic presidential nominee won South Carolina's eight electoral votes despite a Democrats-for-Eisenhower movement led by James F. Byrnes, then governor of the state, who bolted to the GOP in bitterness over actions of the Truman administration.

Democratic party leaders are confronted by another "Southern problem" this year as a result of Dixie resentment over the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation.

Their search for a compromise candidate acceptable to North and South, in case Stevenson and Kefauver deadlock at the convention, has renewed consideration of Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

Johnson has said repeatedly he is not a candidate this year for anything, but a "favorite son" movement has blossomed in Texas and he is likely to head its delegation to the Chicago convention.

Thurmond resigned from the Senate, effective Wednesday, to carry out an earlier promise that South Carolina voters would have a chance to vote this year on whether he or someone else should fill his seat.

Wofford, former Democratic chairman of Greenville County, was appointed to serve until after the November election. He announced immediately he is not a candidate for the Senate seat himself.

Wofford said there are "any number of reasons" why Mr. Eisenhower will not carry South Carolina this year—including disbelief in his 1952 endorsements of States' Rights and failure to provide high farm price supports.

Wofford said the same situation might apply throughout the South, where the President won four states in 1952, but that this was "more or less of a guess" on his part.

REPUBLICAN

"In the context of Supreme Court decisions under a Chief Justice appointed by President Eisenhower, decisions as historic as the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, we have a wonderful story to tell, and it is my opinion that it has not yet been told sufficiently well to the average Negro voter."

Tobin urged the delegates to emphasize that "a vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

This is a theme which has previously been developed mainly in private—that continued control of the Senate by a Democratic majority would mean the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles civil-rights legislation, would remain under the chairmanship of Senator Eastland (D., Miss.).

Eastland is a leader of those in the South pushing the fight against the Supreme Court's public-school-integration decision.

In the November election, Republicans must make a net gain for re-election — Missouri and New York—do Negro voters seem to hold the balance of power.

In Missouri, 7.5 per cent Negro on the basis of 1950 census figures, Senator Hennings got 53.6 per cent of the vote in 1950. In New York, 6.2 per cent Negro, Senator Lehman was elected by 52.6 per cent of the 1950 vote.

Hennings and Lehman, however, have been leaders in the fight for legislation favored by Negro leaders and are not expected to be much affected by the Republican bid for the Negro vote.

The house picture offers the Republicans greater opportunities.

There are 13 Democratic-held seats in districts with large Negro populations that were won by less than 55 per cent of the vote in 1954, and these are the principal targets of the G.O.P. campaign.

The 10 key cities are New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Kansas City.

G.O.P. Seeks Big-City Negro Vote To Gain Control of Next Congress

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky. 6-6-56

Addition of 17 Seats Needed

By JAMES RESTON
New York Times Service

Washington, June 5.—The Republican Party, confident of the re-election of President Eisenhower, is going after the votes of Negroes in the large urban areas of the North in an effort to regain control of Congress.

The G.O.P. has made a careful survey of areas where Negroes tend to hold the balance of power, and party strategists have been quietly planning a major campaign in these areas for weeks.

Last week the issue was brought into the open during the Citizens for Eisenhower conference in Washington by Richard Tobin, the organization's public-relations chief.

5 to 10 Per Cent Needed

He said a 5 to 10 per cent switch in the Negro vote this year "would almost certainly" mean the election of a Republican Congress.

He added:

"In the context of Supreme Court decisions under a Chief Justice appointed by President Eisenhower, decisions as historic as the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, we have a wonderful story to tell, and it is my opinion that it has not yet been told sufficiently well to the average Negro voter."

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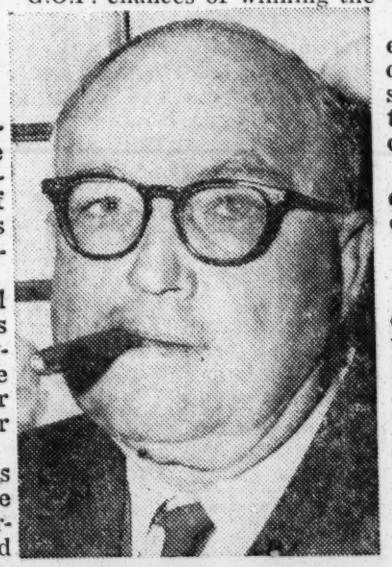
Eastland is a leader of those in the South pushing the fight against the Supreme Court's public-school-integration decision.

In the November election, Republicans must make a net gain of two Senate seats and 15 House seats to organize and control the 85th Congress.

G.O.P. chances of winning the



SENATOR EASTLAND
Target of Republicans

Senate by a defection of Negro voters from the Democratic column are not good.

In only two of the Northern states where Democrats are up

The Republicans are aware of the dangers of inflaming the segregation issue by thrusting it crudely into the campaign.

Nevertheless, they regard this election as a period of maximum opportunity in their dream of shattering the Roosevelt coalition and regaining the allegiance of the Negroes.

Until 1936, the Negroes tended to vote Republican in memory of Lincoln and emancipation.

Change Began in 1928

In 1928, however, the Democratic Party gained control of the cities, and throughout the New Deal era the Negroes, mainly for economic reasons, increased the Democratic pluralities in the urban North.

The Republicans now feel, however, that they have a chance to break this pattern.

In the following three factors, the G.O.P. thinks it has a combination that can detach a great deal of the Democratic Party's Negro voters in 10 key cities:

1. The public-school-desegregation decision.
2. The Democratic manifesto in Congress against this decision.
3. Senator Eastland.

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HOWARD 'REIGN' TO END, IS VIEW

New Orleans States
7 M. 8-17-56

After November Election, Says Jackson Paper

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 16 (AP)—The Jackson Clarion-Ledger said today there is "every indication" that Negro Atty. Perry Howard's long reign "as the nationally recognized Republican chieftain in Mississippi will end" after the November election.

Howard, who spends most of his time in Washington, has been Republican national committeeman from Mississippi for more than a score of years. Only Negro and senior member of the national committee, he heads the Black and Tan Grand Old Party, one faction of Mississippi's split Republicans.

In San Francisco Wednesday Wirt Yerger Jr., young Jackson insurance executive who is state chairman of the opposing Lily White GOP faction, was "given national recognition as chairman of the Mississippi Republican party."

E. O. Spencer, Jackson hotel man who is national committeeman for the Lily Whites and who headed the Citizens for Eisenhower group in the 1952 election, "has been designated as 'liaison' between the National and State Republican committees," the newspaper said. The Clarion-Ledger said its information came by telephone from Webb Overstreet Jr., chief counsel for the Lily Whites.

The Lily Whites won legal claim to the title "Mississippi Republican Party" in a court fight.

The Clarion-Ledger said recognition of Yerger probably will have no effect on the national recognition picture this year but that four years from now Yerger's "convention call and the results the results thereof" — including presumably the state convention's designation of a national committeeman other than Howard—"would also be officially recognized by the national party."

'LILY WHITES' REBEL, QUIT GOP CONVENTION

Commercial Appeal 1.35

Spencer Refuses To Share Mississippi Votes

Memphis Press
NEGRO 'NOT ACCEPTABLE'
7 M. 8-17-56

By The United Press

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 16.—An all-white delegation from Mississippi Thursday refused to share the state's 15 votes with a biracial faction and bolted the Republican National Convention.

Jackson hotel owner E. O. Spencer, leader of the so-called "Lily Whites," announced his group is returning home after losing the fight to have its 15-man delegation seated as the state's lone official representative to the convention.

Compromise Rejected

A compromise report, adopted Wednesday by the national GOP committee, ruled that seven delegates from Mr. Spencer's group and eight from the biracial faction headed by Negro attorney Perry Howard of Washington be seated.

At that time, GOP officials said the compromise was agreeable to both groups.

Mr. Spencer, who helped President Eisenhower gain 112,000 votes in traditionally Democratic Mississippi in 1952 as leader of the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign, disagreed Thursday.

"Although we have been accorded a partial victory of seven delegates and seven votes in the convention . . . we are not compromising our convictions on rights and justice," he said. "Perry Howard is not acceptable as our leader."

Most Going Home

Mr. Spencer said most of his group will return to Mississippi although a few will remain as spectators.

His faction has been recognized as the official Republican Party within Mississippi since 1950 although Howard's so-called "Black and Tans" have been seated at past GOP conventions.

Howard contended his group has been responsible for the existance and continuance of the Republican Party in the state for more than 30 years. Mr. Spencer claimed that Republican Administration leaders promised in 1952 the "Lily Whites" would be recognized this year.

AT NATIONAL CITIZENS for Eisenhower campaign conference in Washington, these Eisenhower boosters discuss the book, 'My Friend Ike," written by Marty Snyder. Left to right are Mrs. Arnold W. Cisco and Mrs. Irene McCoy Gaines of Chicago; Mrs. Marty Snyder, wife of the author; Mrs. Harry Queen of New Jersey, and Crystal Byrd Faucet of Philadelphia.

GOP WON'T PURSUE LABOR LEADER VOTE

Republicans Seek To Woo 'Working Men'

SHUN MEANY, REUTHER

By ROBERT E. HOYT

The Commercial Apoeal-Chicago Daily News Service. Copyright, 1956

WASHINGTON, May 16. — There'll be no wooing of labor leaders by the Republicans between now and the Nov. 6 election, according to top Republican brass.

They won't say so publicly, but "off the record" they admit this is leadership policy:

Meany, Reuther and company will be ignored; the GOP will aim its pitch past the AFL-CIO big shots to the "working man."

Economic Theme

The theme will be economic: "You've never had it so good. And it's going to get better if 'Ike' stays in the White House."

A top-level Administration source put it this way recently:

"I wouldn't move two inches to woo labor leaders," he said.

"Reuther? He's a socialist—in the good sense of the word—and there are simply too many philosophical differences between us.

"Meany is probably closer to the Republican Party philosophically. But he's a big city Democrat who would undoubtedly have trouble bringing himself to support a Republican."

Administration Hopes

The Eisenhower Administration, he admitted, would be ecstatically happy if it could merely "neutralize" the country's big labor leaders in the coming campaign.

And there's a slim chance they might.

A Republican congressman told a labor group recently, "You boys better learn where your bread is buttered. You'll not get any decent legislation out of a Dixiecrat - controlled Congress."

There have been indications organized labor is realizing the futility of one-party affiliation.

Not too long ago Walter Reuther cocked his ear for the Republican mating call when he told a press conference:

"I haven't made up my mind what, if any, party I'll support this fall."

He made it clear he was speaking as an individual, not a labor leader. When his decision is made, however, he might have difficulty distinguishing between the two personalities.

BIAS ISSUE SPURS DELAWARE RACES

Both Parties Likely to Move Warily on Integration at Conventions Next Month

Special to The New York Times.

DOVER, Del., July 7—As the two major parties begin preparing for their state conventions next month, both are finding the segregation issue to be the most perplexing one confronting them.

The two conventions will select candidates for the state-wide tickets in the November election and adopt the platform for their campaigns.

The state-wide contests this year include those for Governor, Lieutenant - Governor, United States Representative at Large, State Auditor and State Treasurer.

Gov. J. Caleb Boggs, Republican, has announced himself as a candidate for renomination. The Democrats are backing J. H. Tyler McConnell, Wilmington industrialist, as their candidate. He has said he would accept the nomination if offered to him.

However, State Senator Walter J. Hoey of Milford has said he was a candidate for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. He is being strongly supported by the anti-segregation element in the state.

The existence of this anti-segregation bloc has been worrying platform drafters for both parties. At present it appears that neither party will mention the segregation issue in its platform.

For the Democrats such an omission could provoke trouble within the ranks. This could be particularly true in the southern part of the state. However, the anti-segregation movement has supporters in every part of the state.

The record of the present session of the Legislature on the segregation problem probably will cause leaders of both parties to handle the issue with extreme caution.

The Legislature, for instance, has refused to take any action that would lead toward integrating the public schools. Instead, it appropriated close to $10,000,000 to improve the Negroes' schools.

Political leaders saw some hope several months ago when it appeared that a Federal court would issue orders compelling some school districts to integrate classes. This probably would have removed segregation as a major issue in the campaign.

However, with one exception, the school districts involved in this litigation informed the court that their areas were not ready to undertake integration. In the one district in which a program leading to integration had been formulated, a citizens' meeting protested the plan.

Accordingly, segregation remains as a major issue in the coming campaign. Some political leaders believe that it also will affect the outcome of the national campaign in Delaware.

RIGHTS PLANK EASED

Court Decision Is Accepted

But Force Ruled Out In Compromise

(Texts on Pages Four and 13)

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20.—A civil rights plank "accepting" the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision was agreed upon Monday by the Republican National Convention's platform committee.

Yielding to pressure from Southern Republicans, the committee turned out a plank that is expected to be accepted by Southern state delegations when it comes before the full convention Tuesday.

In general, the committee's proposal was along the same moderate lines as the civil rights plank adopted by the Democrats in Chicago last week.

Rejecting the use of force or violence "by any group or agency," it said implementation of the desegregation decision should be left to Federal district courts.

As did the Democratic version, it stopped short of recommending affirmative congressional or executive action to carry out the court decision.

Through Court Action

It said only that progressive elimination of school segregation "must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government." And to this end it recommended "intelligent study, understand, education and good will."

"The Republican Party," it said, "accepts the decision of the United States Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated.

"We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with all deliberate speed locally through Federal district courts.

"The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and long-standing decisions of the same tribunal.

Use Of Force Opposed

"We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation.

"This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved."

As did the Democrats in Chicago, the committee abandoned the previous advocation of a Federal employment practices act, and of a Federal anti-lynching law. It also was silent on the question of the Senate rule that permits filibusters.

However, the committee did pledge support for President Eisenhower's civil rights program which died in the Senate in the recent Congress.

That program called for legislation to protect Negro voting rights, creation of a Federal commission to air segregation and discrimination grievances, and establishment of a civil rights division in the Justice Department.

The committee devoted most of its plank to praising progress in eliminating segregation in the armed forces, in interstate transportation, in veterans hospitals, and in the District of Columbia.

It also noted with pride the Eisenhower Administration's appointment of Negroes to "high public positions."

"The Republican Party," it said, "points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights."

Harry C. Carbaugh of Chattanooga, Tennessee's member of the platform committee, indicated the civil rights plank is acceptable to him.

Acceptable To Arkansan

So did Harry N. Pollock of Fort Smith, the Arkansas member of the committee. And Mr. Pollick added that the committee session at which the plank was agreed upon was "quite harmonious."

Pressure group spokesmen, however, were considerably less pleased.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for Color People, complained the plank is only "a thin shade stronger" than the Democratic version, which he denounced in Chicago.

South's Negro Voters Go GOP

Times-Picayune
But in North Bulk Continues Democratic
Sun. 11-11-56

(The Associated Press)

If you look South, the Negro voter has returned to the Republican party. But if you look North, he's still Democratic although not so staunchly as he was four years ago.

New Orleans
52

And because there are more Negro votes outside the South than in it, the "party of Lincoln" still has a long way to go to regain the politico-racial domination it held so firmly from Reconstruction days until Franklin D. Roosevelt smashed it 20 years ago.

Nearly all Southern states Tuesday saw a complete reversal in the presidential balloting among Negroes with Adlai Stevenson's wide 1952 majorities turning into very similar margins for President Eisenhower.

Negroes Help Swing States

In three of five Southern states won by the President — Virginia, Tennessee and Louisiana — this preference by Negro voters was very important in the final results.

In nearly all the great Northern centers of Negro population there was a definite trend away from the Democratic ticket although not enough to give Eisenhower a majority in any major area of Negro registration.

This trend was characterized by James L. Hicks, managing editor of the Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, as a divorce from the Democrats rather than a marriage to the Republicans.

Other interpretations of this trend vary widely — oriented mostly on the speaker's own politics. But there is general agreement that there was a trend and strong indications that the Democrats must reconsider their approach to the Negro if they are not to lose their hold on his vote.

More Negative Than Positive

Why was the shift so much more marked in the South? While many factors were operative there — including Eisenhower's great personal appeal — the Southern Negro's stand was much more negative than positive. They were protesting what one Negro spokesman called "Eastlandism" on the segregation issue — referring to Sen. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, and like-thinkers among Democratic officeholders who have been most vocal and active in denying Negroes the school integration ordered by the Supreme Court.

Some Democrats, including Negro leaders in the North, are inclined to dismiss the whole thing as a passing phenomenon, tracing mostly to Eisenhower's immense appeal.

Republicans, of course, saw this year's results as the first major step toward return of big Negro majorities for their party.

Haven't 'Bought' GOP Yet

Val Washington, head of the minorities division of the Republican National Committee and a Negro, said nationwide reports indicate a swing of Negro votes to Eisenhower. But he added "I don't think they've bought the Republican party yet. Give us four more years and I think they will."

If the greatly increased Republican vote in the South is not just an Eisenhower-induced surge that will end when he retires, it is certain that Southern Democrats must reckon with the Negro vote as they never have before. Although Negro registration remains small — 156,000 of 1,310,000 in Georgia, for example — it will grow and could loom very large in a close race. As, indeed, it did this year in Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia.

Vote to Loom Larger in South

Nationally, Negroes make up about four million of the 61 million estimated total registration. Of these, about 1½ million are in Southern states. Those outside the South are concentrated largely in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California, where they often can hold balance of power positions.

State by state, the picture of Negro voting in Tuesday's election, and interpretations of it, were:

ALABAMA — The Negro vote was an important and possibly deciding factor in Eisenhower carrying Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery counties. Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro leader, said about three fourths of Jefferson County's 7,000 Negroes switched to Eisenhower and estimated the same percentage swing throughout the state. He said many Negroes thought a Democratic vote would be a vote for reactionary senators "like Eastland."

ARKANSAS — The opinion of most qualified observers is that there was no significant shift in the Negro vote.

California Shift Slight

CALIFORNIA — There was slight indication that some Negro votes switched from Democrats to Republicans in the mixed 26th District where Rep. James Roosevelt won re-election by a smaller margin than Democrat Sam Yorty did in 1952.

One Los Angeles County Negro leader estimated that "maybe five per cent of the Negro vote shifted, but I don't think it was more than that."

FLORIDA — Gilbert Porter of Tallahassee, director of the Florida Negro Voters League, said there is no question but that the Florida Negro vote, which has been Democratic, was predominantly Republican this time.

Florida has 148,636 registered Negro voters of which 137,868 are Democrats and 10,768 Republicans. In Miami, Negro districts which had voted Democratic gave slight majorities to Eisenhower. Tampa results showed a definite shift of Negro votes to Republicans and two all-Negro precincts in Walton County, created by the recent legislature, went solidly Republican.

One Box 7-to-1 for Ike

GEORGIA — The Negro vote in Georgia's two largest cities, Atlanta and Savannah, shifted sharply to Eisenhower. In Atlanta, Randolph Thrower, Republican opponent of Rep. James C. Davis, chairman of the subcommittee which investigated integration in Washington, D.C. schools, ran ahead of Eisenhower. One Negro box voted almost 16-1 for Thrower and nearly 7-1 for Eisenhower.

In Richmond County, home of the Augusta National Golf Club where Eisenhower often visits, the county went Republican but some of the heaviest Democratic majorities were in four precincts where most of the Negroes vote.

ILLINOIS — Only a slight shift was indicated in the Chicago Negro vote. The Negro wards, highly organized by Democrats, all gave pluralities to Stevenson but by a slightly smaller percentage than in 1952. However, there has been a big drop in registrations due to slum clearance projects and other factors.

Enoch Waters, executive editor of the Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper, said some Chicago Negroes voted for Eisenhower as a protest against the "reactionary Southern wing of the Democratic party," but that the switch was smaller in Chicago that in some other cities. Rep. William Dawson, leading Negro political figure in Chicago, thinks the war situation won some Negro votes for Eisenhower but that the slight drop in Stevenson's margin does "not represent any disenchantment over civil rights."

Shift Tipped Louisiana—Gravel

LOUISIANA — Shift of Negro votes, particularly in New Orleans, is given credit for Eisenhower's majority in Louisiana by Camille Gravel, Democratic national committeeman. A. P. Tureaud, state attorney for the outlawed National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said "Negroes wanted to put in a protest vote."

MARYLAND—In Baltimore, Negro districts which in 1952 had voted 3-1 and 4-1 for Stevenson, Tuesday went 2-1 and 3-1 for Eisenhower. State Sen. Harry A. Cole, first Negro elected to the Maryland general assembly, said "I don't believe the Republican civil rights platform had anything to do with it. It was mostly due to the great respect for Eisenhower and to intensive organizing efforts on the precinct level."

MICHIGAN — Neither party claims any shift of Negro votes in the Detroit area. Stevenson polled almost the same percentage as in 1952. Rep. Diggs who was re-elected with 69 per cent of the vote over a Negro opponent in the 13th district, won with 65 per cent over a white opponent in 1954.

A Detroit Free Press survey showed a five per cent shift from Stevenson to Eisenhower in four key Negro districts with one of the four showing a shift from Eisenhower to Stevenson.

'Always Voted Republican'

MISSISSIPPI — H. T. Ashford, Hinds County (Jackson) circuit clerk, estimated the bulk of 4,000 Negro voters in the county voted Republican. "As usual there was no shift," he said. "The Negroes here always have voted Republican."

NEW YORK — New York's Harlem area voted Democratic but by substantially reduced percentages. Rep. Powell, a Democrat who bolted the ticket to support Eisenhower, said Negroes "temporarily deserted" the Democratic party because of "creeping Eastlandism," his term for the segregation stand of Southern Democrats.

The New York Post said editorially that one of the election's biggest stories may be the "message that the Negro voters finally got through to the Democratic party."

Among the factors involved in the Negro voters' upheaval, the Post listed Eastland's elevation to chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Arthurine Lucy mob in Alabama and Stevenson's use of the "inflammatory word "moderation'" in speaking on the race issue.

New Orleans

NORTH CAROLINA — Indications point to a decided shift of North Carolina Negro votes to the Republican party. Two Negro leaders attribute it largely to resentment against moves of the Democratic state administration to circumvent the segregation decision.

Pennsylvanians Democratic

PENNSYLVANIA — Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Negro wards voted Democratic but also by substantially lower percentages than in 1952.

Sun. 11-11-56

Two Democrats discounted any Negro vote shift. "I don't think the Negroes are back where they were for so many years," said Andrew Bradley, state budget secretary, a Negro. "Any shift by no means indicates anything permanent. The greater part of the Negroes stayed with the Democrats and will remain in that camp."

State Democratic Chairman Joseph M. Barr said "I don't think the colored question had one half of one per cent bearing on the entire election."

SOUTH CAROLINA — There was a pronounced shift of Negro votes to the Republicans in South Carolina. Negro Democratic leader John McCray of Columbia estimated it as 35 per cent. He heads the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, an organization dominated by Negroes which still considers itself part of the Democratic party.

McCray attributed the shift to a protest against "certain elements" of the Southern wing of the party and to Eisenhower's personal popularity. He estimated that less than half of the 80,000 to 85,000 registered Negroes went to the polls.

Give Tennessee to Ike

TENNESSEE — The heavy Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis) apparently was a major factor in Tennessee's vote for Eisenhower. In 31 precincts where the Negro vote is dominant, Eisenhower lost them all in 1952 but won 23 this year. Negro GOP leader George W. Lee said the switch was endorsement of the President's civil rights program and repudiation of the Democratic attitude in the South.

TEXAS — Apparently a majority of Texas Negro voters remained Democratic and certainly did not swing the state. Arthur Dewitty, state legislative representative for the NAACP, said he knew of no substantial shift in the Negro vote. However, the Houston Post said that in 18 predominantly Negro precincts where Stevenson got 95 per cent of the vote in 1952, the vote this year was only 67 per cent for the Democratic nominee.

VIRGINIA — The Virginia Negro vote in a number of major cities swung sharply Republican. The switch was massive in some precincts.

P. B. Young, Negro publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, expressed the opinion that Negroes switched because they "felt Eisenhower was a bit more sincere in whatever he said on the civil rights issue."

MISSOURI — Eisenhower polled a slightly higher percentage of votes in the predominantly Negro wards in St. Louis this year, but most sources agree that the race issue had little effect.

GOP Charts Drive for Negro Vote To Utilize Warren-Led Decisions

Constitution Mon. 6-4-56 P.1
Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, June 3 — The Republican Party, confident of the re-election of President Eisenhower, is going after the votes of Negroes in the large urban areas of the North in an effort to regain control of Congress.

The GOP has made a careful survey of the states and congressional districts where Negroes

Fewer Negroes to vote Democratic, NAACP leader says. Story on Page 2.

tend to hold the balance of power, and party strategists have been quietly planning a major campaign in these areas for weeks.

Last week, the issue was brought into the open during the Citizens-for-Eisenhower conference in Washington by Richard Tobin, the organization's public

By JAMES RESTON
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relations chief, who told the delegates a 5-to-10 per cent switch in Negro votes this year "would almost certainly" mean election of a Republican Congress. He added:

"In the context of Supreme Court decisions under a chief justice appointed by President Eisenhower, decisions as historic as the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, we have a wonderful story to tell, and it is my opinion that it has not yet been told sufficiently well to the average Negro voter."

Tobin urged the delegates to emphasize that "a vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland." This is a theme which has previously been developed mainly in private:

It is that continued control of the Senate by a Democratic majority would mean that the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles civil rights legislation, would remain under the chairmanship of Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), a leader of those in the South who are pushing the fight against the Supreme Court's public school integration decision.

In the November election, Republicans must make a gain of two Senate seats and 15 House seats to organize and control the 85th Congress.

GOP chances of winning the Senate by a defection of Negro voters from the Democratic ranks are not good. In only two of the Northern states where Democrats are up for reelection do Negro voters seem to hold the balance of power—in Missouri (7.5 per cent Negro on the basis of 1950 census figures) where Sen. Hennings got 53.6 per cent of the vote in 1950, and New York (6.2 per cent Negro) where Sen. Lehman was elected by 52-6 per cent of the 1950 vote.

Constitution P.11

Hennings and Lehman, however, have been leaders in the fight for legislation favored by Negro leaders and are not expected to be much affected by the Republican bid for the Negro vote.

AIMING AT THE HOUSE

The House picture offers Republicans greater opportunities. A recent study by Congressional Quarterly, for example, listed 61 congressional districts outside the South where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 census was larger than the winning candidates's margin of victory in the 1954 congressional elections.

Thirty-two of these 61 districts elected Democrats in 1954, 29 elected Republicans. In most of the 32 Democratic districts, however, the Democrats won by such large margins that only a spectacular switch in Negro voters could turn the seats to the GOP column.

There are, however, 13 Democratic-held seats in districts with large Negro populations which were won by less than 55 per cent of the vote in 1954, and these are the principal targets of the GOP campaign.

NIXON NOW QUIET

Republicans are aware of the dangers of inflaming the segregation issue by thrusting it crudely into the campaign. For that reason, perhaps, Vice President Nixon, who was widely criticized for referring some months ago to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "great Republican chief justice," left the segregation tactics last week to Tobin.

Nevertheless, the GOP strategists regard this election as a period of maximum opportunity in their dream of shattering the Roosevelt coalition and regaining the allegiance of the Negroes.

Until 1936, Negroes tended to vote Republican in memory of Lincoln and emancipation. In 1928, however, the Democratic Party gained control of the cities, and throughout the New Deal era the Negroes, mainly for economic reasons, increased the Democratic pluralities in the urban North.

GOP LOOKS AHEAD

Republicans now feel, however, that they have a chance to break this pattern. The Negro population in the North has risen from less than 3,000,000 in 1940 to 5,000,000 today.

In the public school segregation decision, the Democratic manifesto in Congress against the decision and in the person of Eastland, Republicans think they have a combination which can detach a great deal of the Democratic party's Negro voters in the key cities of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland and Cincinnati.

In short, the GOP is looking not only to this election, when it can count on the popularity of Eisenhower to keep it in power, but to the the post-Eisenhower period, when, if it can dramatize the Negro campaign for public school integration, it might be able to establish a new patern of mass voting in the decisive populous states of the North.

GHOST OF THE THIRTIES

Republicans feel they have finally wiped away the ghost of the economic depression of the thirties. They believe they have found a new decisive majoirty in American political life favoring a kind of modified or moderate New Deal.

In addition, they have the argument of peace, and if they now can break or even weaken the Democratic party's hold on 80 per cent of the Negro voters in the North, they can see the prospect of a new Republican era.

That, at least, is the objective and background of what Tobin was talking about here last week.

Ike Did Most For Negroes, Nixon Asserts

Constitution
Thurs. 2-17-56
Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 (UP) Vice President Nixon, scoring what he termed Democratic "futility" in the civil rights field, said tonight the Eisenhower administration has "registered the greatest advance" in Negro rights since the Emancipation Proclamation.

P. 12-A

Nixon's frank invitation to Negroes to vote Republican next November came one day after Adlai E. Stevenson, a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, urged that the school segregation issue be kept out of the campaign.

Stevenson said in Portland, Ore., yesterday that efforts by rival candidates to outpromise each other could weaken national unity and damage the cause of civil rights.

The vice president, in an address to a Lincoln Day dinner in the Waldorf Astoria Hotel here, charged that the "Democrats know their hybrid party is helpless and futile" in the field of civil rights and race relations.

"Just the other day out in California, Mr. Stevenson and Mr. (Tennessee's Sen. Estes) Kefauver talked about it (civil rights) again and, as usual, they contradicted each other and then each of them contradicted himself," Nixon said.

Constitution

While crediting the Northern wing of the Democratic party with "unquestioned good intentions" on the issue, he said, "Perhaps in no other field is there a greater contrast between Democratic campaign promises and Democratic congressional performance."

P. 11

On the other hand, he said, the Eisenhower administration has abolished racial segregation in the armed forces, among employes working on federal contracts, among federal civilian employes and in the District of Columbia.

The Interstate Commerce Commission also has abolished racial discrimination in bus, boat and railroad travel, he said.

Nixon

"And," he added, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, a great Republican chief justice, Earl Warren, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the nation's public schools.

"And we did all this in just three years. The only hope for continued progress toward the realization of the American dream of equal opportunity in every respect for every American is through the election not only of a Republican president but a Republican House and Senate."

Nixon centered his attacks on Stevenson, charging that the 1952 Democratic standard bearer shows promises of becoming "the great hair-splitter of 1956."

Turning to Stevenson's attacks on administration foreign policy, Nixon said, "It is a lot better to be on the brink than in the drink as far as war is concerned."

The vice president said the Eisenhower administration's accomplishments of "peace and unprecedented prosperity" have made the Republican party "in truth the majority party."

Nixon praised Eisenhower's leadership Party at a meeting of the group's last week.

Nixon said no administration highly for his "inspired leadership . . . but most of all because of the man he is."

ever had done a better job "for all the people" or "kept its promise more faithfully" than the Eisenhower Administration has.

He called on Republicans to show their appreciation for present one has.

Democrats in 1932, said: "As Gov. Arthur Langlie of Washington, the keynoter, inferred, the Republican platform on civil rights must not be read out of context with the Republican record of the past three and one - half years.

"Measured by the yardstick of what has been done by the Eisenhower Administration in the field of integration, the Republican plank is far superior to the Democratic simulation."

Mr. Dunjee, who became a

Constitution

Weanesday, the Republican party announced his switch to the Republicans.

Mr. Dunjee said he will support the national and congressional tickets in Oklahoma — including Douglas McKeever, candidate for Governor, and against Sen. Mike Monrooney, (Dem.) seeking re-election.

Okla. editor turns to GOP

SAN FRANCISCO (NNPA) — Roscoe Dunjee, the fighting edi

Ark. GOP Elects Negro

PINE BLUFF, Ark. — (ANP) — Harold Flowers, a Pine Bluff attorney, was elected treasurer of the Jefferson County Republican

Lily Whites Bolt National Convention Before Start

Howard Not Acceptable, Says Spencer

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 16 (AP)—Mississippi's Lily White Republicans today walked out of the GOP national convention in San Francisco before the convention even got started.

"Perry Howard is not acceptable as our leader nor as the leader of the state of Mississippi in this convention," E. O. Spencer said in a message from the West Coast.

He said he and Webb Overstreet Jr., the Jackson attorney who was chief counsel for the Lily Whites in their recognition contest with Howard's Black and Tans, would be back in Jackson by 9 p.m. Friday night.

Faction Quitting

Spencer said his faction, which has sole legal title to the name "Mississippi Republican Party," was quitting rather than accept the GOP national committee's ruling that Mississippi's 15 votes be split, eight for the Black and Tans and seven for the Lily Whites.

Spencer's complete statement:

"The Mississippi Republican party is not going to participate in the convention to San Francisco.

"Most of the delegates are coming home. The few delegates remaining will do so as spectators.

"We are not compromising our convictions and right and justice. Perry Howard is not acceptable as our leader nor as the leader of the state of Mississippi in this convention."

Headed Ike Movement

Spencer, Jackson hotel man, headed the Citizens for Eisenhower in Mississippi in 1952, when the GOP presidential nominee polled an unprecedented 39 per cent of the state's votes.

Spencer is national committeeman for the Lily White faction.

Howard, a Negro attorney who spends most of his time in Washington, has been Republican national committeeman from Mississippi for 24 years. He is a leader of the predominantly-Negro faction, the Black and Tan Grand Old Party.

Residency Challenged

In a thick brief filed with the contest committee, Spencer's faction charged among other things that Howard is not a bona fide Mississippi resident, that the Black and Tans did not hold legitimate precinct and county conventions in many counties, and that the only way the party's presidential nominee could get on the Mississippi ballot as a Republican would be under the Lily Whites' banner.

The contest committee, however, ruled both Mississippi delegations were "imperfect."

'LILY WHITES' AGREE ON GOP COMPROMISE

Spencer Walkout Rejected By 'Harmony' Slate

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 17.—(UP)—The stormy "Lily White" delegation from Mississippi caucused Friday and named a "harmony" slate to cast its seven votes at the Republican convention here.

The National GOP committee earlier this week approved a report giving eight of Mississippi's 15 convention votes to the "Black and Tan" group headed by Perry W. Howard, a Negro. Some of the "Lily Whites" reacted strongly.

E. O. Spencer of Jackson, Miss., acting without sanction of the full group, announced all the "Lily Whites" would walk out. Now it appears only Mr. Spencer and W. N. Ethridge actually will pack their bags and head for home.

J. A. White, Durant, Miss., attorney, announced the all-white delegates had caucused in a "spirit of harmony." The caucus was prompted by a directive from Representative Hugh Scott (R., Penn.), counsel to the National GOP committee. He cautioned the "Lily Whites" they had best get together and certify a slate if they intend to use their seven votes on the convention floor.

Mr. White announced the "Lily White" delegates would include himself, Mrs. J. Balfour Miller of Natchez; L. B. Jones of Minter City; Wirt Yerger Jr. of Jackson and Truman Eubanks of Sumrall. Two others were to be named at the last minute—possibly Anson Sheldon of Hollandale and Jack White of McComb. Mr. Yerger, nominal head of the delegation when it left Mississippi, was the best bet to be named spokesman.

Mr. Spencer was still in town and reportedly working for an arrangement under which the whites and Negro factions from Mississippi would not sit together on the convention floor.

But other members of the "Lily Whites" admitted they would sit with the Howard group if the convention so directed.

Mr. Sheldon claimed a "90 per cent victory," even though the Howard group won the edge in the delegate split. Members of the "Lily Whites" claimed they will be recognized by the national Republican Party as the group in charge of Mississippi political machinery once they get back home.

500 Women Delegates To Attend GOP Convention

SAN FRANCISCO—With over 500 women delegates and alternates in attendance and with a number of women leaders holding key positions in the conduct of the Convention, the August 20th Convention of the Republican Party in San Francisco promises to present a lively and effective presentation of women's role in a Presidential campaign year, Miss Bertha S. Adkins, Assistant to the Chairman of the Republican National Committee declared today.

"The San Francisco Convention will be a highly important one for women who will be there as delegates, alternates and convention officers but it also will be a stimulating experience for thousands of visitors and TV observers," Miss Adkins said.

"With reports yet to be heard on five State delegations, the women's representation now stands at 482 delegates and alternates. This indicates that 1956 will register an all-time high record, far beyond the 389 total of 1952. It is significant and gratifying to women generally that in the Republican Convention each woman delegate has a full vote; there is no fractional vote system in our Republican Convention."

Special events have been planned for women during Convention week, Miss Adkins announctd. The schedule to date is as follows:

August 16 (12:30 p. m.,) Luncheon by Miss Bertha S. Adkins, at Mary Hopkins Hotel to honor women members of Republican National Committee.

August 19 (11:00 a. m.)Brunch by Miss Adkins for new women at Mark Hopkins Hotel, members of the National Committee (for 1956-1960 term.)

August 19 (7:00) p. m.—Dinner of National Federation of Republican Women honoring Mrs. Carroll D. Kearns, President and Mrs. Marjorie E Benedict, California's National Committeewoman—Claremont Hotel (Berkeley)

August 21 (9:00 a. m.) "A Breakfast Briefing" session arranged by Women's Division Topic: "Campaigning" Invitations issued to wives of Governors. Senators, House of Representatives; National Committeewomen and Vice-Chairmen of State Republican Committee.

August 22 9:00 a. m.) "A Breakfast Briefing" session arranged by Women's Division. Topic: "The Record Speaks" Special speakers. Invitations issued to all women delegates and alternates and new members of National Committee at the Venetian Room, Fairmont Hotel August 22 (11:00 a. m.) California Pageant of Fashion. Luncheon sponsored by California Women's Hospitality Committee at the Sheraton Palace Hotel.

A Women's Hospitality Center will be maintained at the Franciscan Room and Windsor Room of the Sir Francis Drake. It will be under the direction of California Women's Hospitality Committee.

The Convention Arrangements Committee has its headquarters in the Fairmont Hotel. Headquarters for the various divisions of the Republican National Committee will be maintained during convention week in the Mark Hopkins Hotel.

Dr. Howard To Campaign For Ike

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mississippi Negro physician, is planning a nationwide campaign for President Eisenhower, while Democrat Adam Clayton Powell has apparently refused to support the Dixie element of his party.

Dr. Howard, who fled Mississippi because of alleged threats and intimidation, has had several speeches tape recorded. The doctor, who did extensive work rounding up witnesses for the Emmett Till murder case, is president of the National Medical Association.

Mr. Powell, popular Democrat and pastor of Abyssinian Baptist Church of New York, largest in the world, has made so-called "veiled threats" to bolt his party this fall. However, sources said he will not bolt the party this fall, but will refuse to stump for the nationa ticket. As a Democrat, the Negro Congressman enjoys seniority which he'd have to give up if he signatures of five percent of registered voters in his area.

North Carolina Negro Edmond's Speech Causes Stir Among N. C. Delegates

BY HAMILTON T. BOSWELL

SAN FRANCISCO — (ANP) — Dr. Edmonds, who won her Ph.D. White delegates from North Caro- from Ohio State University, said lina caused quite a stir at the Re- in her speech:

publican National Convention last "In 1952 we elected a man who week when they let it becomein his inaugural prayer said: 'We known that they resented the speechpray that our concern shall be for of Dr. Helen Edmonds, distinguishedall the people regardless of station, Negro professor of history at Northrace, or calling'. In three and one- Carolina College, who seconded thehalf years as our President, he has never broken his word to our people. . . and you know I know. . . he will never break his word. President Eisenhower does not talk out both sides of his mouth.

34d 1956 REPUBLICAN

Studio With President and Mrs. Eisenhower

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va.

By P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.

WASHINGTON — This is a story that can be told only as a personal—and thrilling—experience. But more than that, it is a story which illuminates the innate warmth and deep humanity of a great President and al ovely and lovable First Lady.

The Occasion: the telecast of "The Women Ask The President" from Broadcast House (CBS-WTOP-TV) in the Capital, the second time President Eisenhower has submitted to unrehearsed questions from representative citizens during a broadcast.

The Time: Wednesday afternoon, Oct. 24, 3:00-3:30 EDT.

The Thrill: Unexpectedly playing the role, of a sort, of a modern-day Sir Walter Raleigh and supplying Mrs. Mamie Doud Eisenhower with a pen and a shoulder with which to sign autographs immediately following the telecast.

Sat. 11-3-56

THE GRACIOUS First Lady later acceded to my own request for an autograph and cordially thanked me for the slight services gladly volunteered.

But, to top one big thrill, the President a few moments later smilingly agreed to add his signature to that of Mrs. Eisenhower on my own souvenir of the occasion.

It all started and ended this way

* * *

THE WRITING members of the press corps watched the unique telecast from a glass-enclosed booth above the large studio.

When it was concluded, they rushed to the studio itself, where the President was continuing to answer questions on crucial issues of the campaign and, later, chatting with the seven program participants, signing autographs, and submitting to the inevitable "one more, please, Mr. President" plea of cameramen.

I observed, took notes, and —quite frankly—enjoyed the thrill of proximity to a man of history on an historic occasion.

* * *

QUITE SUDDENLY, on his own volition, Mr. Eisenhower walked across the studio to shake hands with Mrs. Irene Martin of Allen, Md., one of the seven women, and the only Negro, who questioned the President on crucial issues.

"Tuning in," I jotted down the President's "personal greetings to those 12 fine children of yours."

He was referring, of course, to the 12 sons and daughters whom Mrs. Martin and her husband, Louis, put through college on a combined weekly top income of $80 per month and won them feature treatment in Life and Reader's Digest magazines late in 1955.

* * *

THE PRESIDENT then turned to say a pleasant word to Captain Lourene Martin, Army Nurse Corps, a daughter of the noted Eastern Shore (Maryland) mother, down from Fort Jay, New York, for the day.

In a studio swarming with television, newsreel, newspaper, and photo service personnel I retreated across the room and continued to observe with interest the stir that any appearance of the Chief Executive creates.

One of the women panelists, Miss Beverly Barr, Rochester, N. Y., asked Mrs. Eisenhower for her autograph. Both were sitting within two feet of me.

"Oh, my dear, I haven't a pen." I offered the use of mine.

"And, now, what will I write on?" I offered the use of my right shoulder. The First Lady accepted both.

* * *

SUDDENLY, still and movie cameras were trained on the scene. Others sought, and got, autographs.

"Mrs. Eisenhower," I said, "may I too have your autograph?" and proffered her the blank space on a news release about the then-impending telecast. "Of course," she said, and once again pressed my willing shoulder into service.

Then, remembering a promise to my eight-year-old son, Davis, which I never dreamed of really fulfilling, I was emboldened to return to the President's side (and you always do this slowly and carefully, by Secret Service orders, I already knew) and ask him to add his signature to that of his wife's.

* * *

HIS EYES twinkling, his famous grin in evidence, Mr. Eisenhower looked me straight in the eye, glanced at the "I Like Ike" button I was wearing, and gave me the coveted autographical double-header.

His special TV consultant, Robert Montgomery, Press Secretary James C. Hagerty and a Secret Service man moved nearer and indicated it was time for the President and the First Lady to return to the White House.

Smiling and nodding to the assemblage, they left—she for her wifely chores and he for the responsibilities of his great office and the rigors of a Presidential campaign.

Others were perspiring from the heat radiated by the studio lights and fairly wilted. He had bounce, vigor, and obvious vitality and enthusiasm.

* * *

MR. EISENHOWER likes people. During the broadcast itself, in reply to one question, he emphatically recounted his strong dislike for the expression 'little men." He said he "resented" having that epithet applied to any people.

There are no big or little Americans, he went on, but only Americans. He referred

Mrs. Eisenhower Borrows Newsman's Shoulder And Pen

Journal & Guide Norfolk, Va. Sat. 11-3-56 p. 13

Mrs. Mamie Doud Eisenhower, wife of the President, uses the pen and shoulder of P. Bernard Young Jr., to sign an autograph for Mrs. Mary Lanuti, of Oliphant, Pa., one of the panelists on "The Women Ask the President" television broadcast from Washington last week. Young is on leave from the Journal and Guide to serve as Director of Information for the Republican National Committee, Minorities Division. The scene is Broadcast House (CBS) in the capital and took place a few minutes after the telecast was concluded. One of the seven panelists was Mrs. Irene Martin of Allen, Md., famous mother of 12 college-educated children. The President later gave Young his autograph also. (Abbie How Photo)

Journal & Guide
Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 11-3-56
p. 13

After The Broadcast, The President Signs Autographs

The President smilingly gives P. Bernard Young Jr., of Norfolk, Va., his autograph as Mrs. Eisenhower congratulates Mrs. Irene Martin of Allen, Md., on her role in the "Women Ask the President" telecast (CBS) from Broadcast House in the Capital last week. Mrs. Martin was one of seven representative women who posed unrehearsed questions to the President in the second such broadcast in political history. (Abbie Howe Photo)

Ike takes lead over Adlai in AFRO's $500 contest

Afro-American p. 1
Baltimore Md.

President Eisenhower has taken a two to one lead over Democratic hopeful Adlai Stevenson at this point in the AFRO's $500 letter contest.

The compilation for the weekend revealed 63.8 percent of the letters received were in support of Ike while 36.2 per cent were in favor of Adlai.

Hundreds of letters were yet to be counted at the time the analysis was made. The contest closed on October 22.

Sat 10-27-56

Stevenson was holding a lead in letters from Florida, Michigan and Alabama.

Stevenson and Eisenhower were tied in New York and Georgia.

Here are the percentages by state as of October 20:

	Adlai Percent	Ike Percent
Baltimore	36.2	63.8
D. C.	32.3	67.7
Md.	25	75.0
N. Y.	50	50
N. C.	32.7	67.3
Va.	26.6	73.4
S. C.	31.5.	65.5
N. J.	40.8	59.2
Penna.	38.5	61.5
Ga.	50	50
Ala.	100	
N. E.	28.6	71.4
Mich.	100	
Fla.	54.6	45.4
Misc.	34.7	65.3
TOTAL	36.2%	63.8%

Contest letters appear in the Magazine Section.

Agnes Meyer Says:

GOP Win Won't Help School Aid

Post & Times Herald Washington D.C.
Fri. 10-19-56

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 18 (AP)—A Republican educator warned today that the re-election of President Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon would mean "that we will not get adequate federal support for our school system at this crucial period."

Agnes E. Meyer, writer and lecturer on educational subjects, called for the defeat of "every reactionary candidate who has opposed federal aid to education, whether he be Republican or Democrat," and support of all who favor such aid.

In no case is this more important than in the vote for the presidency," Mrs. Meyer said.

Mrs. Meyer, wife of Eugene Meyer, Chairman of the Board of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, spoke at the opening session of the University of Pennsylvania's annual schoolmen's week.

"AS A Republican who respects the liberal Republican members of the Congress and fears the far more powerful reactionary right-wing of that Party, I would not be doing my duty to you and to American childhood if I did not warn you that the re-election of Eisenhower and Nixon means that we will not get adequate federal support for our school system at this crucial period in the Nation's history," she said.

Mrs. Meyer, who noted she was "active in this running battle (for federal aid) day in and day out," said that Mr. Eisenhower stated "repeatedly during his campaign in 1952 and throughout the past four years: 'Our school system demands prompt and effective help.'"

"In spite of these pious statements, he never once took effective action to fulfill his promises," she said. "In fact, during the first two years he permitted the Secretary of Health Education and Welfare, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, and the Commissioner of Education, Dr. Samuel M. Brownell, to oppose federal aid to education with all the prestige of their high positions."

DURING the third year of his Administration, she said, President Eisenhower came out with a bill establishing state school authorities to lend money to the states. But, she said, "neither the President nor his legislative advisers knew enough about our country's fiscal organization to realize that this bill was useless" because some 30 or more states could not borrow under its provisions because of their constitutional debt limitations.

"Having known my fellow Republicans of the right-wing for many years, I can assure you they are unalterably opposed to federal grants to education," she said. "If the President is re-elected, he will have even less power over these die-hard reactionaries. They consider federal aid to education 'creeping socialism.' They are, above all, money-minded. The dollar sign is their fetish."

Washington merry-go-round—

Powell allegedly got secretary out of jail for support

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25—Part of the reported deal between the Washington administration and Negro Congr. Adam Clayton Powell of Harlem, Democrat, who has just declared for Ike, is now leaking out.

Part of the deal was the release of Powell's secretary, Hattie Dodson, from a federal penitentiary. The records of Alderson, W. Va., women's federal reformatory show that she was released Oct. 17, one day before Congr. Powell gave his New York press conference detailing the reasons for his political switch.

Mrs. Dodson was convicted of income tax evasion after paying salary kickbacks to Powell. In the case of three other congressmen exposed by this column for taking salary kickbacks, it was they who were convicted, not their secretaries.

PEARSON

In this case, however, she refused to testify against Congr. Powell. Time after time she was asked about Powell's role in taking kickbacks. But over and over again she refused to implicate Powell. Over and over she claimed the kickbacks were her own fault.

Since a congressman's staff is paid out of federal funds, by all the taxpayers, he is not permitted to take any part of it back for himself.

Mrs. Dodson was sentenced to jail for seven months on July 16.

POWELL SEES G.O.P. WINNING NEGROES

He Says 25% Have Shifted to Eisenhower—Announces National Speaking Trip

Twenty-five per cent of Negro Democratic voters have decided to vote for President Eisenhower, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. declared yesterday.

Ten per cent more will switch to General Eisenhower before Election Day, he predicted.

The Negro Baptist minister, who has represented his Harlem district in Congress for twelve years, voiced these opinions at a press conference at 270 Park Avenue. It marked the opening of headquarters of the Independent Democrats for Eisenhower, of which he is chairman.

The Representative said he would tour the country making speeches for President Eisenhower, principally in cities where large Negro populations may swing from Adlai E. Stevenson to the President.

He insisted that he was "still a Democrat" and would support local Democratic candidates.

However, he said, he has not yet decided whether to support Mayor Wagner or Attorney General Jacob K. Javits, the Republican nominee, in the New York Senatorial race.

That decision, Mr. Powell said, awaits a reply to a telegram he sent Wednesday to Carmine G. DeSapio, with a copy to Mayor Wagner. It protested a "scurrilous, vicious and lying attack by Hulan Jack."

Trials Linked to Stand

Mr. Jack, Borough President of Manhattan, and other Democrats issued a statement last Friday attributing Mr. Powell's endorsement of the President to White House pressure "at the time of the trial of another of his personal staff."

Three of Mr. Powell's secretaries have been indicted on charges of Federal income tax law violations. One has been convicted, one is on trial and the trial of the third is scheduled for next week.

The Representative reiterated yesterday that his support of Eisenhower was based on his belief that the President would safeguard the civil rights of Negroes more vigorously than would Mr. Stevenson.

Frederick D. Weaver, executive director of the committee, declared that the Harlem Negro vote was "taken for granted" by the Democrats, who therefore ignored their welfare. An active Democrat, he was formerly deputy commissioner of Housing and Buildings.

John Roosevelt, son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, attended the opening, and was introduced as a "quasi Republican."

Representative Powell announced that two dozen persons prominent in Negro affairs, nearly all of them lifelong Democrats, had offered to serve on his committee.

Powell Switches, Backs Eisenhower

By RUSSELL BAKER

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 11—Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., asserting that Adlai E. Stevenson had snubbed the nation's Negro groups, announced today that he would campaign for President Eisenhower's re-election.

The Harlem Democrat, who supported Mr. Stevenson in 1952, announced his switch at an unusual White House news conference immediately after talking for thirty minutes with the President.

Asked whether he expected to turn Harlem's traditionally Democratic vote toward the Republican column, he replied, "I'm going to do my best to sway it." He said that he would campaign in eight or ten major cities across the country where there were big Negro voting blocs.

Leaving the President's office, Mr. Powell said that he was "going out of here to form an Independent Democrats for Eisenhower" group that would eunlist the support of "all disillusioned liberal Democrats."

Respects President's Prestige

His switch to General Eisenhower, he said, was motivated by respect for the President's prestige abroad, his stand on civil rights and a series of snubs that he had received from the Stevenson camp.

Mr. Powell said the Democratic nominee had campaigned in his own Harlem district last week and neglected to invite him to attend either the public rally or a reception at Harlem's Savoy ballroom.

To him, Mr. Powell said, Mr. Stevenson's refusal to be interviewed about his civil-rights position suggested that the Democratic candidate had wavered from his vigorous stand of 1952.

He said that he would appeal to all "disillusioned liberal Democrats who cannot understand why the principles of Roosevelt and Truman" have not been proclaimed by Mr. Stevenson.

Mr. Powell emphasized that he was not breaking with the Democratic party. He asserted he would support local and state Democratic candidates on the ticket.

He was still undecided tonight, however, about whether he would back Mayor Wagner or Jacob K. Javits, the Republican Attorney General, in the Senatorial campaign. Both are "excellent men," he said. "On that I haven't made up my mind."

James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, brought Mr. Powell before newsmen in his office late this afternoon. This focusing of attention upon him by the White House was one measure of the size of the coup the Republicans believe they have scored.

Mr. Powell's defection is the first significant one of the campaign thus far. Ironically, one of the major Democratic bolters of 1952 was James F. Byrnes, then Governor of South Carolina, who turned against Mr. Stevenson because he regarded him as too liberal on the civil-rights issue.

The last major bolt across party lines was made by Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, who switched from the Republican to the Democratic party in 1955 because he regarded President Eisenhower as too conservative on a host of issues. Senator Morse had supported Mr. Stevenson in the 1952 campaign.

Text Of Republican Plank On Civil Rights

"Equal opportunities and justice—civil rights.

"The Republican party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itsef anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin.

"In the area of exclusive federal jurisdiction, more progress, has been made in this field under the present Republican administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

" The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this administration.

"Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia government and in the District public facilities including public schools, restaurants, theaters, and playgrounds. The Eisenhower administration has climinated discrimination in all federal employment.

Fair Employment Enforced

"Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the federal government and secure federal contracts. This administration has impartially enforced federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so.

We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the second session of the 84th Congress.

"The regulatory agencies under this administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregation in the acive armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospital and among civilians on navals bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

Citizenship Unqualified

"The Republican party has unequivocally recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees to all people the blessings of liberty, due process, and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed, or color.

"The Republican party accepts the decision of the United States Supreme court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with 'all deliberate speed' locally thru federal District courts. The implementation order of the Supreme court recognizes he complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been deveoped in accordance dcisions of the same tribunal.

Progress Thru Study

"We believe that true progress can be attainted thru intelligent study understanding, education, and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved."

GOP says it brought greatest civil rights gains in past 80 years

SAN FRANCISCO (NNPA) — Calling for four more years of the "Republican Crusade," Gov. Arthur B. Langlie of Washington, candidate for U.S. Senator in his own state, acclaimed the accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration in the field of civil rights.

Delivering the keynote address Monday, Governor Langlie said:

"What about civil rights? We have witnessed the greatest gains in civil rights achieved over a period of 80 years. We have not given mere lip service. We have acted.

"We have acted in every area of the executive branch, in government contracts and in the District of Columbia.

* * *

"WE HAVE acted in ways that have no precedent in the record of previous administrations.

"And we have acted with one end in view: To realize —in fact, not just in campaign promises — equality of opportunity and the rights of full citizenship for all Americans regardless of race or creed or color."

Governor Langlie declared:

"We stand for the principle of equal justice to all. We stand for equality of opportunity for all our people.

"Our concern is for the individual, in his home and family, in his education, in his work, in his wellbeing; and we cherish for him his God-given right to develop himself and accomplish as much as his Creator has given him the strength, wisdom, faith and courage to achieve.

* * *

"THE DEMOCRATIC party is a party of many divisions," Governor Langlie charged. "It is a party of sectionalism and factionalism. It stands for one thing in the South, another in the North."

Continuing his attack, he said:

"It has northern liberals who militantly champion civil rights —up to a point—and they have others who abhor civil liberties like the plague."

He called the Democratic party "a coalition of antagonistic factions who periodically get together just long enough to try to get themselves elected."

* * *

SENATOR WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND of California, minority leader in the Senate and temporary chairman of the convention meeting in San Francisco's Cow Palace, hammered away on the achievements of the administration but took a different tack than Governor Langlie.

In domestic affairs, he championed states' rights.

Without elaborating, Knowland said the administration and the Republican party believes "in our constitutional system" with limited powers in the Federal Government and reserved powers in the states and the people.

"The longer I have served in public life — in the state legislature and in the United States Senate—the stronger a believer and supporter of the principle of states' rights I have become," Knowland said.

At the opening session of the Republican centennial convention, Sen. George H. Bender of Ohio was one of a number of orators who praised the Republican record during the three and a half years the Eisenhower Administration has been in power and hit at the Democrats.

Speaking on "The Minority Question," Senator Bender, who is being opposed for re-election by Gov. Frank J. Lausche of Ohio, said:

* * *

"THERE IS TOO much talk today of vaguely defined minority groups.

"I say with all the conviction that I possess that America and the Republican party contain no 'minorities.' All of us, working together, form an American nation based on laws that apply to all people.

"In this troubled period of world history, it is the duty and the privilege of the Republican party to emphasize unity—not division.

"It is our role to weld together a united nation dedicated without reservations to the common interests of our great people.

"America is the land where every man, woman and child, regardless of race, creed or national origin, is equal in the eyes of the law.

* * *

"WE HAVE recognized the basic truth of American history—the partnership of all our people in the development of America.

"We, as Republicans, have no problem of divided counsels. Our record is clear and consistent.

"For one-hundred years, our party has been the spokesman for a united America.

"For all of our people, we recognize no minority status.

"We recognize no majority status.

"We recognize no majority claims.

"We speak today, as we have throughout our history, for all Americans.

"Let us fight this campaign as a national party—for every citizen, for every family, now and forevermore."

STRONG TWO PARTY SYSTEM CAN BE ESTABLISHED HERE, WHITE HOUSE AIDE DECLARES

Daily World Tues. 10-16-56 P. 1

Atlanta, Ga.

REPUBLICANS WORK FOR TWO-PARTY SYSTEM — Left to right: Robert R. Snodgrass, National Committeeman, W. J. Shaw, Secretary, Republican ate Central Committee, Maxwell M. Rabb, White House Aide, Rev. W. M. Jackson, and William B. Shartzer. — (Photo by Reese)

TWO PARTY RULE MADE U.S. GREAT

By THADDEUS T. STOKES

A White House aide, Maxwell Rabb expressed confidence in a strong two-party political system being established in Georgia, during a 16-minute speech before a group of Republicans at a meeting in the Butler Street YMCA, Monday afternoon.

Rabb, secretary to the presidential cabinet, said "a strong two-party system is what made America great. It is apparent to me that a strong two-party system can be established in Atlanta." He continued: "We need a strong Republican Congress to back up President Eisenhower. We want to cast the biggest vote in the history of this country for the President. And we also want a strong showing in Congress."

RECOGNITION

He went on to say that Georgia could gain more political recognition on the national level if a Republican Congressman were to be elected.

"If a Republican Congressman were to be elected from this district (Fifth Congressional District), wouldn't that tell the world that Georgia could no longer be taken for granted?" asked the Presidential aide.

"Georgia could get the attention of not only the United States, but the world if it were to develop a two-party system."

He admitted that this was his first visit to Atlanta. He said of the city "I like what I have seen. I like the real character of the town." Daily World

Evading comment on desegregation of the public schools and civil rights — Rabb said "We will not go into the administration's feeling on human rights. I think the President's record speaks for itself." P. 5

PRAISES IKE

Highly praising President Eisenhower, the aide said "it is essential to look into the soul of the President to be able to understand how he can carry such a good program with humility, dignity and a sense of strength. He is a deeply spiritually religious man."

On explaining his duties as the President's aide, Rabb said that many have termed his job as "racial relations secretary." "That is not so, because the President believes that every public official should have that invested in his heart.

Referring to the Presidential cabinet, the speaker called it "the most haphazardous and slop-shodded organizations in the U. S. until three years ago." Members of the cabinet had no prior knowledge of what would transpire at cabinet meetings, because there was not an agenda.

"That has been corrected, by President Eisenhower. We now have "position papers" which is an agenda of the issues to be discussed. pro and con," said Rabb, who is in charge of this project.

Rabb, who announced that he would leave Atlanta early Tuesday morning for a speaking engagement in Florida, said he had traveled from coast to coast speaking for the President.

He was introduced to the three Republican clubs by William B. Schatzer, chairman of the State Republican Central Committee. Also introduced was Robert B. Snodgrass, treasurer of the State Central Committee.

Presiding at the meeting was William J. Shaw, secretary of the State Republican Committee, who made a plea for political contribution. He said that the central committee is in need of $120,000 for the current campaign.

Dawson says GOP neglects fan citizens

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-20-56

MINNEAPOLIS (ANP) — Representative William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) has charged the Republican Party with neglecting the welfare of colored people. P. 3

He said the only time a colored citizen ever gets elective office under the GOP is when "we, ourslvees, have enough votes to elect him."

The Illinois Democrat said that the Republican Party has never cared about colored people and despite the grip that white supermacy Southerners have on the Democratic Party, colored citizens will be better off with Democrats in power.

HE SAID there have been executive appointments of a few high office during Republican administrations, particularly the Eisenhower administration. But he added:

"No colored Republican, backed by the Republican organization, gets elected to office by the rank-and-file Republican Party."

Southern Senators Say Nixon Linked School Ruling to Politics

Times P.26-C

Stennis Says the Integration Decision Was Listed as a Republican Achievement

Wed. 2-15-56

By ALLEN DRURY

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14—Southern Senators attacked Vice President Richard M. Nixon today for putting Chief Justice Earl Warren and the Supreme Court school integration decision "right in the middle of the forthcoming political campaign."

Led by Senator John Stennis, Democrat of Mississippi, they denounced a speech by Mr. Nixon in New York last night in which the Vice President credited the Eisenhower Administration with major progress in the field of racial relations. In the speech Mr. Nixon said the court, "led by a great Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren," had ordered an end to segregation in the schools.

New York

The prompt Southern reaction indicated the difficulty facing President Eisenhower, Adlai E. Stevenson and other political leaders who apparently wanted to keep the segregation issue out of the 1956 campaign.

Senator Stennis said the Vice President's statement "officially acknowledges and confirms the fact that the decision was a political one." He added that although this would normally be "injurious to the court," Mr. Nixon had in fact rendered a service to the nation "by openly charatcerizing and branding this decision for what it is, purely a political one."

'Political Achievements'

The Vice President did not return to Washington in time to preside over today's session, so he was not present during Senator Stennis' speech.

"I deplore the fact that court decisions are referred to as political achievements," Senator Stennis went on, "but it represents conditions that have developed over the years. These are conditions for which the court itself is repsonsible."

The Mississippi Senator said the country had slipped a long way from "a nonpolitical, nonpartisan tribunal," such as the court was intended to be.

He said this situation "is just another fact that will require a reappraisal of our Supreme Court as to its usurpation of the powers belonging to the states, its jurisdiction and finally the method of selecting its members."

Senator Lister Hill, Democrat of Alabama, suggested that the Chief Justice "represents all the American people and not one political party." Senator Stennis agreed with his comment.

Senator John C. Stennis

The New York Times

Later Senator Sam J. Ervin, Democrat of North Carolina, chairman of the Southern Senators who have united to fight the court decision, said the Vice President's remarks were "a disservice," "unfortunate," and "discomforting."

"It is very disconcerting," he said, "to have the Vice President of the United States say that the Chief Justice acted in the capacity of a Republican after he ascended the Court. The Vice President has rendered a great disservice to the country when he suggested this, and the disservice becomes greater because some of us who have studied Constitutional law have always been at a loss to know how the Court could repudiate the unbroken record of eighty-six years.

"It is a discomforting suggestion that this came about because the Chief Justice was acting as a Republican."

Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat of South Carolina, said he agreed with Senator Stennis that the Court should be kept out of politics.

"When the Supreme Court of the United States ruled on segregation, it smacked of playing politics, but I never thought the Administration would admit it," Senator Johnston said.

Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, also endorsed Senator Stennis' criticism of Mr. Nixon.

Says Nixon Admits Mix Edict GOP's

Constitution

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 2-15-56

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14 (AP)—Sen. Stennis (D-Miss) told the Senate today that Vice President Nixon had "confirmed the fact" that the racial segregation decision of the Supreme Court was "a political one."

P. 1

Stennis read excerpts from a speech Nixon made before a Republican group in New York City last night in which the vice president said the party had abolished racial segregation in District of Columbia schools, the armed services and other fields.

The senator quoted Nixon as saying "a great Republican chief justice, Earl Warren, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the nation's public schools."

Stennis, one of many Southerners critical of that decision, said Nixon's speech "confirmed the fact that the decision was a political one."

Stennis, a former Mississippi judge, added the nation now is in an era when the Constitution "is what the justices say it is."

He said he deplored that a decision of the highest court was "represented as a political achievement."

Stennis said the time has come when the nation must reexamine what he called the efforts of the court to legislate and usurp powers granted to the states by the Constitution.

He said the qualifications for Supreme Court justices and method of their appointment also should be reappraised.

Nixon Right, Says Stennis, On 'Political' Race Ruling

Post & Times Herald

Wed. 2-15-56

United

Sen. John C. Stennis (D-Miss.) said yesterday Vice President Richard M. Nixon branded the Supreme Court's school segregation decision for "what it is, purely a political one."

Stennis

He told the Senate that Nixon's New York speech Monday night placed Chief Justice Earl Warren "right in the middle of the forthcoming political campaign" and would be "ordinarily injurious to the court."

Washington

But in this case, Stennis said, Nixon has "nevertheless rendered a service to the nation by openly characterizing and branding this decision for what it is, purely a political one."

Stennis criticized Nixon's reference to Warren as a "great Republican Chief Justice" who led the unanimous court in the ruling to ban racial segregation in public schools.

"Certainly we have slipped a long way from a non-political, nonpartisan tribunal when with an approaching National election the Chief Justice . . . is referred to as 'a great Republican Chief Justice' by the Republican Vice President while recounting the political accomplishments of a Republican Administration," he said.

But "the Vice President has made clear the situation," he said.

He said Nixon's remarks "officially acknowledged that the decision was a political one and further confirmed the fact "that the Nation has passed from "an era when the Constitution was what it says it is to one in which the Constitution is what the Justices say it is."

Sen. Lister Hill (D-Ala.), joining in the attack, suggested that the Chief Justice "represents all the American people."

Stennis said the time has come for Congress to think about the Court's makeup, the "method of selecting judges, and its "usurpation" of powers.

STENNIS CITES NIXON: DECISION 'POLITICAL'

Commercial Appeal P. 1

Court Desegration Ruling Injected In Campaign By Speech

Wed. 2-15-56

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

Memphis

WASHINGTON, Feb. 14. — Senator John Stennis (D. Miss.) declared Tuesday that Vice President Richard M. Nixon, in a speech in New York City Monday night, had confirmed that the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision was "a political one."

The Mississippian said the Vice President had branded the decision "for what it is, purely a political one," by lauding the part that the "great Republican chief justice, Earl Warren," played in formulating it.

Deplores Entry

Senator Stennis charged Mr. Nixon with injecting "the chief justice and the decision right into the middle of the forthcoming political campaign."

"I deplore the fact that court decisions are referred to as political achievements," the Mississippian, a former circuit judge, declared in a Senate speech.

Already Known

But he said the Vice President's address has served a useful purpose by further confirming the political nature of the court's racial ruling.

"He confirms a fact already known by many of us, namely, that we have passed from that era when the Constitution is what the Constitution says it is, and have gone over into the era in which the Constitution is what the justices say it is," Senator Stennis said.

He said the condition is one that has developed gradually over the years and is one for which the justices themselves are responsible.

"I think," he declared, "that this condition is just another fact that will require a reappraisal of our Supreme Court as to its usurpation of the powers belonging to the states, its jurisdiction, and finally the method of selecting its members.

"Certainly we have slipped a long way from a non-political, non-partisan tribunal when in an approaching national election the Chief Justice of the United States is referred to as 'a great Republican chief justice' by the Republican Vice President, while recounting the political achievements of a Republican Administration. The Vice President has made clear the situation."

Senator Lister Hill (D., Ala.) associated himself with Senator Stennis' remarks. Joining the attack, Senator Hill declared the chief justice should represent all of the American people and not just one political party.

Nixon Credits Racial Gains To His Party

Post & Times Herald P. 1

Tues. 2-14-56

Vice President Notes Republican Issued Integration Ruling

Washington, D.C.

By Chalmers M. Roberts

Staff Reporter

Vice President Richard M. Nixon last night claimed "Republican Administration" credit for sweeping advances in the civil rights field, including Chief Justice Earl Warren's Supreme Court ruling which ordered an en dto public school segregation.

In a New York Lincoln Day dinner speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, Nixon declared the "hybrid" Democratic Party is "helpless and futile" in the gelds of "civil rights and race relaitons." By contrast, he said, "President Eisenhower's great Republican Administration has registered the greatest advance for the rights of racial minorities since the Emancipation Proclamation itself."

Nixon said "we have abolished" racial segregation in the District of Columbia, in the

Armed Forces, in Federal contracts and civilian employment and, "through the Interstate Commerce Commission we have abolished racial discrimination in travel by bus, boat and rail." Then Nixon added:

"And, speaking for a unanimous Supreme Court, a great Republican Chief Justice, Earl Warren, has ordered an end to racial segregation in the Nation's public schools.

He called the leading Democratic Presidential contenders "three candidates in search of a crisis," and obvious reference to Adlai Stevenson, Senator Estes Kefauver and Gov. W. W. Averell Harriman.

Nixon said Stevenson and Kefauver had "contradicted each other and then each of them contradicted himself" in recent West Coast statements on civil rights and race relations.

The Vice President declared that Illinois, which gave the Nation Lincoln, "the greatest rail splitter," had produced Stevenson, "the great hair splitter."

Nixon at one point declared that the Republican Party "is in truth the majority party in America today" because it has "so far advanced the best interests of all our people." This was in sharp contrast to a speech last March 15 in which Nixon said his party was "not strong enough to elect a President" but had to have "a Presidential candidate strong enough to get the Republican Party elected."

At no point in his prepared text did Nixon directly refer to President Eisenhower running for a second term although at one point he said that union leaders, if they act on the basis of what is best for union members, would be "out shouting" this November "for four more years of the Eisenhower Administration."

The vice president said Mr. Eisenhower, in the first three years "of what we all hope will be the eight years of the Eisenhower Administration," had given the Nation "inspired leadership which has brought America the greatest peace and prosperity and progress any people have enjoyed in the history of nations." Nixon said the President was "a man cast" in the "same great mold" as Lincoln and that Mr. Eisenhower had "brought dignity, respect and integrity" to the Presidency.

Nixon called on his audience to "show our appreciation by our dedication to winning the victory this November which will assure continuation of the policies and leadership which to the great majority of our people have brought the best three years of our lives lives."

The Vice President took an obvious swipe at former President Truman in declaring that when the Eisenhower Administration took office, "a great majority of Americans had lost faith in the honesty, integrity and reliabilitiy of those who served the Government."

Nixon said that "we know" both parties "want America to live in peace and to help keep the peace by staying strong," and that both want a "healthy and happy nation." But he charged there was a "Democratic addiction to reactionary mass and class ideas in which individualism tends to wither and die."

NIXON TO ADDRESS RIO LABOR GROUPS

Expected to Warn Brazilians on Red Gain in Unions—Goulart Meeting Set

By TAD SZULC

Special to The New York Times.

RIO DE JANEIRO, Jan. 29—Vice President Richard M. Nixon is expected to endeavor during his visit here to influence Brazilian workers against Communist infiltration in union.

Mr. Nixon is to arrive from Washington at 11 A. M. tomorrow. He heads an eighteen-person United States delegation for Tuesday's inauguration of Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira as President of Brazil and João Goulart as Vice President.

During his four-day stay in this capital Mr. Nixon is expected to make hs presence felt at festivities connected with the inaugural.

The Vice President's plans to establish contacts with Brazilian organized labor are given special significance in view of Communist infiltration in the unions. The illegal but strong Communist party has attempted to represent the inauguration as the crowning of a victory of two men who won the elections with the aid of Communist votes.

Kubitschek Shuns Reds

Dr. Kubitschek has repeatedly disassociated himself from Communist support, which he described as unsolicited. Senhor Goulart has also sought to shed the tag of pro-Communist leanings pinned on him and his Brazilian Labor party. But the Communists have been working overtime lately to muster the uinons for a showing at the inaugural and their press has been issuing daily calls for such a demonstration of support.

Mr. Nixon's contact with Brazilian labor leaders will take place Wednesday afternoon at the headquarters here of the Confederation of Industrial Workers, which represents 680 unions and locals. About 100 workers and leaders will attend to hear a speech by Mr. Nixon and the response by the heads of three Brazilian labor organizations.

James Clement Dunn, United States Ambassador, will accompany Mr. Nixon.

The Confederation of Industrial Workers is affiliated with the Latin-American branch of the anti-Communist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, which the Communist press here has been attacking as a "reactionary" arm of the United States Government.

Particular interest is attached to the fact that Mr. Nixon's call on the confederation was suggested by the Brazilian unions themselves. The Vice President's speech there was described today as an important address on behalf of the United States Administration.

Labor matters and the question of communism in Brazil may also come up at a private conference Thursday morning at the United States Embassy residence between Mr. Nixon and Senhor Goulart. It was Senhor Goulart who requested the meeting and it is to be an "open discussion of various questions," according to United States sources.

Mr. Nixon's only other formal speech in Rio de Janeiro will come Thursday at a luncheon given by the American Chamber of Commerce. It is to deal with business matters such as possibilities of United States private investments in Brazil, something dear to Dr. Kubitschek's heart, and of prospects of Governmental aid to Brazilian economic development programs.

Nixon Off For Brazil

MIAMI, Jan. 29 (UP) — Vice President Nixon took off by plane for Brazil today to attend the inauguration of President Juscelino Kubitschek. The Vice President and his wife had been vacationing here.

NIXON BIDS CLERGY HELP ON RACE ISSUE

RIDGECREST, N. C., Aug. 5 (UP)—Vice President Richard M. Nixon appealed to the nation's religious leaders today to help set a moderate approach to the "thorny issue of race relations."

He said the Supreme Court had "wisely given time to implement its decision" ordering an end to segregation in public schools. During this interval, he said, "political demagoguery will aggravate, not solve the problem."

Mr Nixon spoke before the Baptist Home Mission Conference, the Presbyterian Men's Council of the Synod of Appalachia at near-by Montreat, N. C., and the Methodist Summer Assembly at Lake Junaluska, N. C. He made the appeal to all three groups.

The Vice President urged them to help in an "area where political policy and moral ideals converge." He said that "bitterness and tension are mounting by the hour" in the matter of race relations.

Mr. Nixon said the churchmen also could help in "the matter of labor-management relations." In labor disputes, he said, "there are signs that the bitterness of the past has not completely gone."

'We'll live to see full integration'

NEW YORK (ANP) — Pointing out that segregation, prejudice, and discrimination have no place in America, Vice President Nixon said last week that "most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit side by side at any school—public or private—with no regard to the color of their skin."

Speaking at the annual Alfred E. Smith memorial dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel here, Nixon proclaimed:

"I can report to you tonight that men of good will in all sections of our land are working with complete devotion toward the day when the American ideal of equality of opportunity is a reality for all of our people."

INTRODUCED AS "non-political," Nixon did not mention anything or the administration of the election campaign in the speech.

In a tribute to the late Al Smith, governor of New York and Democratic Presidential candidate in 1928, Nixon asserted: "He was a magnificent example of the American dream typifying the truth of the statement that in America there is no forgotten man, no common man, and no average man. There is only our fellowman."

The Vice-president said the founding fathers spoke of man's rights as granted by the Creator and beyond the pale of government.

* * *

HE STATED that the revolutionary ideal of 1776 will not be complete until "the ideals of independence, equality, and freedom which kept men fighting at Valley Forge are a reality not only for Americans, but for people throughout the world."

Nixon termed the decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in schools as but one step in a continuing process of giving substance and vitality to our Democracy.

"State law and actions of the Federal government are moving forward to eliminate bias in employment, discrimination in housing, and bigotry in any form that can be touched by law," he declared.

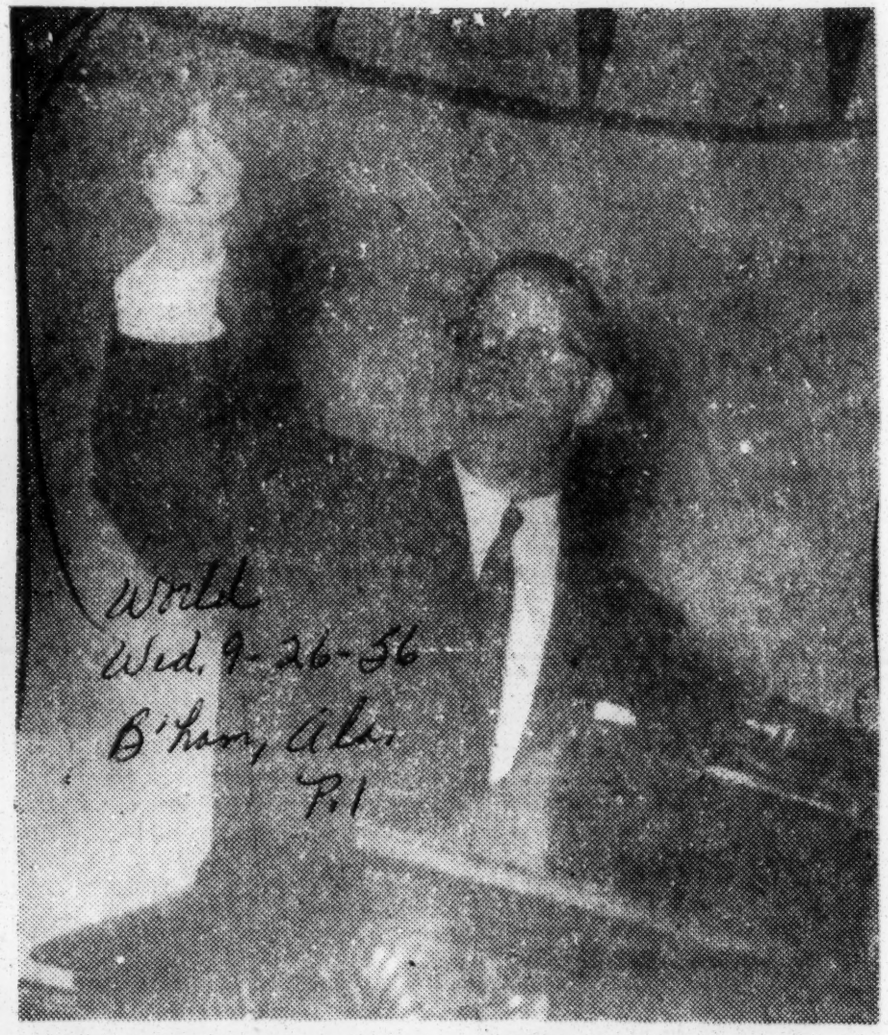
HE WARNED that race and religious hatred strike at the roots of that remarkable unit that is the achievement of our nation.

"For the survival of our highest ideals, we must eradicate them from the face of our society," he declared.

1,500 at Memphis GOP Parley

Carey Lauds Ike's Record, Asks for Vote of Negroes

CONGRATULATIONS—After his address in Memphis, Tenn., Archibald Carey Jr. is congratulated by U. S. Congress aspirant Herbert Harper who introduced Carey. At left is Lieut. George W. Lee, state manager, Republican Minority Groups Division, and B. G. Olive, finance chairman, second from right. A crowd of 1500 attended the Republican party gathering.—Withers Photo.



URGES NEGRO VOTE FOR IKE — Archibald Carey, former U. N. Alternate, now vice chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, asserted that Negroes have a "tremendous" responsibility to vote for the re-election of President Eisenhower because Eisenhower "has done more to advance the cause of human rights since Abraham Lincoln", in an address to a local Republican sponsored rally here. (see story this issue) (Staff Photo by Tisby)

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—President Eisenhower is going to lose some votes this election because of his positive civil rights record and Negroes have "a tremendous responsibility" to offset this loss, a Republican rally was told by Archibald Carey Jr. of Chicago, vice president of the President's Committee on Employment Policy. He said "Eisenhower has done more to advance the cause of human freedom than any President since Lincoln."

"Because of what he's done for the Negro a lot of people aren't going to vote for him this election. The Negro has a tremendous responsibility to uphold the arm of the man who has written the greatest record for the Negro since Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation."

His address before 1,500 in Clayborn Temple AME Church kicked off the campaign of the Tennessee Republican Minority Groups Division to swing the state's Negro vote into the Republican column.

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LIEUT. GEORGE W. LEE, Memphis Republican leader, who heads the division's state-wide campaign, has set his sights on "swinging 85 per cent of the 140,000 Negro voters of Tennessee to Eisenhower."

Lieutenant Lee sees the Negro vote as the balance of power this year. Less than 3,000 votes won the state for the GOP in 1952 when Ike cracked the solid South.

Carey, a former Chicago alderman and an alternate delegate to the eighth United Nations sessions, told his frequently applauding audience that Eisenhower, "without fanfare, has acted where others just talked."

"The status of the Negro today is higher than ever before because of President Eisenhower," Carey said.

In a long line of Eisenhower achievements he cited appointments of J. Ernest Wilkins as Assistant Secretary of Labor, and Scovel Richardson as chairman of the Federal Parole Board, and described Washington, D. C, as "a brand new city."

He WARNED against voting for the President and for Democratic Congressmen. "Eisenhower will write a still better record for human rights, but it is going to be important that he have a Republican Congress."

Carey called "treacherous and shameful" Congressman William L. Dawson's refusal to take a stand on "this thing called civil rights."

In Memphis to preside over hearings of the President's Committee on Employment Policy, Carey, an AME minister, was presented by Atty. Herbert Harper, a candidate from the Ninth Congressional District for the seat held by Democratic Congressman Cliff Davis.

DISCUSSING POLITICS—Virgil Heathcock, third from left, field representative of the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, discusses politics with, left to right, Edwin (Ted) Parker, Muttmach County, Portland, Ore.; Marlene Los, Andrews, Ind., a young Republican; Ed Lynch, Mary Carlough, a young Republican, and the Rev. Richard J. Roberts, S. J., profesor at the University of Santa Clara Calif.—E. F. Joseph Photo.

Politics—Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset, special assistant to the co-chairman of the National Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon, and Val Washington, assistant to the chairman of the Republican National Comittee, take time out for a little politicking at President Eisenhower's Gettysburg farm.

P. B. Young Jr. Named to GOP News Staff

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The Republican National Committee has "drafted" one of the country's top journalists, P. B. Young Jr., to serve during the Presidential campaing as director of information for its minorities division, according to an announcement made by Val J. Washington, chief of the division.

Two-time winner of the Willkie Journalism Award, the veteran Norfolk, Va., newspaperman is one of the most-traveled and experienced editors in the profession.

Following his graduation in 1929 with honors from Ohio State University's School of Journalism, where he was the first Negro managing editor of the college daily, The Ohio Lantern, Young became a full-time member of the staff of the Journal and Guide in Norfolk.

■

WITH THAT nationally known publication, he served successively as reporter, assistant managing editor, managing editor and associate editor, and in 1943 became its editor-in-chief, vice president and secretary.

Currently on leave of absence to accept the National Republican post, he has set up office in Republican headquarters in the Cafritz Building, 1625 I. St. Washington, D. C.

Women To Wage Campaign For GOP At Ike's Request

WASHINGTON, D. C. — At the personal request of President Eisenhower, women of the Republican Party organization will undertake immediately an intensive campaign — "The Registration Roll Call" — to make certain a maximum number of the nation's voters are registered for the coming November elections.

Miss Bertha S. Adkins, Asistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee, after a conference with the President today at the White House, announced organized efforts will extend to the city block and the individual farm level. Prizes will be awarded to the women achieving the greatest success in this 1956 Registration Roll Call.

It is not only the highest privilege but also the duty of every citizen to vote. Miss Adkins reported the President as emphasizing in expressing gratification with the Roll Call objectives.

Let us spread the word far and wide, Miss Adkins said he President suggested that an unregistered voter this year is not in actuality a voter

Miss Adkins announced she had communicated with National Committeewomen and State Vice-Chairmen in the 48 States and with leaders of the women's fund-raising "Thank You, Mr. President," program. The 3000 county vice-chairmen and 2000 workers engaged in the fund-raising drive also have been contacted directly, Miss Adkins said.

The winners in the Roll Call program, based on the achievement of the greatest percentage and total increases in registration in their respective districts will receive the most advantgaeous seats at the Inaugural Parade and Inaugural Ball in January. There will be six national prizes.

The program for stimulating the registration totals throughout the country was outlined in a later dispatched today by Miss Adkins to women party leaders. In part, the letter follows:

"In an inspiring convention, we have renominated an outstanding ticket for the November elections. Now we must face realities and get down to the serious and imperative work to reelect our President and Vice-President.

"When I conferred with the President in San Francisco, he spoke of his deep concern over the loss in voter registrations. He told me that he knew that the women were the key to success in meeting this problem. As Assistant Chairman of the Republican National Committee, I call upon the women of the Party to inaugurate an intensive drive to increase the number of registered voters by October 15th

NEGRO SHIFT AIDS MARYLAND G. O. P.

Trend in Baltimore Is More Definite Than Elsewhere, Survey Indicates

A Times Team Report

Here is another of the daily reports from New York Times teams that are surveying political sentiment in closely contested states. This report on Maryland from John C. Devlin, Leo Egan, Stanley Levey, Layhmond Robinson Jr. and George Cable Wright. Mr. Egan wrote the report.

By LEO EGAN

Special to The New York Times.

BALTIMORE, Oct. 9—In Maryland many signs point to a sizable shift of Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican column in this year's Presidential election. The trend is particularly pronounced in Baltimore, where Negroes constitute 25 per cent of the city's population and cast about 20 per cent of its vote.

Three reasons for the shift are discernible:

1. President Eisenhower's executive action ending racial segregation in near-by Washington, not only in schools but also in restaurants and hotels. "When I visit friends in Washington now I feel like a real man," one Negro business man said.

2. Substantial progress in desegregating Maryland schools, for which primary credit is given to Gov. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, a Republican. The Governor, who placed President Eisenhower's name in nomination at the 1952 Republican National Convention, is closely associated with the President in the minds of most Negroes.

3. A strong suspicion that Maryland Democrats and Democrats in general, are responsible for the resistance to integration that is unmistakable in many areas of the state.

Cites Eastland's Party

A Negro longshoreman on a Baltimore dock put it this way: "I wouldn't ever vote for the party Eastland belongs to." He was referring, of course, to Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

All signs indicate that the shift in Negro voting in Baltimore will be far more substantial than in northern cities such as Chicago and Detroit, where there are similar large concentrations of Negroes. The reasons seem to be Baltimore's nearness to Washington and the lack of any strong labor union campaign to identify the Democratic party as the "workingman's party," such as exists in both Detroit and Chicago.

If the signs prove right on election day, the shift in the Negro vote in Baltimore could go a long way towards offsetting shifts from the Republicans to the Democrats in other segments of the population.

As of now, it is difficult to find a responsible Democratic leader who will claim that Mr. Stevenson can carry the State. Most of them are saying only that the contest will be close and they have a chance. Republican leaders, on the other hand, are confidently predicting another Eisenhower victory in Maryland but are not claiming as big a margin as before.

In 1952 President Eisenhower carried Maryland by 104,087 votes, getting 55.4 per cent of the 902,074 votes cast for President. But he lost the Negro area of Baltimore by almost seven to three. Consequently he lost the city by 11,864 votes.

A half dozen Negro spokesmen had this explanation for the 1952 Negro vote in Baltimore: "We were really voting for Harry Truman. Truman had been good for the Negroes and we thought Stevenson was his man. Now we like Ike."

May Split Baltimore

In the opinion of many Negro community leaders, the shift this year is likely to be such that President Eisenhower will get an even break in the Negro precincts of Baltimore. Almost none expect such a big swing as to give the President a substantial majority in those districts.

There are still many Negroes who believe with the secretary of a real estate broker: "Nobody can beat the Democrats for the little man. They did more for the Negroes than anyone. I voted for them in 1952 and I'm going to vote for them again."

The civil rights issue and particularly desegregation in the public schools presents an extremely ticklish problem for the Democrats in Maryland. Down on the Eastern Shore and in other areas, white Democrats are complaining that the party is not fighting integration the way it should. As a consequence they say they are not going to vote at all this year.

Norman Thomas, a 60-year-old gasoline station attendant at Stevensville, is one such. "I'm too disgusted to vote," he said. "This integration has everybody upset. Why, even the Negroes are asking why there has to be a change."

Back Southern Tradition

Basically these are Democrats reared in the Southern tradition. Party regularity is almost a religious principle with them. Under no circumstances can they picture themselves voting Republican. When they are dissatisfied with the Democrats they express their feelings by staying home on Election Day. Adlai E. Stevenson appears due to lose quite a few of his 1952 votes among Democrats of this type.

On the other hand, Democrats are under pressure from the officeholders in Baltimore and from the liberal elements that dominate the party organization in the Maryland suburbs of Washington to take a much stronger position on civil rights than they have.

"We're getting it from both sides," one Democratic leader complained.

While conceding that they are involved in an uphill fight, Democratic leaders see a hope of winning by the inroads they claim to be making in the Washington suburbs, on the Eastern Shore and in suburban Baltimore County, outside of the city of Baltimore.

These are areas that went heavily for General Eisenhower in the 1952 election but in which the Democrats scored substantial gains in the Senate and Congressional races of 1954. In Montgomery County President Eisenhower got 62.4 per cent of the vote in 1952 and in Prince Georges 56.3 per cent. Both are among the faster growing suburban areas in the country. In Baltimore County General Eisenhower got 62.6 per cent of the vote.

Exploitation by Democrats

In these areas, Democrats are attempting to exploit the typical suburban school shortages and high local real estate taxes. Both are being laid to the Eisenhower Administration — the school shortage because of the lack of Federal financial aid for school construction, and high local taxes because of the high interest rates now being charged for borrowing by local government agencies.

The people who live in Montgomery and Prince Georges differ from other suburbanites in that so many are employed by the Federal Government in Washington. They do not react politically as residents of other suburbs do.

One Government employe who lives in Bethesda said he had voted for General Eisenhower in 1952 but was shifting to Mr. Stevenson because of the Government's internal security and economy in Government programs. "They make it so a Federal worker doesn't know from one day to the next if he'll be working," he explained.

Other Government employes said they were switching to Mr. Stevenson because the Democrats, as a rule, were more generous with pay increases for Government employes.

Among merchants and professional people there was a strong preference for President Eisenhower.

No Crusading Zeal

A second factor on which Democrats are counting heavily is an apparent lack of the crusading zeal that accompanied the Eisenhower campaign of four years ago. The volunteers who were so numerous in 1952 on behalf of President Eisenhower are difficult to find these days. Moreover, some of the better known Democrats who were active in the Eisenhower cause are either tending to their private business this year or supporting the Democrats.

Clarence Miles, who was chairman of the Maryland Citizens for Eisenhower Committee, in 1952, for instance, has publicly announced his support of Mr. Stevenson this year. So have several other less well known figures.

One top-echelon Democrat predicted that this year's total vote in Maryland would be only 70 to 80 per cent of the 1952 record total. Several political writers for Maryland newspapers are likewise of the view that the total vote will be smaller, but do not agree that it will fall off so much.

Any decline, in the opinion of Democratic leaders, would be more injurious to the Eisenhower cause than to Mr. Stevenson. This conclusion rests on the assumption that it was the outpouring of people who ordinarily do not vote that was responsible for the big Republican margin of 1952. These will be the first to return to their old nonvoting habits, it is suggested.

Truman Backers a Factor

Another factor in Democratic calculations is the return to the party fold of many who were voting against Mr. Truman in 1952. There are few, if any, Negroes in this category but there undoubtedly are some whites.

At the big Sparrows Point plant of the Bethlehem Steel Company, two workmen going home at the end of the day's shift said they had voted for General Eisenhower in 1952 but would vote Democratic this time.

One explained: "Nineteen-fifty-two was the first time I ever voted Republican but I think I made a mistake. Ike's okay but I didn't think big business would grab so much power."

The other said: "Ike made a lot of promises and he hasn't come through, like a tax cut and a better break for labor."

Mrs. William Eason, whose husband runs a 400-acre farm down on the Eastern Shore, said she was returning to the Democratic fold because the President is "for the big man, not the little farmer. He's a good and honest man, of course. The trouble is with the men around him."

Tom Dorcy of Westover, operator of a truck hauling business who has his own farm as well, reported that "everybody is switching to Stevenson."

"Things are the worst since Hoover," he went on. "Money is tight. We are being squeezed right out, I'll tell you."

Women 'Soft on Ike'

After a minute's reflection, Mr. Dorcy added: "If Eisenhower goes back, it'll be the women's vote that does it. They are soft on Ike. They think we have no war and just peace. But you still see boys getting drafted."

In Maryland, as elsewhere, there are some voters switching the other way, too, from Mr. Stevenson to President Eisenhower. Capt. Oscar Pope, captain of a yacht at Oxford, remarked: "I am a Democrat but this man Stevenson is doing too much mud-slinging. He sounds like Truman."

Except for integration, there is relatively little discussion of campaign issues as such among average voters in Maryland. A few voters told members of a New York Times team they were switching to Mr. Stevenson because of President Eisenhower's illnesses. However, most said either that they were voting for President Eisenhower because he had been "a good President" or for Mr. Stevenson "because the Democrats are best for the little fellow."

But evidence was uncovered in Montgomery and Prince Georges that Mr. Stevenson had caused great uneasiness among Democratic leaders by suggesting that hydrogen bomb testing might be suspended and the draft ended. Several expressed a fear that these positions could dissipate such Democratic gains as had been made in the Washington suburbs.

Senate Race Lags

In Maryland there is substantially less interest in the contest for a United States Senate seat than in the Presidential race. Frequently prospective voters will say that they intend to vote for President but skip the Senatorial contest because they do not like either of the contenders.

John Marshall Butler, the incumbent, is the Republican choice to succeed himself. His adversary is George P. Mahoney, a wealthy building contractor. He was substituted as the Democratic choice when Millard E. Tydings, the former Democratic holder of the seat, withdrew because of illness.

So far the Democratic campaign against Senator Butler has been based primarily on the charge that he used unscrupulous methods to defeat Senator Tydings in 1950. In the 1950 campaign, Mr. Butler had the help of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, a highly controversial Republican figure. Senator Butler's supporters circulated in 1950 a composite photograph that purported to show Senator Tydings with Earl Browder, former American Communist party leader.

Mr. Butler is largely ignoring the Democratic charges. He is concentrating on telling voters in various sections about local Federal projects he helped to get. This time he is also associating himself as closely as possible with the Eisenhower Administration.

Dissension Hurts Mahoney

Mr. Mahoney is being handicapped in the campaign by internal dissension in the Democratic party. He had opposed Senator Tydings for the nomination in the primary and was defeated.

When the former Senator withdrew, Mr. Mahoney obtained control of the convention that named the substitute. He did this in a manner that irritated many Tydings supporters. Senator Tydings is lending a helping hand to the Mahoney campaign by telephone calls to his friends, but many of his friends do not have their hearts in it.

Of Maryland's seven Representatives in Congress, four are Democrats and three are Republicans. All the incumbents are running for re-election. Most leaders and commentators expect them all to win again.

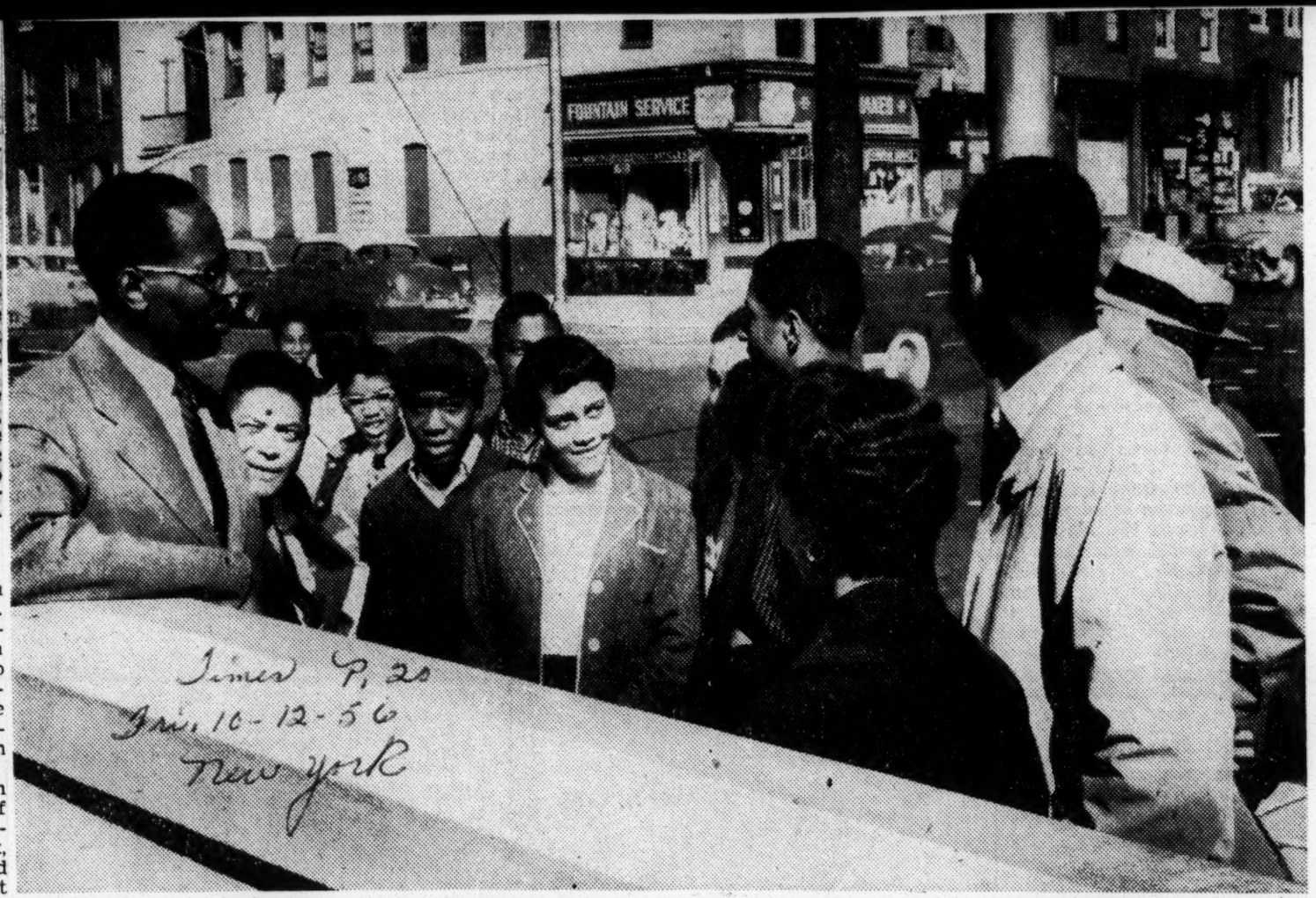
Democrats have a faint hope of defeating Edward T. Miller, Republican, who represents the First District, covering the Eastern Shore. Two years ago their hopes were much higher until Hurricane Hazel hit Maryland.

Miller Got Results

Mr. Miller went into action immediately after the hurricane. He had representatives of Federal agencies dashing through his district offering help to everyone who had suffered damage. He got 55 per cent of the vote in a district that is normally Democratic by better than three-and-a-half to one.

In the Second District, which covers the northern suburbs of Maryland, the Republican candidate is Maj. James P. Devereux, the Marine hero of Wake Island in World War II. One Democrat remarked that fighting him is like fighting a ghost; there is nothing to grab.

The other five districts are all regarded as safe for the incumbents. One is so overwhelmingly Democratic the Republicans put up no candidate in 1954. This year Edward A. Garmatz, the incumbent, has what amounts to token opposition.



The New York Times (by Carl T. Gossett Jr.

CAMPAIGNING IN MARYLAND, State Senator Harry A. Cole, a Republican, talks to young people in Baltimore. A trend from the Democratic to the Republican ticket, in which integration is a factor, is reported among Negroes.

G. O. P. WOMEN SET UP CLUBS IN SOLID SOUTH

BY SHIRLEY LOWRY

The National Federation of Republican Women has finally succeeded in its campaign to enter every state in the Democrats' solid south.

With the arrival of Mrs. Erma B. White of Durant, Miss., at the federation's ninth biennial convention, which opened in the Hilton hotel yesterday, every southern state has a delegate from a Republican woman's club.

"We organized Monday," Mrs. White said. "I boarded the train Tuesday. And here I am."

Campaign Planned

Mrs. White said there are only a dozen members of the Mississippi Women's club, of which she is president, but she added that each of the 12 will recruit another 12 and form individual clubs.

"All I need is time," Mrs. White said. "Our state has many Republican women."

Mrs. White, whose husband, James, is secretary of the Mississippi Republican party, has been a Republican all her life. Asked if she had any political aspirations, she said: "Not in Mississippi. Maybe my little boy, who is 5, will have a better chance when he grows up. Back when Mr. Hoover was President, I think we had a Republican state representative. But they are few and far between."

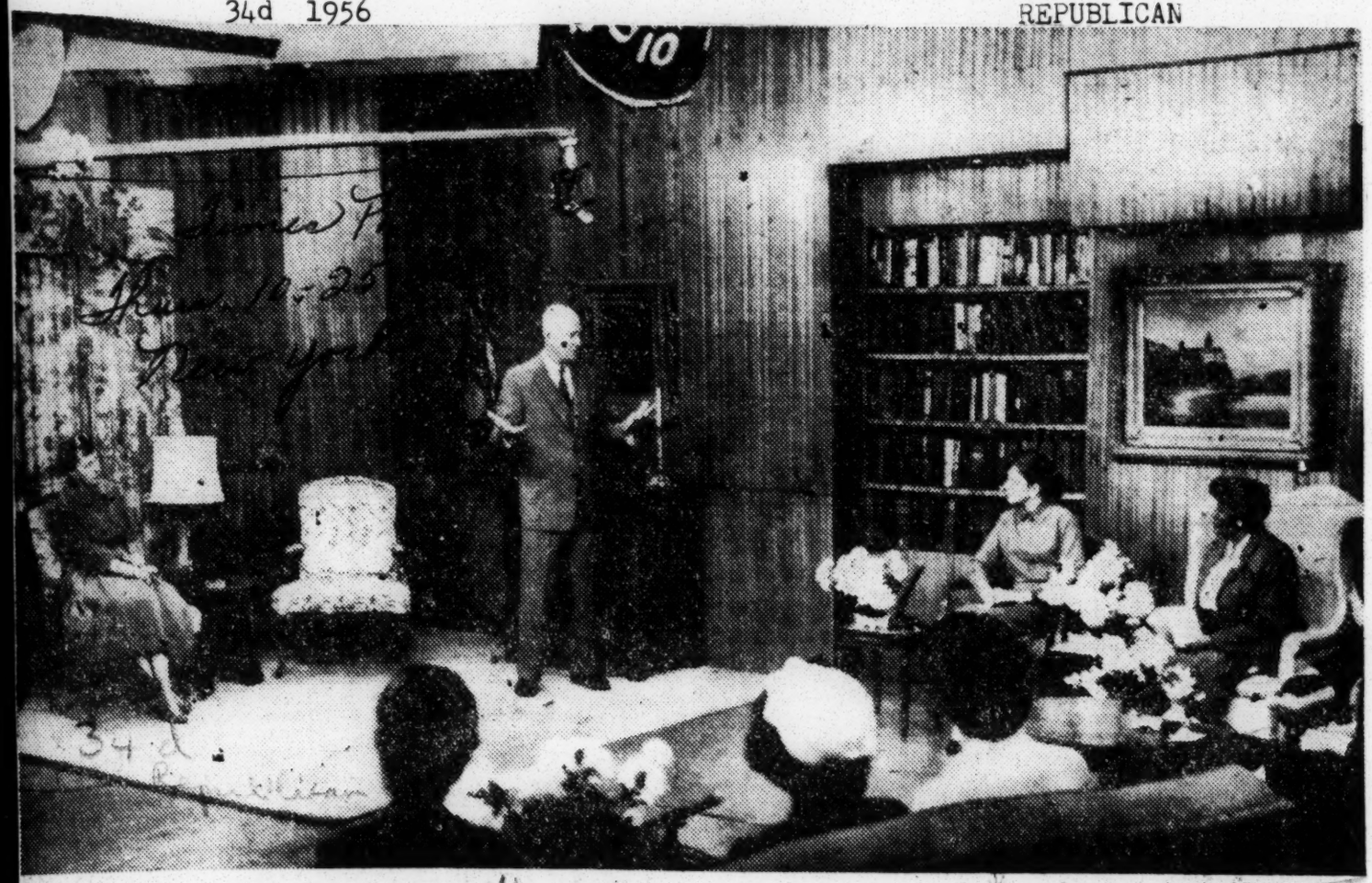
Will Aid Candidates

Mrs. White, who owns a beauty shop, said she would speak for Republican candidates whenever she has a chance.

Another application from the New Bibb county [Ga.] women's club in Macon was greeted with applause at a morning board meeting which opened the convention's official business. Seven more Georgia clubs are being organized.

Every state now has a federated club except Vermont, a traditionally Republican state, which is momentarily out of the picture because of a technicality. Its club indorsed candidates before the primary, which is against the rules.

At the first session Mrs. Carroll Keans of Farrell, Penn., national president, reported that a telegram of sympathy had been sent to Vice President Nixon. Because of the death of his father, he will be unable to bring greetings to the convention from President Eisenhower tomorrow, as had been planned.



Associated Press Wirephoto

POLITICAL PANELIST: President Eisenhower replies to questions asked by women from various parts of country. Mrs. Eisenhower is at left. It was a paid political appearance before cameras on a Washington TV sound stage.

Battle of Negro Wards

Times Fri. 9-28-56 P.M.C

An Analysis of G.O.P. Drive in Chicago To Capture Solid South Side Precincts

New York

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Sept. 27—A Republican school for party workers opened last night in Ward 2 at 69 East Thirty-fifth Street on Chicago's South Side, with William H. Robinson presiding. Mr. Robinson, a smiling Negro, had about forty volunteers on hand to learn how to break the Democratic party's grip on Chicago's Harlem, and for their benefit he had posted a personal message on a big red and blue sign behind his desk:

Under his picture, it read:

"A new man for a new day. Just to say 'thank you' for electing me on April 10 as committeeman and legislator. I pledge I shall not betray you.

"I would rather sleep in bed with thistles for my quilt than to sleep in a bed of silk for my quilt with my conscience full of guilt."

Mr. Robinson had some hard words for the Democrats and for William L. Dawson, the Democratic boss of the district, in particular. Mr. Dawson, he observed, had let the Negroes down by agreeing to the Democratic civil rights platform last month.

Mr. Dawson, declared Mr. Robinson, was the "king of Uncle Toms in this country" and his name was a "disgrace" in every poolroom and church in Chicago.

What would happen if the Democrats won this election? he asked. It would be a terrible thing for all Negroes, he continued. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi would retain the chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee in the United States Senate. He and other "segregationists" would block the civil rights legislation the Negroes needed and deserved.

Mr. Eastland would have an influence on the appointment of Federal judges all over America, and these were the judges empowered by the Supreme Court to settle school integration disputes.

Mr. Robinson circulated "The Republican Precinct Worker's Manual—A Guide Book to Sound Political Organization." He explained the importance of registration, how to challege an illegal voter, how to win friends in the precinct ("first learn the names of the children"), how to keep records on all voters, and how to work with the precinct captain."

"I happen to believe," he said, "that this election won't be won by any big speeches or television shows. Don't depend on TV. Don't depend on Ike's smile, or his health or anything. This is the most important election for the Negroes since Reconstruction days, and it is going to be decided by precinct workers like ourselves."

The "battle of the Negro precincts" here is going to be one of the mist interesting and significant of the election. The Republicans are playing for big stakes. From the Civil War until 1928, the Negroes of America, grateful to President Lincoln for the Emancipation Proclamation, tended to vote solidly for the Republican party. After the economic depression of the early Thirties they switched to the Democrats.

Even in 1952, when President Eisenhower carried Illinois by more than 440,000, the Democrats carried the so-called "Dawson Wards" in Chicago (the first, second, third, fourth and twentieth) by more than 70 per cent of the total vote. Nevertheless, the Republicans, heartened by the Negro's response to the Supreme Court's public school integration decision, hope to do much better this time.

The political ground rules on Chicago's South Side, however, favor the Democrats. They are not the normal rules of American politics. They are dominated, in large part, by local loyalties between the Negro voter and the Democratic precinct captains, and by the influence of the Democratic precinct captains on the city's law enforcement officers.

Negroes have been coming into this city at the rate of 2,500 a month for years. In 1920, they were only 4 per cent of the city's total population. Now they total almost 1,000,000 or a little under 20 per cent.

When they arrived, usually from the farms, villages and cities along the Illinois Central Railroad tracks between here and the Mississippi delta, they gravitated to the South Side, where most of them live in substandard housing, and they looked from the start to the powerful and well-organized political bosses for help.

A precinct captain will have anything from 300 to 700 families in his territory. If he is a good captain, he knows them all. When they get in trouble, they go to him, as others might go in similar circumstances to a lawyer.

If they get involved with the police in any way, they look to the political bosses for help, and most of them seem to be convinced that the bosses have influence with the police in fixing things up.

Thus, while Mr. Robinson's arguments about the Supreme Court decision, Senator Eastland, and the appointment of Federal judges undoubtedly have some appeal, the Democratic appeal is closer to home. It rests on favors granted or anticipated —favors can be granted only by the party that controls the government in Chicago.

The Republican "school" closed last night with questions from the floor. "How do I get into a difficult house?" a volunteer asked. He explained that he had gone to one apartment house to canvass some Republican votes and was run out by the manager of the apartment who was a Democratic precinct worker.

"You have to be friendly and quiet," Mr. Robinson said.

"I was friendly," the man said.

"You have to be diplomatic," Mr. Robinson added.

"I'm going back in there," the man insisted.

"Maybe you could send a registered letter," Mr. Robinson suggested.

G. O. P. LAUDED ON CIVIL RIGHTS BY BROWNELL

Daily Tribune Chicago, Ill.

Hails Dirksen Also at

Times 10-4-56

P. 5

Women's Session

Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. plumped for the Republican civil rights program and the reelection of Sen. Dirksen [R., Ill.] to the United States senate at noon yesterday in an address before the Republican Women Volunteers north side unit in the Sherman hotel.

"There has been more progress made under the Eisenhower administration in the last four years in civil rights than at any time in the last 50 years," said Brownell in a press conference preceding the luncheon.

Senator Is Lauded

Referring to civil rights legislation proposed by the President last year which was not voted out of the senate judiciary committee despite Dirksen's efforts, Brownell said:

"One good man with the experience, background, and tenancity of your Sen. Dirksen can make the difference between victory and defeat in the President's legislative program."

Asked whether he considered former President Truman a traitor to his country, Brownell replied that he preferred not to get into somebody else's fight but added that he had never heard anybody say that.

However, Brownell said: "Mr. Truman's campaigning is reckless and inaccurate. I don't hear of any Republican that's complaining because he's out campaigning, tho."

He also attacked Adlai Stevenson. "Mr. Stevenson has brought only two new ideas into the campaign — abolishment of the draft and of atom bomb tests," Brownell said.

Claiming that Stevenson has changed his position on the atom bomb tests three times in the face of unpopular public opinion, Brownell termed the two ideas paradoxical.

"If we eliminate atom bomb testing, then we must rely on greater man power," he said.

Show "Lack of Clarity"

"These two ideas emphasize the central lack of clarity that has characterized Mr. Stevenson's campaign."

Humorously opening his luncheon address by quoting a Democrat who said he voted for Stevenson four years ago and everything has been just wonderful since, Brownell outlined the two major points of the Eisenhower civil rights proposal that were bottled up in the senate judiciary committee.

The first called for the appointment of a bi-partisan commission with adequate subpena powers to assure that no citizen regardelss of race, creed, or color may be deprived of the vote. The second would have empowered the attorney general to file injunction suits against election officials who failed to safeguard that right.

GOP Meeting Set For This Evening At Tuskegee

Advertiser P. 4-B
Mon. 10-29-56
Montgomery, Ala.

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. Oct. 28 — Attorney Barrington Parker of the Republican National Committee, will be presented to the Tuskegee Community by the Tuskegee Republican Club Monday evening, Oct. 29, at the Greenwood Baptist Church.

Atty. Parker's talk will begin at 8 p.m. All registered voters regardless of political affiliation, are invited and urged to attend.

The guest speaker is a graduate of Lincoln University and the University of Chicago Law School. He makes his home in Washington, D.C. and is a field representative for the National Republican Committee.

The Rev. T. R. Newman, who is in charge of arrangements, stated that the speaker will devote much of his time to answering questions which may be put to him by the audience concerning the Republican party.

The Rev. Raymond F. Harvey is pastor of the host church, Greenwood Baptist. Vernon McDaniel is chairman of Tuskegee Republican Club.

N. Y. Times Announces Ike Support

World P.1
Sat. 10-20-56
B'ham Ala.

NEW YORK — (INS) — The New York Times Monday announced its support of President Eisenhower for reelection.

The endorsement, however, was not without criticism of the Eisenhower Administration, including expressed disappointment over the selection of Vice President Richard M. Nixon as Mr. Eisenhower's running mate.

Support of the President's reelection bid was made in a lengthy editorial in Tuesday morning editions in which the newspaper presented its arguments in favor of and against the Democratic and Republican Presidential candidates.

The Times based its opposition to Adlai Stevenson partially on his commitments in the fields of farm labor and social welfare.

In the field of social welfare while agreeing with Stevenson's objectives, the Times disagreed with placing emphasis "almost exclusively on the responsibility of the national government in these matters and only to a very small extent on the primary responsibility of the state and local governments."

The Times said in its judgment "The President's failure to support some of his own measures (in the social welfare field) more vigorously . . . has been a defect of leadership." Regarding the Vice-President, the paper said:

". . . Another of the things that have not gone the way we wish they might have gone, the nomination of Mr. Nixon as his party's candidate for the Vice Presidency."

The editorial said Nixon has worked hard, grown with his office, been a good ambassador for the U. S. in his foreign travels and conducted a "more moderate and more honorable campaign" this year. It added, "but the memory of the divisive tactics of those earlier campaign years lingers, and Mr. Nixon's career has certainly not revealed much evidence of deeply rooted and consistently held principles. Party strategy, rather than party policy, has been Mr Nixon's chief concern."

The Times praised President Eisenhower for the following accomplishments it attributed to him and his administration: A foreign policy of "close cooperation with our allies, good earnings, freeing business "of bureaucratic controls in Washington," "alertness" in dealing with the problem of inflation and demonstration to the neutralist this country's peaceful purposes by his "performance" at the Geneva Conference.

MR. NIXON ON INTEGRATION

Vice President Nixon was making a nonpartisan speech to a nonpartisan audience when he addressed the Republicans, Democrats and independents who gathered at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on Thursday evening to do honor to the late Alfred E. Smith. But Mr. Nixon must have known that he risked some votes in some states—Tennessee, Florida and Texas, for example—when he said what he did about segregation.

What he said in this passage is worth quoting in full: "Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit, side by side, at any school—public or private—with no regard paid to the color of their skin. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice have no place in America, and I can report to you tonight that men of goodwill in all sections of our land are working with complete devotion toward the day when the American ideal of equality of opportunity is a reality for all of our people."

Mr. Nixon has his adverse critics even among those who intend to vote the Republican national ticket, but he deserves unqualified credit for what he said on this crucial subject on Thursday evening—and for the courage that led him to say it.

Walter White's widow switches to Ike over civil rights issue

Baltimore Afro
Sat. 10-27-56

NEW YORK — Mrs. Walter White, widow of the former NAACP secretary, said last week that she would vote Nov. 6 for the reelection of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

She said she voted in 1952 for the election of Adlai E. Stevenson, then as now the Democratic party's nominee for president.

Mrs. White, in making her announcement to the New York Republican State Committee, said that in her opinion the Democratic party has "turned its back on those of us who are deeply concerned about civil rights and integration."

Sharp Negro Trend Toward Republicans, Polls Show

Courier Sat 10-27-56 P. 2
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON—Several major opinion polls show a sharp trend among Negro voters to the Republican party over their relative vote in the 1952 Presidential election.

A compilation of the poll results was released here by Val J. Washington, director of the Minorities Division of the National Republican Committee.

The Gallup poll shows that as of Sept. 28 a majority of the voters (55 per cent) believed that the Republican party could best solve the nation's problems in 1956.

The same poll indicated that civil rights stood second highest among all campaign issues on a national, all-groups basis. Eighteen per cent of the voters ranked it second in urgency, while foreign policy and the Suez Canal threat of war ranked first with 46 per cent of those polled.

Support Ike—A majority of California's 156,000 Negro votes will be cast for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket Nov. 6, in the opinion of Dr. Paul T. Robinson, M. D., Richmond (Calif.), and Mrs. Vivian Osborne Marsh, Berkeley (Calif.), two leaders in the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign. Picture shows (left to right) Northern California Chairman William M. Brinton, Mrs. Marsh and Dr. Robinson signing the roster "I Like Ike."

Courier P.12
Sat. 10-20-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Info Head—P. B. Young Jr. has been named director of information for the minorities division of the Republican party.

The Republican Testament

(From San Francisco)

The Republican program is Dwight D. Eisenhower. This could have been said in about 13,000 fewer words than the platform committee took to say it. Nevertheless, the program adopted yesterday reflects in a diffuse way the moderation of Mr. Eisenhower. Gone are the long passages about communism, treason and corruption that formed a major part of the 1952 campaign presentation. The Republicans aren't seriously angry with anyone, even members of what they persist in calling the "Democrat" Party, and it is hard to quarrel with their program because there are few specifics to argue about. The program exudes the soothing balm of prosperity, peace and progress—and plainly these are to be the foundation of the Republican appeal this fall.

Certainly the civil rights plank represents Mr. Eisenhower's own approach. It is a stronger plank than the Democratic counterpart, in that it is less equivocal about the Supreme Court decision. More felicitous words could be found than that the Republican Party "accepts" the decision; this raises a condescending implication that there is an element of volition in response to law. But, as John Sherman Cooper rightly said yesterday, the Republican record is pretty good evidence that the word "progressively" means real implementation and is not a cloak for delay. The call for "intelligent study, understanding, education and good will" acknowledges that conciliation in the South, coupled with a step-by-step timetable, is the best practical way of eliminating discrimination. Having won the legal victory, the country can afford to be generous in enforcing the terms.

Other planks are so general as to be almost noncontroversial. The Republicans commend a "versatile and flexible" farm program, but nowhere is there mention of 75 to 90 per cent of parity. Instead the plank speaks glowingly of the recent improvement in farm prices and insists that farmers have already "earned" $225 million by registering surplus cropland in the soil bank. The resources plank takes due credit for the National Park improvement program, cites the mammoth Federal Upper Colorado project as an example of "partnership" in water and power development, pays homage to the preference provisions for Federally produced power and indorses "reasonable" depletion allowances for mineral lands. Like the Democrats, the Republicans also worship at the altar of small business.

On the surface, the pledge of immediate statehood for Alaska, "recognizing the fact that adequate provisions for defense requirements must be made," is an improvement. The Republicans also indorse self-government, national suffrage and representation in Congress for the District of Columbia. They properly condemn the Democrats for frustrating efforts to place the Post Office on a self-sustaining basis. On other points they manage to be less precise. The mention of aid to education ignores the actual mechanics of the Powell Amendment. The pledges to correct the immigration laws and amend the Taft-Hartley law are not spelled out. The national defense plank solves the controversy over military strategy by refusing to admit that one exists.

A case can be made that there is an advantage in a platform which is not overly specific, in that there is less to bind the Administration in changed circumstances and hence less to repudiate. If there is virtue in this argument, then the Republican platform is virtuous indeed.

Nat Cole Sings At GOP Convention; Reminds Americans Of Right To Vote

The Republican national convention was serenaded last week when famous crooner Nat (King) Cole rendered three selections, paid "homage" to Ike, and reminded Americans of the right to vote.

Mr. Cole, who first sang "Somebody Loves Me," declared he was not appearing to deal in "partisan politics."

"I have come," he explained "to pay homage to the President of the United States, Mr. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Cole reminded Americans of the United States "privilege of Voting."

"Lets not forget this privilege next November" he said. He urged everyone to vote, whether for Democrats or Republicans. Cole than sang "There's All There Is To That' and "Little Girl." He was warmly applauded by Republicans.

Negro Women's Group At GOP Convention

San Francisco, Calif., Aug. 27—Six representatives of the National Council of Negro Women were here last week for the purpose of presenting to the Republican National convention a resolution to the GOP platform committee.

The delegation includes Mrs. William T. Mason of Washington, D.C national president; Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, also of Washington, D. C.,; Mrs. Arnetta Wallace of Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Ors Stokes Perry of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Ruth Mueller of Los Angeles and Mrs. Katie McGhee of Oakland. They presented the same bill to the Republican Convention that they submitted recently to the Democratic National Convention.

The following is the test of their resolution:

"That the Democratic and Republican Conventions pledge not only to include strong civil and human rights in their program platforms, but give a further pledge to work honestly for the passage of such enabling legislation in the 85th Congress.

"That the Democratic and Republican Conventions include in their platforms a pledge to see that the 14th amendment is implemented through the Justice Department and or Congressional action.

"That the Democratic and Republican Conventions pledge continued support to the United Nations and its agencies.

"That a pledge be made that special assistance be given the people in many sections of Africa and the West Indies to help them in their desired goals. That such assistance as technical advisors, trainees, research teams, foreign aid in necessary goods, health teams, educational projects, assistance in developing economic resources and other aids to stabilize and undergrid their aspirations be given with all possible speed.

"That the Democratic and Republican Conventions include in their platforms a pledge that the sevices of women for significant posts representing the U. S. Government, for diplomatic services, judgeships, members of the president's cabinet, heads of government departments, international representation and in all other areas requiring the services of men and women with special aptitudes and qualifications will be considered and that Negro women be given due consideration for these same services.

"That the Democratic and Republican conventions pledge to support measures to insure fair employment practices, and appointment of women on the same basis as that of men in government service.

Negro Woman Seconds Ike's Nomination

San Francisco, Calif., Aug. 25—Among the six persons who made speeches to second the nomination of President Eisenhower here Wednesday night at the fourth session of the Republican National Convention was Dr. Helen G. Edmonds, professor of History at North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

Dr. Edmonds, who is active in the national affairs of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, is also author of a book, "The Negro and Fusion Politics in North Carolina," published in 1951.

Mississippi Delegate Denies Coalition With Negro Delegate

SAN FRANCISCO — (ANP)— "I am not working with the Perry Howard group."

This was the statement last week of a member of the Mississippi Lily White faction when questioned by a reporter at the Republican National convention here.

Anson H. Sheldon of Hollandale, Miss., said that even though he is seated on the convention floor with the Black and Tan faction, "I still represent the Mississippi Republican party, the Lily White faction."

Sheldon said he was elected delegate to represent the Mississippi Republican party and "we have entered into no coalition with Perry Howard."

The two factions, known as the Black and Tan group headed by Howard, a Negro, and the Lily Whites headed by Wirt Yerger, contested last week for the right to be seated on the convention floor.

The National Committee resolved the contest by alloting Howard's group eight seats in the Mssissippi section and Yerger's group seven.

Sheldon said that merely because some of the Yerger group took the seats to which they were entitled "doesn't mean there is any coalition or any amalgamation" with the Howard group.

"I have been working and waiting for a seat in the Republican convention too many years not to take it just because I have to sit with another group," he said.

Editorials

Support Ike or 'Use' Ike?

Republican candidates for re-election whooped for joy when they learned that good old Ike is going to sail into a second-term campaign for the Presidency and that there is going to be the welcome chance for them to latch onto his coattail. What a prospect! What a shoo-in to victory!

Everyone of the beaming Congressmen in Washington who feels that Ike is going to help him in a fight against a Democrat in November is supercharged with delight.

But what do these great solons, these masters of parliamentary maneuvering, these lawmakers with bleeding breasts, do for Ike? Oh, yes, they want him to run. But do they want to help him? Do they want to support him? Do they stand firmly for the things for which he stands?

We are speaking of Republicans. We want to know if the Republicans who expect to cling frantically to Ike's coattail intend to support him? Will they back his program?

This week they have a chance to prove whether they are for Ike and decency and justice—or are purely for themselves.

The President has sent a civil rights legislation package to Congress. It is a modest pack. For what does the President ask? A civil rights commission. A civil rights division in the Department of Justice. A statute to enable persons denied the right to vote to seek civil redress in the courts.

There's nothing radical about that package. It isn't revolutionary. It isn't communistic. How could it be? It's Ike's.

What are the Republican members of the House of Representatives going to do when Ike's civil rights package comes before the members this week?

We already know what those bond brothers of the South, the most united of the Democrats, are going to do. Already they have oiled and limbered their guns. They propose to bombard and obliterate the package with factitious constitutional rationalizations. They're going to have great sport—and they may win.

But what about Ike's friends—the Republicans of the East, North and West?

Are they organized to defend Ike's package? Will they organize? Will they say: "He's gonna help us and we ought a help him" or just let things slide?

No self-respecting Republican can afford to desert the President at this time. The nation has been looking at the manner in which Republicans have been scuttling the President's programs. Independents and Democrats have been strangely struck by the spectacle of Republicans letting the President down—even when he's sick.

If Republicans do not get together and demonstrably support the President's civil rights package, they may find out in November that they have done more than fail to support the man, Ike.

They may discover to their dismay that there are many more Americans interested in civil rights than they bargained for and that in their passionate desire to guarantee civil rights to all Americans, they had decided the Republican party is not their instrument.

They might discover that in failing to support Ike, they had failed to support the party and even to support themselves. They would go to Washington the next time as visitors, not Congressmen.

The President has the challenging leadership, responsibility of making it clearly understood that he wants his party in Congress to stand firmly behind his legislation, to support him.

All Republican Congressmen who propose to use "Ike" rather than support him deserve defeat.

Voters should keep a sharp lookout for the supporters and the users this week.

Charges Ike 'Passes Buck' On Alleged Failures

Foreign Affairs Mishandled at Time of Crisis, Says House Speaker

By Gardner L. Bridge

CHICAGO, Aug. 14 (AP) House Speaker Sam Rayburn tonight accused President Eisenhower and his Republican Administration of "mishandling" this country's foreign affairs in "the most perilous times in world history."

Rayburn lit into Mr. Eisenhower directly, accusing him of "passing the buck" to subordinates for alleged failures at home and abroad.

Raking the GOP leadership for what he called its "stillborn policy of massive retaliation," Rayburn said this is a policy which "involves the taking of the most serious risks with the lives and fortunates and honor of the American people."

The veteran House leader from Texas also flailed the Administration's farm, labor, social welfare and business policies in a speech prepared for his installation as permanent chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

Declaring he sensed a "singular lack of interest" in foreign affairs among the people, Rayburn set out to stir some up.

"We sit on a seething volcano," he said, "while the White House and State Department have still to produce a single new effective contribution toward world peace."

The Eisenhower Administration, Rayburn said, has "played the dangerous game of Tenuous military alliances" and "stamped fear upon our friends by its heavy overemphasis on instruments of arms rather than instruments of peace."

He said:

"The problems of the world are not going to be solved by bluffing, or by diplomatic tricks, or by public rebuffs to leaders we need as allies in the world today.

"What is required is patience and slow and painful negotiations toward carefully thought-out objectives. What is needed is a return to the policies which a few short years ago had made America the leaders of the free peoples."

Rayburn, asserting he felt a spirit of unity and victory in the air here, said "only the Democratic Party has the courage and the experience to restore this republic once again to its rightful place in world affairs."

"The Republican Secretary of State seems proud of the fact," he said, "that on at least three occasions that we know about, he has taken this country to the brink of war without the knowledge or consent of the Congress and the people."

Fewer Friends, More Enemies

Rayburn said "the end result of four years of Republican mishandling of our foreign affairs is such that weh ave fewer friends than ever before, and weh ave made enemies of many that were our friends and well-wishers."

"The facts are, of course," he added, "that the man primarily responsible under our Constitution for the conduct of foreign policy, simply is not handling the job."

Turning to domestic affairs, Rayburn asserted:

"Under President Eisenhower, we have an Administration that has developed the classic Army buckpassing came to new heights.

"When somebody is caught giving away our natural resources, the blame falls on the Secretary of the Interior. When fraud is discovered in a Dixon-Qates dam project, the fault is laid to the Bureau of the Budget. When inflation follows deflation because of manipulating interest rates, the responsibility lies with the Treasury. When mergers and consolidations succeed each other in dizzy array the buck is passed to the Justice Department."

While not absolving the underlings for "their grievous failures," Rayburn said he believed in putting the blame "where it really lies," and added:

"It belongs on the shoulders of the President of the United States."

At Every Ballot Box

In scoring Administratior farm policies, Rayburn said the Democrats will "fight at every ballot box in the land to prevent the Republicans from making peasants out of our farmers."

Asserting that farm income has dropped almost five billion dollars under the present administration, Rayburn said "the plain fact is that the Republican Party took out of the pockets of each farm family an average of almost $800 a year during the past four years."

"Of course, this is a picayunish amount for a big businessman or a Madison Avenue executive," he said, "but it's the difference between prosperity and hardship for millions of our farm families."

Turning to Republican claims of business prosperity, Rayburn said "thousands of independent small merchants have gone to the wall."

On labor, Rayburn said "the Republican Party has not changed its attitude toward labor in 100 years."

He ticked off social security, minimum wages, unemployment compensation, old age assistance, aid to the blind and to the crippled and said these were adopted "amid cries of creeping socialism."

"To the Republicans, taking care of these people was creeping socialism" he said. "But these same Republicans have embraced this brand of socialism during the past four years x x x."

Nixon Urges Moderate Integration Advance

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

EN ROUTE WITH NIXON, Sept. 26—Vice President Richard M. Nixon urged a "moderate steady advance" toward school integration at a Houston, Tex., press conference today.

"We are not going to solve the problem until we have a change in the hearts of men," he said. "It must never become a political football.

"The Eisenhower Administration's position—and my position—is that we must have a moderate, steady advance but avoid extremes on both sides."

Not Ducking Issue

Nixon did not mention segregation in last night's speech at Houston, first Southern stop on his 32-state campaign tour. He said he was saving it for a "full" discussion Thursday at Louisville (where schools were integrated peaceably three weeks ago). He told reporters he wasn't ducking the question, or he wouldn't have called the Houston press conference.

"I subscribe to the view," said Nixon, "that it is essential in this country to work toward a realization of equality of opportunity for employment, education and the good things of life for all people regardless of race."

"It's essential because it's right and also because it's in the "self-interest of the Nation," he said. "Every evidence of prejudice is blown up a thousand-fold and hurts us abroad."

Nixon said he was "enormously impressed by what Southern leaders are doing" to change attitudes on school segregation and job discrimination. Nixon is chairman of the President's committee seeking to eliminate employment color bars in firms holding Government contracts.

Comment on NAACP

Asked for comment on efforts to supress activities of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in some Southern states, Nixon said any group which does not advocate the violent overthrow of the Government should be allowed to meet and express its views.

"One of the major foundations of democracy is the right of people to disagree with us," he said.

In answer to another question, Nixon said he was made an honorary member of the NAACP in 1946 but is not a participating member.

Nixon appeared to have thrown off the influenza virus that took away most of his voice Monday night and yesterday. "Except for the usual post-flu weakness I feel fine," he said.

As he moved into Missouri, home state of former President Truman, he talked of Republican peace and prosperity.

At Springfield, Mo., Nixon omitted his usual followup challenge to the Democrats to fight out the campaign on the question of morality in the Truman Administration as compared with that under the Eisenhower Administration.

But the Vice President praised Mr. Eisenhower as a "man who restored dignity and prestige to the White House."

Nixon chided the Democrats for their lack of issues.

Agrees With Basic Aim

At the Springfield airport, Nixon told a news conference he may not subscribe to all the views of the NAACP, but agrees with its "basic aim" of working to eliminate racial inequality.

In his curbstone handshaking in Springfield, Nixon was greeted with enthusiasm in Missouri's Ozarks, though he ran into unmistakable signs of dissatisfaction among farmers with whom he chatted. His defense of the Eisenhower farm program drew only polite applause.

A crowd estimated at 5000 jammed into the Shrine Mosque for his Springfield talk. He was introduced by Rep. Dewey Short, who urged the Vice President to "take off your gloves and sock 'em . . ."

A small crowd saw Nixon off for Kansas City. Missouri Sens. Stuart Symington and Thomas C. Hennings Jr., and Lt. Gov. James Blair, all Democrats, also were present but were waiting for a later flight to join the Stevenson affair at Kansas City.

NIXON MADE TARGET BY STATES RIGHTERS

Mississippi Group Says He Is A Member Of NAACP

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 26.—(UP)—Mississippians for States' Rights, who don't like either major party took out after Vice President Richard Nixon for being on the membership rolls of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

But a state Republican leader said the public wasn't given the whole picture.

Mayor John McLaurin of nearby Brandon said in a television interview Tuesday night Nixon was a member of the NAACP and as proof he showed a magazine published by the NAACP.

But in Houston, Texas, Mr. Nixon said he was made an honorary member when he was running for Congress in 1946 but he had never been an active or participating member.

E. O. Spencer of Jackson, state chairman of Citizens For Eisenhower, said conditions have changed since 1946 when the NAACP was not as violently opposed by Southern whites as it is today.

McLaurin appeared on a television interview (WLBT) as an elector for Mississippians for States' Rights. He said he had received a letter from Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman of the State Election Commission, asking if he were pledged to a presidential candidate. McLaurin said he was not.

Governor Coleman had threatened to keep the States' Rights electors off the Nov. 6 ballot if they are pledged to vote for T. Coleman Andrews as one member said.

Nixon Says Radical Acts Can't Solve Race Problem

Springfield, Mo., Sept. 26 (AP)—Vice-President Richard M. Nixon said today the problems of racial integration cannot be solved by "revolutionary means," but only by "a change in the hearts of men."

They must "never become a political football," he warned as he disclosed that he holds honorary membership in the National Association for The Advancement of Colored People.

Nixon invited questioning about his stand on civil rights at a Houston news conference before leaving for a speech here.

And he said he would have more to say on the subject in a speech tomorrow in Louisville.

Nixon called for a "moderate, steady advance" in keeping with the Supreme Court ruling banning school segregation, but warned against "extremes on both sides."

He's Honorary Member

He said his experience was that "moderate, clear-thinking, right-thinking people will prevail."

Nixon said he became an honorary member of the N.A.A.C.P. in 1946, but has "not paid dues nor taken any part in the organization's activities." He is an honorary member of many organizations, he said.

"Any organization not advocating the violent overthrow of the Government has the right to express its views," he said. "The N.A.A.C.P. does not advocate the overthrow of the Government by violence; of that I am sure."

Asked if he endorsed N.A.A.C.P. policies, Nixon replied:

"We must work toward a realization of equality of opportunity . . . and the good things of life, regardless of race, creed, or color. . . .

Must Change Attitudes

"The problem of integration must never become a political football. We are not going to solve the problem until we change basic attitudes, until there is a change in the hearts of men." He added that such change must be brought about by "education and persuasion."

Nixon said that, other than being "a little weak," he felt no afteraffects from the siege of influenza and laryngitis that slowed him down earlier in the week.

The Shrine Mosque where he spoke was packed to its capacity of 5,000 and officials in charge of the rally said several thousand more were turned away.

SLOW, STEADY GAINS RACIAL AIM OF NIXON

Vice President In Warning Against Extremes

ASKS CHANGE OF HEART

By The Associated Press

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Sept. 26.—Vice President Richard Nixon said Wednesday the problems of racial integration cannot be solved by "revolutionary means" but only by "a change in the hearts of men."

They must "never become a political football" he warned as he disclosed that he holds honorary membership in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Mr. Nixon invited questioning about his stand on civil rights at a Houston, Texas, news conference before leaving for a mid-afternoon speech here.

More To Say Later

And he said he would have more to say on the subject in a noon speech Thursday in Louisville, Ky., whose school officials have been commended by President Eisenhower for their progress in educational integration.

Mr. Nixon called for a "moderate, steady advance" in keeping with the Supreme Court ruling banning school segregation, but warned against "extremes on both sides."

His experience, he said, was that "moderate, clear-thinking, right-thinking people will prevail."

Mr. Nixon said he became an honorary member of the NAACP in 1946 but has "not paid dues nor taken any part in the organization's activities." He said he is an honorary member of many organizations.

Cites Propaganda Value

"Any organization not advocating the violent overthrow of the Government has the right to express its views," he said. "The NAACP does not advocate the overthrow of the Government by violence, of that I am sure."

Asked if he endorsed NAACP policies, Mr. Nixon replied:

"We must work toward a realization of opportunity . . . and the good things of life, regardless of race, creed or color."

He added a warning that "every evidence of prejudice and racial tension" is used against the United States by its enemies.

He said the matter of preserving law and order through use of state military forces in areas where segregation has caused trouble is a problem of the individual states and one that must be handled on the state level.

Feeling 'Little Weak'

"The problem of integration must never become a political football." We are not going to solve the problem until we change basic attitudes, until there is a change in the hearts of men," he said, adding that such change must be brought about by "education and persuasion."

Mr. Nixon said he was "very happy" to note that Adlai Stevenson subscribes to the Supreme Court ruling and "does not question the law of the land" in that respect.

Before his audience here, Mr. Nixon delivered what has become known as his "basic speech." In it he stressed what he called the gains of the nation during the four years of Republican Administration. He accused the Democrats of having nothing to offer but "the same old jalopy they had in 1952, with a new paint job."

On arrival here by plane, Mr. Nixon said that other than being "a little weak" he felt no after-affects from the siege of influenza and largyngitis which slowed him down earlier in the week.

Mr. Nixon omitted his usual ollow-up challenge to the Democrats to fight out the campaign on the question of morality in the Truman Administration as compared with that under the Eisenhower Administration.

But the Vice President scored when he praised Mr. Eisenhower as a "man who restored dignity and prestige to the White House."

IN THE GOP WOMEN'S WORLD—Prominent Republican women from all over the nation, Alaska and Hawaii, created a traffic jam in the Mark Hopkins Hotel as they waited their turn to be admitted to the Room of the Dons to meet Mrs. Richard M. Nixon. Mrs. Leonard W. Hall, wife of the chairman of the Republican national committee, gave the reception. Pictured are, left to right, Mrs. Nixon, Mrs. Hall, Mrs. Hobson Reynolds, wife of the IBPOE of W notable, and Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the Pittsburgh Courier. — E. F. Joseph Photo.

Nixon Says He'll Discuss Integration Here Today

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon said yesterday he will go fully into the issue of racial desegregation in schools when he speaks here today.

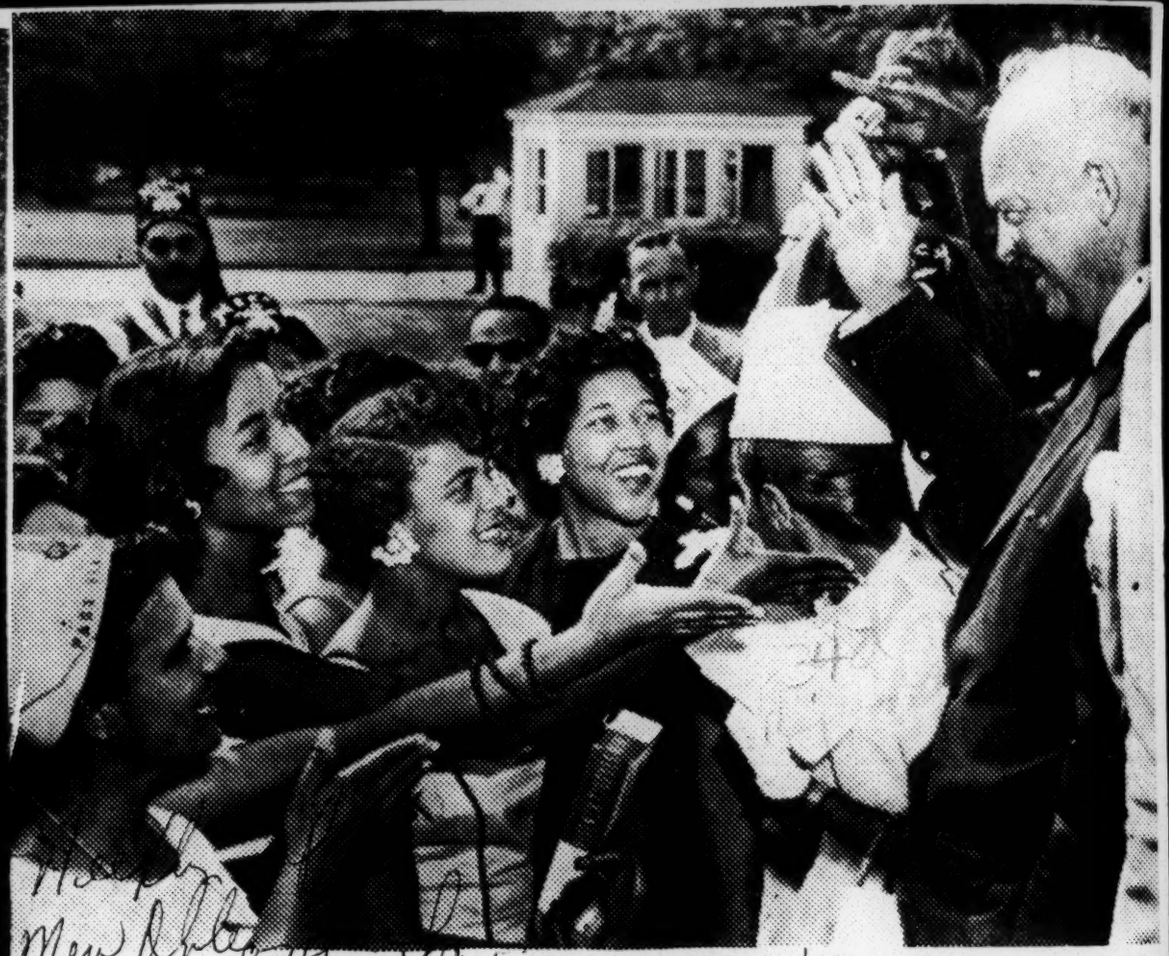
He told a press conference at Houston that this was the reason he did not mention segregation in his first Deep South speech there Tuesday night.

The Vice-President will give two speeches on today's visit here. He will address a convocation at the University of Louisville at 11 a.m., and a 12:15 public luncheon meeting at the Kentucky Hotel's Flag Room.

He was to arrive at Standiford Field at 1:20 a.m., and will leave here for Springfield, Ill., at 2:30 p.m.

The Republican nominee for re-election is about half through a 16-day campaign tour he began last week in Washington.

Nixon, according to a story on Page 3, says radical acts can't solve the race problem, while Thruston B. Morton praises "sound-money" policy of the Administration, Page 1, Section 2. And a story on Page 2 says Eisenhower is ready to expand his television campaign.



IKE GREETS BEAUTY QUEENS -- While GOP delegates were converging on Cow Palace in San Francisco last week, President Eisenhower was greeting a bevy of beauties, in Washington to compete for the title of "Miss Shrine Princess." The Chief Executive chatted with the girls on the White House lawn. (NEWS-PRESS PHOTO)

GOVERNOR AND ADVISOR — Harold E. Stassen, advisor to the President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, chats and shakes hands with Governor Walter A. Gordon of the Virgin Islands, who flew in with Mrs. Gordon, right, to attend the Republican Convention held at the Cow Palace in San Francisco. At left is Mrs. Stassen.—E. F. Joseph Photo.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

Publishers Join Forces In Support Of Pres. Eisenhower

World Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 8-29-56

SAN FRANCISCO — A famous editor, known for his position on civil rights, has come out in support of President Eisenhower for reelection in November.

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., has joined forces with another publisher, Mrs. Jessie Vann of the Pittsburgh Courier.

Both of these outstanding leaders played a "significant" role in developing support for the President during the recent Republican National Convention in San Francisco.

Mr. Dunjee said he will support the national and congressional tickets in Oklahoma, including Douglas McKeever, the Republican candidate against Senator Mike Monrooney, Democrat, seeking reelection.

Mr. Dunjee, who became a Democrat in 1932, said:

"As Gov. Arthur Langlie of Washington, the keynoter, inferred, the Republican platform on civil rights must not be read out of context with the Republican record of the past three and one-half years.

"Measured by the yardstick of what has been done by the Eisenhower Administration in the field of integration, the Republican plank is far superior to the Democratic simulation.

"The plank approved Tuesday dedicates the Republicans to the implementation of the Supreme Court decision on public schools and it reaffirms the faith of the Republican party in the validity and constitutionality of the 14th Amendment to the Federal charter. I had insisted that this be done before I came here.

"Democrats have fumed too much this year about the 14th Amendment. I wanted the Republican party to declare itself on this question.

"I do not see how the Negro can do this year other than support the Republican ticket."

Mrs. Vann was one of the speakers at the second Republican "Breakfast Briefing" session for women arranged as a special feature of the centennial Republican national convention.

555 WOMEN

The breakfast was held in the Venetian Room of the Fairmont Hotel. It was invitation. The honor guests were 555 women delegates and alternates to the convention.

A distinctive Hawaiian decor prevailed in the decorations.

Speaking on the subject, "Why Do I Support the Republican Administration?" Mrs. Vann said:

"In him (Eisenhower) we have a leader whom all the world respects and admire. We must keep the Republican party in control if we are to help insure such capable leadership for Americans and the world.

"He has come closest to meeting the head-on challenges of a changing nation in a changing world. He kept his promise to bring peace to a troubled world, and at present we do have peace and prosperity without war.

DANGER OF WAR

"Another reason why it is so important to continue his leadership is the ever-present dange rof war — and I am thinking of the Suez Canal situation, and the possibility that sparks might ignite with tragic results.

"We must elect Eisenhower while we are at peace."

"While we hope and pray that another war does not break out, if it should happen, we will need the expert knowledge, ability and courage of the greatest military man of our day.

"Although war is considered outside the realm of politics and far transcends politics, it is one of my reasons for supporting the Republican party as the best thing for America.

"As a member of a minority group there are other reasons.

"Practically all the legislation favorable to my group has been passed under Republican Administrations. The Eisenhower Administration is no exception.

FOR ACTION

"The Republican party has established a record for action instead of promises, in the controversial field of civil rights.

"Almost immediately after his inauguration on Jan. 20, 1953, he issued an order which called for an end to segregation in the Nation's Capital insofar as hotels, restaurants, places of amusement, etc., were concerned.

"This was done without any fanfare — and no unpleasant incidents occurred. Washington, D. C. is now a place where every American can live as a first-class citizen.

"Eisenhower has used Americans of every faith and race in responsible government positions, with qualifications being the only measuring rod.

"Then, there is the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, dealing with the integration of our educational system, which came under a Republican Administration, even though Democrats say we cannot take entire credit for it.

Ike Missed The Boat

Pro-American

Baltimore Md.

At his press conference last week. President Eisenhower was asked this question:

"You seem to have a tremendous reservoir of goodwill on the part of your people all over the country. With the schools opening up this week and next in places of serious tension, I wonder if there is anything you would like to say through us to the younger people who are going to school regarding this problem?"

In reply to reporters, Mr. Eisenhower said:

"Well, I can say what I have said so often: it is difficult through law and through force to change a man's heart . . .

"Now, there—the South is full of people of goodwill, but they are not the ones we now hear. We hear the people that are adamant and are so filled with prejudice that they can't keep still—they even resort to violence; and the same way on the other side of the thing, the people who want to have the whole matter settled today.

Sat. 9-15-56

"This is a question of leading and training and teaching, and it takes some time, unfortunately."

We do not consider this good advice to young people at all. It is not pertinent, and it does not go to the heart of the question. Further, it was not a proper response at this time.

Here was a golden opportunity for Mr. Eisenhower and he missed the boat.

We concede that the President is under great tension at these press conferences; that he does not have an opportunity to see the questions before they are asked him, and that his answers are spontaneous and off the cuff.

We think that if the President had had time to think up his reply, he would have told young people of America something else that he has said before. He would have said something like this:

> You young people in school today are our citizens of tomorrow. Among other things you will study government. We are all governed by the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court interprets the Constitution.
>
> As President I am sworn to uphold the Constitution, and do my best to see that it is carried out by every person in this country. And I hope you will help me do it.

The situation today concerns obedience of laws as interpreted by the highest court in the land. It is not a matter of changing a man's heart. That is a problem for the church and other organizations.

As chief administrative officer in the land, Mr. Eisenhower's advice to young people should have expressed a definite, positive understanding of the law and every citizen's obligation to obey it.

Negroes Have A 'Tremendous' Obligation To Vote For Ike, Archibald Carey Says

BY RAYMOND F. TISBY

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (SNS) — "Negro Americans have a tremendous responsibility to hold up the arms" of President Eisenhower in the coming November elections because Eisenhower has done "more to advance the cause of human rights since Abraham Lincoln," avowed Archibald J. Carey, former U. N. alternate delegate now vice chairman of the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy, in a speech here.

The Negro, Carey felt, would be an "ingrate" if he failed to vote for Eisenhower' who has spelled out Freedom in big letters."

"No one serves the cause of freedom more fervently and efficiently than Eisenhower," Carey declared adding," while the Democrats talked about civil rights Eisenhower did something about it."

Eisennower's record of civil rights accomplishments will cost him some votes Carey believed and reasoned "there must be a measurable degree of increased support" from Negro voters to offset this."

The former Chicago alderman cited Eisenhowers "removal of 150 years of Southern tradition in the nation's capital" and making it the "showplace" of American democracy.

"The status of the Negro today is higher than ever before because of President Eisenhower," Carey asserted, pointing to such history making appointments as J. Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of labor; Scovell Richardson, chairman of the U. S. parole board; the naming of a Negro as Washington, D. C. chairman of public utilities, etc

His talk here was his first speech making engagement since returning from a 39-day trip to the Middle East and while explaining that he was out of the country during the recent national conventions and could not make his views known at that time, Carey criticized Negro Congressman (D., Ill.) William Dawson's stand on civil rights during the national Democratic convention as "treacherous and shameful."

He cautioned against voting for President Eisenhower and a Democrat Congress and felt t' "Eisenhower will write a still better record for human rights, but it is important that he has a Republican Congress."

VICTORY SMILES — President Eisenhower flashes the famous Eisenhower grin as he welcomes Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset and Mrs. James L. Hicks to his Gettysburg farm for the kick-off of the 1956 Presidential campaign. Mrs. Fauset is special assistant to the co-chairman of the Nationa Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon. Mrs. Hicks is wife of James L. Hicks, assistant public relations director of the National Citizens for Eisenhower Nixon.

He pointed out that the election of a Republican Congress would strip many pro segregation Southern Congressmen of their now held important committee chairmanships.

The "Peace, Prosperity and Progress" GOP campaign theme "is not a slogan, but a record of real accomplishments" Carey contended as he urged a full voter turnout for both President Eisenhower and a Republican Congress.

Carey was in Memphis to preside over the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy meeting with the heads of Memphis federal agencies and later addressed the rally sponsored by the Tennessee Republican Minority Groups division.

Lt. George W. Lee of Memphis, division state chairman, is working to swing 85 per cent of the 140,000 Tennessee race voters into the GOP column.

Carey, who spoke at Clayborn AME Temple, was introduced by Atty. Herbert Harper, GOP candidate for the ninth district U. S. Congress seat now held by Democrat Cliff Davis.

Other members of the 12-member Shelby County Republican slate for national and stafe offices, including three Negro candidates for the state legislature, were presented.

State Republicans Plan Appeal for Negro Vote

Task Force '56' to Stress Gains in Civil Rights Under Eisenhower

By David McConnell

A concentrated Republican drive for the New York State Negro vote with emphasis on the civil rights accomplishments of the Eisenhower administration will start this week, Walter E. Bligh, secretary of the Republican State Committee, announced yesterday.

Mr. Bligh said 295 key leaders from Buffalo to Manhattan and out "to the tip of Long Island" have been recruited to organize the Republican appeal to the state's 918,000 Negroes. Of that number, about 600,000 are eligible to vote.

Julius J. Adams, a member of the Republican State Executive Committee, has been named director of what has been dubbed "Task Force Fifty-six."

The focal effort of the campaign will be to elect a Republican Sentaor to replace retiring Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, D., N. Y., and to work for the election of more Republicans to the House of Representatives. With the Democrats now in control of the Senate and House, most of the major committees are headed by Southerners.

Mr. Bligh and Mr. Adams said the "task force" will emphasize that by voting Democratic, Negroes will be helping to keep Southern chairmen in control of committees which have and can continue to bottle up legislation favorable to the Negroes.

Assisting in the campaign, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, of Chicago, president of the National Medical Association, has made six recordings. Eighty-six sets have been made up for circulation throughout the state where they will be played at Negro meetings.

Seeks Help of Ministers

Organization of the "task force" extends from a veterans committee to beauticians and musicians. It includes a speakers bureau, and the group hopes to recruit at lease 600 Negro ministers to aid in the movement, Mr. Adams said.

It already has prepared a series of circulars, including one entitled "The Civil Rights Accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration." The circular asserts that the Republicans want credit for elimination of segregation in the armed forces, the Supreme Court school desegregation order, the ending of segregation at West Point and in veterans hospitals and the ending of school segregation on "all but two" installations on Federal property.

A similar move to woo the votes of Puerto Ricans also has been launched under the direction of Mr. Bligh. It has been set up on a county, rather than state-wide basis, and most of the work will be centered in the metropolitan New York City area, he said.

Call GOP Plank 'Shade' Stronger

SAN FRANCISCO—Although he strongly resents the use of the word "progressively" and other weak-termed words, Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, described the Republican plank on civil rights as a "shade stronger" than the Democratic plank.

An ardent worker for a strong civil rights plank in the platform of both major political parties, Wilkins and Joseph L. Rauh, national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, in a joint statement declared:

"On balance, the Republican platform appears to be a thin shade stronger than the Democratic platform. We regret the committee's failure to pledge an effort to eliminate the filibuster rule which has blocked all federal civil rights legislation in the U. S. Senate."

Wilkins added: "Progressively would have the same connotation as gradualism."

"The language of the platform we agreed upon is not substantiated in this plank; it is a thin shade better than the Democratic one. Both have mixed up the language. The word 'progressively' has weakened the effects of what the Republicans intended to say."

The civil rights plank states:

The Republican party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

In the area of exclusive federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this administration.

SEGREGATION has been ended in the District of Columbia government and in the district public facilities, including public schools restaurants, theatres and play grounds. The Eisenhower administration has eliminated discrimination in all federal employment.

Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the federal government and secure federal contracts.

This administration has impartially enforced federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the second session of the 84th Congress.

* * *

THE REGULATORY agencies under this administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregation in the active armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospitals and among civilians on naval bases.

This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

The Republican party has unequivocally recognized that the Supreme Court law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees to all people the blessings of liberty, due process and equal protection of the law. It confers upon all native-born and ntauralized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right regardless of race, creed or color.

THE REPUBLICAN party accepts the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated.

We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through federal district courts.

The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision n certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and long-standing decisions of the same tribunal.

* * *

WE BELIEVE that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will.

Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen many problems inherent in the situation.

This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved.

77 tan delegates at GOP convention

SAN FRANCISCO (NNPA)—Mississippi and South Carolina, with 14 and 10 delegates and alternates, respectively, numerically led a total of 77 colored delegates representing 21 states and the District of Columbia at the opening session of the Republican National Convention Monday at San Francisco's Cow Palace.

This total is 32 more than the 45 colored representatives at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last week.

Arkansas—Alternates: H. A. Powell, Little Rock, state-at-large; Harold Flowers, Pine Bluff.

California — John L. Hill, Los Angeles, delegate; Alternates: Josie B. Johnson, Los Angeles; William McKinley Thomas, San Francisco; Lena Washington, Los Angeles.

Delaware — Delegate: John O. (Bus) Hopkins, Wilmington.

Georgia—Delegates: William J. Shaw, Atlanta, state-at-large; Louis B. Toomer, former Register of the Treasury, Savannah; W. C. Ervin, Augusta; alternate: Clayton R. Yates, Atlanta, state-at-large.

Illinois — Delegates: Euclid L. Taylor, Chicago, at-large; Valores J. Washington and William E. King, first district, Chicago; alternates: Leroy Tyree, Ripley B. Mead Sr., Golden R. Darby, all of Chicago.

Indiana—Alternates: Wilbur H. Grant, state-at-large, and Frank Beckwith, eleventh district, both of Indianapolis.

Iowa — Alternate: W. Lawrence Oliver, Des Moines, state-at-large.

Kansas—Delegate: James Woodson, Hutchinson, state-at-large.

Louisiana — Delegate: Jesse W. Cook, New Orleans, first district.

Maryland—Delegates: Harry A. Cole, Baltimore, and Charles C. Cornish, Cambridge, state-at-large; alternates: William Turks and Dr. John Woodland, Baltimore, seventh district.

Michigan — Delegate: William Brooks Jr., Detroit; alternates: Austin W. Curtis, Detroit, state-at-large; alternates: Randolph Wallace, thirteenth district, and Roy J. Morton, fifteenth district, both of Detroit.

Minnesota—Alternate: Mrs. Earl Kyle, Minneapolis, state-at-large.

Mississippi—Delegates: Perry W Howard and S. W. Miller, both of Jackson, state-at-large; T. L. Zuber, West Point; F. H. Miller, Mound Bayou; J. C. Gilliam, Clarksdale; J .W. Hair and Mrs. Edna E. Redmond, both of Jackson; H. J. Fields, Laurel.

Alternates: J. H. Bevins, Greenville; George Jefferson, Vicksburg; James Carter, Greenville, state-at-large; W. A. Zuber, Tupelo; J. R. Chambliss, Jackson; Sandy Gavins, Laurel.

New Jersey—Alternates: J. Ronald Rhodes, Mooretown, state-at-large; Arthur W. Jones, East Orange.

New York — Delegates: Mrs. Maude B. Richardson, Brooklyn, tenth district; Harold C. Burton and Cary D. Blue, New York City, sixteesth district.

Alternates: Julius J. Adams, New York City, state-at-large; Mrs. Iolanthe Sidney, New York City, sixteenth district.

Ohio—Alternates: John W. Kellogg, Cleveland, and A. Bruce McClure, Cincinnati, both state-at-large; Henry W. Hunter and Lawrence O. Payne, both of Cleveland, twenty-first district.

Pennsylvania — Alternates: Mrs. Jessie M. Vann, Pittsburgh, state-at-large; William A. Upshur, Philadelphia, first district; Hobson R. Reynolds, Philadelphia, fourth district.

South Carolina—Delegates: I. S. Leevy, Columbia, state-at-large; I. D. Newman, Sumter; C. Lee Davis, Anderson; W. M. Porter, Spartanburg; F. G. C. Dubois, Camden; W. B. Clemons, Rock Hill; William S. Thompson, Georgetown.

Alternates: George Hampton, state-at-large, Columbia; L. C. Jenkins, Columbia; John S. Woodward, Spartanburg.

Tennessee—Delegate: George W. Lee, Memphis, ninth district; alternates: Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville, state-at-large; R. Q. Venson, Memphis.

Texas—Alternate: W. L. Davis, Houston, state-at-large.

West Virginia—Delegate: W. H. Ballard, Welch; alternate, J. S. Butts, Beckley.

District of Columbia—Harry E. Polk, Washington, delegate; alternates: Onton S. Lloyd and Barrington Parker.

GOP's Urged To Vote For Powell Amendment

BY RAYMOND WILCOVE

WASHINGTON. —(INS)— House Republicans are being urged by their leaders to vote for an anti-segregation amendment to the school construction bill—despite indicated opposition to it from President Eisenhower.

Adoption of the amendment would be generally regarded on Capitol Hill as tantamount to killing the school bill. If the rider is adopted, the entire measure would face a senate filibuster.

The President told a news conference last January that he felt the school bill should be enacted and that he hoped there would be nothing in it "that delays the construction."

The amendment was to be offered by Rep. Adam Powell (D) N. Y., when the school bill was to be called up in the House Wednesday or Thursday. It would deny federal aid to segregated schools. The bill would authorize one billion, 600 million dollars in aid to states to help them construct needed classrooms.

Reliable sources reported that word is being passed around among GOP members that house Republican leaders will support the amendment and they were being urged to do likewise.

Republican Leader Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts predicted the Powell amendment would be adopted and the bill would pass the house.

The president has not taken a clear-cut position on the amendment, but has indicated opposition to any amendment that would defeat the bill.

The president told his news conference on Jan. 25 that "the need of the American children for schools is right now, immediately, today.

"So I think that there should be nothing put in this bill that delays the construction."

Martin told newsmen Jan. 24 after the GOP leaders' weekly conference with the President: "I think I shall vote for the Powell amendment. Because of the position of the Supreme court (on segregation), I don't think you can do otherwise."

The high court has ruled that segregated schools are unlawful, but left it to the federal courts to determine how fast they should be compelled to integrate.

Martin said Monday in an interview that "I'm not decided on how I shall vote on the Powell amendment," although he predicted its adoption. He added: "It all depends on conditions when the vote is taken."

GOP Drops 'ic' From 'Democratic' 'Publican' Is Seen as Countermove

By Patricia Wiggins
United Press

The Republican Party has adopted and "official policy" of shortening the name of its opposition to the "Democrat Party," a GOP spokesman disclosed yesterday.

The shortened phrase, used for several years by several Republicans, was put into official use for the first time at last week's GOP National Convention in San Francisco. Almost every GOP speaker referred to the opposition as the "Democrat Party."

The Democratic National Committee had no immediate comment. With most Democratic leaders out campaigning for Adlai E. Stevenson, the only word was a few mutterings from secretaries and second-echelon Democrats.

L. Richard Guylay, public relations director for the Republican National Committee, told the United Press it "will be a matter of policy" for Republicans to refer to Democrats as members of the "Democrat Party."

Well aware that the strategy had Democrats boiling, Guylay said with a chuckle: "What's happened to the 'ic'? That's the question."

He contended that the origin of the shortened name is "obscure." But simmering Democrats recalled it was used repeatedly by Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.) during the Army-McCarthy hearings. Other Republicans adopted it and now the Committee has made it official.

Guylay said the GOP feels that "Democratic as an adjective is not descriptive of the Party as it exists today."

He said Republicans feel that the party of the Democrats should be "more properly" called the "Democrat Party" because of the "diverse viewpoints" within it.

Most Democrats embraced wholeheartedly suggestions in "letters to the editor" columns here calling for a countermove to shorten the GOP name to "Publican Party" or Republicrat Party." In the Bible the word publicans is usually followed by "and sinners."

Guylay noted such suggestions but said:

"It doesn't seem to click like ours."

The new GOP policy recalls pages of history.

In 1796. Federalist andidate John Adams was campaigning on a slogan of "peace and prosperity" while his followers were busily calling Thomas Jefferson and his followers "Democrats" as a term of ridicule.

Jefferson, founder of what is now the Democratic Party, led what then was called the Republican, Democratic-Republican, and Democratic Party. But by 1796 both "Democrat" and "Democratic" were unpopular names because of the excesses of the French revolutionary democrats.

The late George Stimpson in his "Book About American Politics," noted it wasn't until the convention of 1844 that the party of Jefferson "boldly asserted that it was . . . the 'Democratic Party of the Union'"— finally formalizing its official name as one of the two modern political parties.

The most recent instance of dismay over an unofficial change in a party name was in 1948 when Southern Democrats split away to form the "States' Rights Democratic Party." They did not appreciate the nickname "Dixiecrat," which was attached to them.

President Eisenhower flashes the famous grin as he welcomes Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset and Mrs. James L. Hicks to his Gettysburg farm for kick-off of the 1956 Presidential campaign. Mrs. Fauset is special assistant to the co-chairman of the National Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

All-White vs. Mixed Factions Stir Seating Fight for GOP Convention

Constitution wed. 8-1-56 P. 22

Atlanta Ga.

WASHINGTON, July 31 (UP)—The Republican National Convention often plagued by rival delegations from the South, has only two seating contests confronting its San Francisco meeting Aug. 20.

The GOP National Committee said that as of today the only contested delegations are those from Mississippi and South Carolina. All of the rival delegations from the two states are considered pro-Eisenhower.

The GOP situation is in marked contrast to 1952 when rival delegations from several southern states showed up at the convention. The outcome of the contests played a major role in the nomination of President Eisenhower over the late Sen. Robert A. Taft.

The Republican National Committee will first consider South Carolina and Mississippi contests. The credentials committee, headed by Albert K. Mitchell of New Mexico, will hear evidence in the disputes at a meeting Aug. 15 in San Francisco.

The dispute over who will cast Mississippi's 15 convention votes is between a racially-mixed faction headed by veteran GOP National Committeeman Perry W. Howard and an all white delegation led by H. O. Spencer and Mrs. J. Balfour Miller.

Howard, a Washington attorney, pointed out that his faction has always been recognized in the past. He said a federal court ruled in 1953 that his group represented the official GOP party in Missisippi. His delegation includes nine Negroes and six whites.

Spencer, a Jackson, Miss., hotel man, headed the Citizens for Eisenhower in Mississippi four years ago and has handled GOP patronage in Mississippi since. He has now switched from an "independent" to the GOP ranks and is confident his all-white delegation will be seated.

Howard warned that the seating of the Spencer group would cost the Republican party Negro votes. He said Spencer "is a supporter of Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss)."

Sixteen votes are involved in the South Carolina fight. A faction headed by Oscar W. Pitts claims recognition from the national party organization. It is backed by the state's national committee members — J. Bates Gerald and Mrs. John E. Messervy.

However, the Pitts faction is being challenged by a group headed by David Dows, which was seated at the 1952 convention. The Pitts delegation is pledged to Mr. Eisenhower while the Dows delegation is uninstructed but favors the President's nomination.

Unconjured And Unconned

THE ADVERTISER can't imagine President Eisenhower carrying Alabama but the Republican workshop here yesterday suggests that the Republican Party has a future in the South.

Before the Civil War, Alabama and the other Southern states had a vigorous two-party system the same as the rest of the country. The present one-party system is abnormal, and in any event, no order of nature as Democratic pros understandably like you to think. The undergirding condition that created the blind fidelity to the Democratic Party passed in the time of Roosevelt, for the Democratic Party is now the party of the Negro.

But party allegiances are largely inherited like church affiliations and they can be very enduring. Alabama — particularly in the rural sections — is still conjured and conned by the Democratic label. Alabamians still do not make a reasoned, unemotional choice between the two parties.

All the same, as the Republican workshop here yesterday shows, it's a long road that has no turning and the old prejudice is expiring. The younger generation of Alabamians is supplying some GOP wheel horses, buoyant and dedicated, that any party would welcome.

Two names typify these new Republicans—Charles Chapman of Dothan and Bill Brooks of Brewton. Chapman is a young, successful contractor, very personable and a comer among the young men of South Alabama. Both Chapman and Brooks were born of an old Democratic line. Brooks is the editor of *The Brewton Standard;* he is a dedicated official of the Alabama GOP apparatus and writes one of the three or four best weekly editorial pages in this state.

These two young men are typical of many others; they did not move their letter from the Democrats to the Republicans in a seizure of one-shot disenchantment with the Democrats, but reached a thoughtful conclusion that the Democrats no longer represented their philosophy.

Whether their decision was wise or unwise—it takes grit in your craw to do it—is not the matter of discussion here: we are simply remarking that the ancient prejudices are dissolving in the realities of what exists in 1956 and that some significant realignments are to be seen.

It will be a long, long time before a Republican has an even chance with a Democrat in an Alabama election, but though not amain, the change is visibly working. What's to prevent it?

77 tan delegates at GOP convention

Afro-American P. 7.

Bal. 9-1-56

SAN FRANCISCO (NNPA)—Mississippi and South Carolina, with 14 and 10 delegates and alternates, respectively, numerically led a total of 77 colored delegates representing 21 states and the District of Columbia at the opening session of the Republican National Convention Monday at San Francisco's Cow Palace.

This total is 32 more than the 45 colored representatives at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago last week.

Arkansas—Alternates: H. A. Powell, Little Rock, state-at-large; Harold Flowers, Pine Bluff.

California — John L. Hill, Los Angeles, delegate; Alternates: Josie B. Johnson, Los Angeles; William McKinley Thomas, San Francisco; Lena Washington, Los Angeles.

Delaware — Delegate: John O. (Bus) Hopkins, Wilmington.

Georgia—Delegates: William J. Shaw, Atlanta, state-at-large; Louis B. Toomer, former Register of the Treasury, Savannah; W. C. Ervin, Augusta; alternate: Clayton R. Yates, Atlanta, state-at-large.

Illinois — Delegates: Euclid L. Taylor, Chicago, at-large; Valores J. Washington and William E. King, first district, Chicago; alternates: Leroy Tyree, Ripley B. Mead Sr., Golden R. Darby, all of Chicago.

Indiana—Alternates: Wilbur H. Grant, state-at-large, and Frank Beckwith, eleventh district, both of Indianapolis.

Iowa — Alternate: W. Lawrence Oliver, Des Moines, state-at-large.

Kansas—Delegate: James Woodson Hutchinson, state-at-large.

Louisiana — Delegate: Jesse W. Cook, New Orleans, first district.

Maryland—Delegates: Harry A. Cole, Baltimore, and Charles C. Cornish, Cambridge, state-at-large; alternates: William Turks and Dr. John Woodland, Baltimore, seventh district.

Michigan — Delegate: William Brooks Jr., Detroit; alternates: Austin W. Curtis, Detroit, state-at-large; alternates: Randolph Wallace, thirteenth district, and Roy J. Morton, fifteenth district, both of Detroit.

Minnesota—Alternate: Mrs. Earl Kyle, Minneapolis, state-at-large.

Mississippi—Delegates: Perry W. Howard and S. W. Miller, both of Jackson, state-at-large; T. L. Zuber, West Point; F. H. Miller, Mound Bayou; J. C. Gilliam, Clarksdale; J .W. Hair and Mrs. Edna E. Redmond, both of Jackson; H. J. Fields, Laurel.

Alternates: J. H. Bevins, Greenville; George Jefferson, Vicksburg; James Carter, Greenville, state-at-large; W. A. Zuber, Tupelo; J. R. Chambliss, Jackson; Sandy Gavins, Laurel.

New Jersey—Alternates: J. Ronald Rhodes, Mooretown, state-at-large; Arthur W. Jones, East Orange.

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Alternates: George Hampton, state-at-large, Columbia; L. C. Jenkins, Columbia; John S. Woodward, Spartanburg.

Tennessee—Delegate: George W. Lee, Memphis, ninth district; alternates: Z. Alexander Looby, Nashville, state-at-large; R. Q. Venson, Memphis.

Texas—Alternate: W. L. Davis, Houston, state-at-large.

West Virginia—Delegate: W. H. Ballard, Welch; alternate, J. S. Butts, Beckley.

District of Columbia—Harry E. Polk, Washington, delegate; alternates: Onton S. Bloyd and Barrington Parker.

P. Bernard Young, Journal And Guide Newspaper Official Supports Eisenhower

WAS WITH TRUMAN

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. — (SNS) The Republican National Committee has 'drafted' one of the country's top journalist, P. Bernard Young, Jr., to serve with it during the Presidential election campaign as Director of Information for its Minorities Division. It was announced last week by Val J. Washington, Chief of the Division.

Two-time winner of the Willkie Journalism Award, the veteran Norfolk, Va. newspaperman is one of the most-traveled and experienced editors in the profession Following his graduation in 1929 with honors from Ohio State University's school of journalism, where he was the first Negro managing editor of the College daily, The Ohio State Lantern, Young became a full-time member of the staff of the Journal & Guide in Norfolk.

With that nationally known publication, he served successively as reporter, assistant-managing editor, and associate editor, and in 1943 became its editor-in-chief, vice president, and secretary. Currently on leave of absence to accept the National Republican post he has set up office in Republican Headquarters in the Cafritz Building, 1625 Eye Street, N. W.

Accredited by the Navy and Army as a war correspondent, he went on Navy anti-submarine patrol bomber flights in the early days of World War II. He waived a chance to serve as an Army correspondent to accept membership on a commission authorized by the White House to make a social, economic, and political survey in West Africa during late 1944 and early 1945.

In Africa he visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa and the Belgian Congo, covering over 30000 miles by air to, from and in Africa While in Liberia, at the invtation of President W. V. S. Tubman, he addressed a joint session of the Liberian Congress.

Accredited to the United Nations Organizing Conference in San Francisco in 1945 his coverage won him the first two Willkie Journalism awards, for objective reporting. The following year he won another Willkie award for editoral writing. A third successive award to the Journal & Guide, under his editorship, for public services.

Young covered the 1946 atomic bomb tests at Bikini Island as a correspondent accredited to Joint Task Force One, and in 1948 was one of three colored reporters traveling with President Tubman during a Carribbean cruise to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Cuba, the first such trip with a President by a Negro pressman accredited to the White House.

As a guest of the Secretary of the Navy, Young, in 1949, went on a seven-week midshipman training cruise aboard the battleship U. S. S. Missouri, with stops in France and Cuba.

A veteran "short-snorter", the Norfolk newspaperman has flown the Carribbean three times, the Atlantic twice, and the Pacific twice.

Receiving his prelminary education in the Norfolk public schools and at Hamptoh Institute, Young won while at Ohio State, the scholarship and gold key award of Sigma Delta Chi, honorary journalism society. This year he was one of a group of citizens presented with gold keys, along with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, for contributions to the cause of education. The awards were jointly given by six national educational groups meeting at Atlantic City, New Jersey.

Young was a member of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, and is a member of that organizaton's successor, the National Citizens Council for Better Schools. He is a member of the board of Trustees of the National Urban League, and was appointed by Norfolk's City Council to two municipal commissions, Welfare and Minimum Housing Standards.

Married to the former Miss Undine A. Davis of Hampton, Virginia, he is the father of three boys and resides in Norfolk at 2829 Mapleton Avenue.

Editorials

Courier 1-9
Pittsburgh Pa.

The GOP on Civil Rights

AFTER the straddling, evasive, equivocal civil rights plank concocted at the Democrat convention in Chicago (and not disapproved by the Negro political leaders assembled there) something better was expected from the Republicans in San Francisco's Cow Palace.

Sat. 9-1-56

The Republican civil rights plank is better: it is more explicit, stronger, clearer, more concrete, and is a definite bid for Negro support, although it caused no outcry from the Southern Eisenhower supporters who were among the delegates and understandably eager to hold for the GOP the states of Dixie won in 1952.

Called by its authors "moderately strong," it fails to win the approval of extremists who wanted a commitment to use Federal force against recalcitrant states who are making no move to proceed with desegregation.

Such a drastic civil rights plank was not expected by anybody having the slightest familiarity with American politics and its warp and woof of compromise; but as it stands the plank is forthright and honest.

In this plank the Republican party "accepts the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with 'all deliberate speed' locally through Federal district courts"; and holds that "this progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved."

Following so closely the letter and spirit of the historic Supreme Court decision which all liberals applauded, it is difficult to see any real grounds for quarreling with the Republican plank.

In no instance so far have the Federal District courts failed to follow the directive of the U. S. Supreme Court in the school cases coming before them, and if the Administration encourages the work of the courts and supports them in every legal manner, the end of jim crow is in sight.

Instead of weaseling that Supreme Court decisions are "part" of the law of the land (implying that other and contrary laws are equally part), as the Democrat plank does, the Republicans assert that "the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution" (which is what the U. S. Supreme Court says it is).

There can also be no quarrel with the record of achievement of the Administration in the field of practical civil rights as set forth in the plank because that record is quite clear and well known by all.

It is simply true that jim crowism HAS been ousted from the District of Columbia, from the Defense Forces, from all places under Federal jurisdiction and from interstate travel since 1952; although in all fairness it must be said that a significant start was made under the preceding Democratic Administration.

In reading both party planks, it is clear that aside from face-saving wordage in deference to the hyper-sensitive South, there is a real desire and intention indicated to end second-class citizenship for Americans of color within our time, no matter which party is in power.

Georgia GOPs Delay Asking Softened Rights

Constitution

By RALPH McGILL

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19—Georgia delegates and those from other Southern states were busy here today with church, sightseeing and segregation.

First caucus of the complete delegation was held at 5 p.m. Sunday with Robert Snodgrass presiding.

Margaret Twiggs, former society editor of the Augusta Herald, and now a woman's feature writer, appeared in the subcommittee meetings on civil rights as what was described by one of the somewhat astounded Northern members as a "hot-eyed segregationist." They apparently were a little mystified as to how Miss Twiggs got into the Republican party. She was one of the signers of a minority report which some are insisting be presented from the floor.

Shortly after noon today, Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, who seemed short of breath, was meeting with the so-called more extreme Southerners trying to iron out certain differences. What the GOP does not want is a minority report from the floor. The old guard is without doubt shocked. Not until Eisenhower became President and urged the creation of the two party system in the South, have the Republicans had to worry about what the South thought about the platform.

ALREADY TONED DOWN

It already is sure that the Republicans rights plank will be toned down and rewritten. Southerners already have forced that concession. But, Dirksen is trying hard to get a more specific declaration than the Democrats produced.

The Republicans are embarrassed and suffering from a bad case of the dry grins as they find themselves in exactly the same situation as did the Democrats at Chicago—with a minority report on rights (this time from the South) demanding to be heard.

As the Sabbath waned it became evident that the heavy guns of the GOP were being steeled up to bring the rebels into line. They were being told they must not embarrass Ike or do anything to jeopardize the party.

STAND UP TO PRESSURE

But, some of the Virginians, and certainly Miss Twiggs of Georgia, were among those who would endure a lot of bombardment before they surrendered. They keep pointing out that the party has a chance to carry Tennessee, Virginia, Florida and Texas as it did in 1952 and so they are reluctant to bow to the White House pressure.

There were other features.

At Grace Episcopal Cathedral today at the 11 o'clock service, California Gov. Goodwin J. Knight, as a lay reader, read the first lesson. It was Deuteronomy 8:10-11 and also verses 17-20. Sherman Adams, assistant to the President and regarded as the most powerful man on the White House staff, read the second lesson. It was Matthew, the sixth chapter and verses 23-34.

DEMOCRATS AMUSED

For a politician Adams' passage had perhaps a deeper meaning than for the run of the mill sinners. It began "But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness." Democrats in the congregation were mildly amused by a possible secular interpretation of the second verse, which began, "No man can serve two masters." And the concluding verse was: "Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." It simply was not possible to imagine Sherman Adams taking no thought of the morrow.

The day was a beautiful one and it made this beautiful city the more attractive. The sun glinted off water and turrets. The bridges were lace-like in the distance. The steep hills tested taxis and cars alike. The cable trolleys, like the Toonerville Trolley of comic strip, were getting a big play. They hardly were to be seen for the delegates who hung on the outside steps. The weather was cool.

CHANGE IN PLANS

Late Sunday it became apparent the Democratic vice presidential drama of an open convention, and the presence of many delegates who have been strong-armed into supporting Nixon, had caused a change in the convention plans.

The President is coming a day early to give some interest to a routine affair. And he is needed to talk over some plan for him to call for, as did Adlai Stevenson, an open vote on the vice presidency. Since it is known that all is set for a Nixon nomination, this would fool few persons. It would also be imitating the Democrats.

But, the word tonight was that the Republicans need to find "some way" for the President to declare for an open convention on choosing his running mate. It would come out Nixon and all would be as before.

If there are some who will not heed Dirksen, Sherman Adams or Leonard Hall, they will then be melted by Ike's smile.

Won't Accept Compromise on Seating

All-White Mississippi Group Pulls out on GOP Convention

JACKSON, Miss — (UP) — Jackson hotel owner E. O. Spencer, leader of an all-white Republican faction, Thursday announced that his group is giving up its struggle for recognition at the GOP National Convention in San Francisco and returning to Mississippi.

Spencer, in a statement released by his office here, said:

"The Mississippi Republican Party is not going to participate in the convention in San Francisco. Most of the delegates are coming home. The few remaining will do so as spectators."

Thus, after a two-day fight and two setbacks, he conceded defeat in the all-white faction's attempt to oust a bi-racial faction headed by Negro attorney Perry Howard of Washington.

A compromise report of the Republican National Committee Wednesday approved a report recommending seating both the so-called "lily whites" and Howard's "black and tans."

Howard's group would cast the eight votes.

Spencer's faction has been recognized within the state as the official Republican Party although Howard's faction has been seated at past GOP conventions.

"We are not compromising our convictions on right and justice," Spencer said.

"Perry Howard is not acceptable as our leader nor as a leader of the state of Mississippi in this convention."

Ex-Governor Requests Delay On Nixon Until Ike Arrives

BULLETIN

COW PALACE, San Francisco, Aug. 21 (AP)—Harold Stassen today asked permission to address the Republican National Convention Wednesday. Stassen has been seeking to block the renomination of Vice President Nixon.

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 21—Harold E. Stassen tonight was fighting a rear-guard action against the advancing clock to keep Republican delegates from making binding pro-Nixon commitments until President Eisenhower has publicly or privately made known his own views.

With Mr. Eisenhower's arrival in San Francisco the fate of the "dump Nixon" movement for all practical purposes was passing out of the hands of the former Minnesota Governor, by Stassen's own admission.

"I have just one request to make of you," he told his own Minnesota delegation and all other delegates who would listen.

"It is that you do not take any new, additional action until the President has had a chance to confer with leaders of your delegation and other delegations."

In a word, Stassen was conceding that only the President could stop the Nixon steamroller, now almost unchecked, by really opening up this convention. In the opinion of most leaders here, that would take something more than a renewed call for an open convention. It would take his support of alternatives to Nixon.

For the beleaguered Stassen, it was a bleak hope, at best, in the face of the President's past praise of the Vice President and his statement that he would be happy to have him as a running mate if Nixon were renominated. He has never specifically indorsed Nixon for another term, however.

Although isolated anti-Nixon "revolts" broke out in the California and some other delegations, activity for the 43-year-old Vice President by Republican National Convention leaders appeared to have wrapped it all up in package for Nixon except for one thing—Mr. Eisenhower's formal or tacit approval.

CIVIL RIGHTS FIGHT THREATENS G. O. P.

Southern Delegations May Take Platform Battle to Floor of Convention

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 18—The Republican Resolutions Committee went into final session on the 1956 platform today as a minor revolt against the civil-rights plank broke out in six Southern delegations.

Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, chairman of the full committee, told reporters the group hoped to complete work on the platform much later. He said committee members had been successful in their announced objective of summing up the philosophy of the Eisenhower Administration, but had failed in their plan to "keep it brief."

The chairman said the platform would be presented to the delegates at the National Convention that opens Monday in the Cow Palace in a "rather novel" manner.

He said that instead of the "long, tedious" reading of the platform that usually occurs at conventions, the document would be printed and distributed in advance to the delegates on Tuesday morning.

Southerners Caucus

He said that he, as chairman, would read a fifteen-minute "declaration of faith" that would form the preamble of the platform. After that, further reading would be dispensed with.

Senator Bush said he thought the committee was moving toward a civil-rights plank that would have "nothing in it that could fairly offend the South."

However, Southern members of the committee from Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, Georgia and South Carolina met this morning and decided to file a minority report on that section of the platform if it should contain what they consider too strong an endorsement of the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation.

It has been generally predicted that such an endorsement would be stated.

Senator Bush said that "some ideas" in the platform had been "submitted" to President Eisenhower, and that the President also had "been informed through his aides" on the platform drafting.

Aides of the President have been conferring with the Senator and other committee members for the last twenty-four hours. It was evident that they were transmitting suggestions from the White House on specific language to be used in the platform.

Perry Howard Faction Wins Convention Seat

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — A compromise division of the Mississippi delegation between factions headed by Perry Howard, Negro national committeeman and Wirt Yerger Jr., Jackson, Miss., insurance man, was approved by the National committee of the Republican convention this week.

Howard's faction was given eight of the state's 15 votes and the rival group was given seven. Republican Chairman Leonard Hall said Monday that the contest between the opposing Mississippi delegations to the G.O.P. convention is settled so far as he is concerned and will be accepted by the convention.

The best proof that the Mississippi contest between the black-and-tan and lily-white factions is considered settled is the fact that Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, was given the procedure for calling a meeting of the new National Committee immediately after the convention adjourns.

Howard is the senior member of the committee. By virtue of his seniority, he will issue the call for the meeting and preside over until Leonard Hall is reelected or a new chairman selected.

The settlement gives the control of the party machinery in Mississippi to the Howard faction.

Ike Backers Woo Negro Voters In Windy City

CHICAGO — (NNPA) — Headquarters of Citizens for Eisenhower buzzed with Republican campaign stategy to win the local Negro vote Wednesday night amid all the Democratic fanfare.

Some 500 persons attended a meeting in the headquarters where plans were outlined to carry the campaign at precinct level under the banner of a committee called "Friends of Ike."

Jefferson Ish, co-chairman of the committee, said the meeting demonstrated the "tremendous affection" of Negro voters for President Eisenhower and "their disgust, disillusionent and deep disappointment in the national Democratic party."

Committee leaders emphasized that their activities would be limited to enlisting support for President Eisenhower and not concerned with local election contests."

South Thrown Overboard

GOP Is Going All-Out To Win Negro Support

By BASCOM N. TIMMONS.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 21—The Republican Party today was laying plans for a supreme effort to win back the Negro vote which it held from the end of the Civil War until 1936. In thre latter year it was won over to Roosevelt, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Roosevelt.

It has remained firmly Democratic since. But the Republicans have pondered the situation here for 10 days. The consensus is that the party cannot expect to hold the sizable Southern gains they made in 1952. So, the South has been thrown overboard and the effort will be to carry Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York and other Northern states with a heavy concentration of Negro voters.

Republican Platform.

The more the Negroes read the Republican platform, the better they are going to be pleased with it. Most of the Southern delegates claim they are satisfied with the platform. If they are, they are the most agreeable and easy to please set of delegates imaginable. For while the civil rights plank inveighs against the use force in one place, in another place it pledges enactment of the civil rights bill which Senate Southerners killed at the recently adjourned session of Congress. The debate in the House of Representatives had shown it had even more strength than the Lodge Force Bill and similar measures of the 90s and the early part of this century.

One clause of that recently sidetracked bill, which the Republicans promise to revive, gives a commission the "power to subpoena witnesses and records in investigation of a denial of the right to vote and 'unwarranted pressures' aimed at denying basic rights."

Broad Power.

The commission's power is so broad that a witness might be summoned from his home to Washington or elsewhere and held at his own expense for a wholly unwarranted complaint made by persons whose identity he did not know. It would give the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People a field day.

There is much more fine print in the platform:

This includes:

Department of Justice power to seek federal injunctions on behalf of the United States or of individual citizens in civil rights cases.

Far-reaching authority for private citizens to have access to federal courts in civil rights cases without first exhausting their rights in state courts as now required.

It was these far-reaching powers to harass citizens which caused Representative Miller, Republican of New York, one of the authors of the bill, to repudiate it on the floor of the House of Representatives as too dangerous in our form of government. But the Republican Party will leave San Francisco pledged to fight for the far-reaching abandonment of states' rights.

If the planks adopted by the two conventions mean what they say, the Democrats have made a tiny move back toward their ancient states' rights position and the Republicans have gone further away from states' rights than any party ever went in a platform.

Republican Party Discovers the South

One of the most encouraging things to come out of the Republican convention in San Francisco was evidence that the two-party movement is gaining momentum in the South. This was reflected in the platform and other concessions which showed a genuine desire to make the GOP a national party.

This is a healthy political development which has been too long in coming. Present leadership of the Republican Party, including President Eisenhower, seems determined to make a fight for the South's votes. On the other hand, state organizations have been revamped and efforts have been made to start a real grass roots move.

Typical of the new Republican Party in the South is that of Georgia. The delegation at San Francisco for the first time did not engage in factional fighting and devoted itself to constructive work. The old factionalism—which merely amounted to a contest over patronage—has been submerged.

Georgia's present Republican leadership quietly is laying the foundations for a contest for voter allegiance. It is aware this will succeed only if it offers a program which makes a contest possible.

The one-party system in the South grew up from political necessity. It began in the last century because of hostility first to Northern manufacturers on tariff laws. Then followed the conflict over slavery and state's rights and the hatred engendered by reconstruction. Lastly were the legislative discriminations blamed on the GOP.

Although there have always been political divisions, the people of the region became habitual Democrats because that gave them more power in Congress to protect their regional interests. In recent years, however, these regional interests have begun to merge with national interests. Industrialization has created new problems and new ways of thinking.

While it will not be accomplished overnight, the GOP can become a potent factor in Southern politics if it makes the effort. It must have a program and it must contest the elections.

We welcome recognition by the Republican Party that the South is a fertile political field, ready to be cultivated. It can become a truly national party if it makes the effort needed to build organizations which can command respect of Southern voters and candidates of the same type. It has made a good beginning.

Co-Manager—

Mrs. Sadye J. Williams has been named an assistant co-manager of the Republican Presidential campaign in New York State. She is president of the Negro Business and Professional Women's Club of New York City.

Republican Women Will Meet This Week

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The largest gathering of Republican women ever assembled is scheduled to meet this week in Chicago to kick off a drive for women's participation in the presidential campaign.

The meeting to be held on Wednesday. Thursday and Friday will have as its theme "The Republican Party and the American Home," according to the National Federation of Republican Women which called the convention.

The meeting will be headed by Mrs. Carroll D. Kearns, president of the Federation. In summoning the delegates, Mrs. Kearns pointed out that "women have a vital interest in politics as wives, mothers, homemakers, taxpayers and wage earners." She said it will be the job of the Republican women "to see that who have said they will register and vote get to the polls on election day."

The Republicans Convene

From San Francisco

There is an enormous contrast between the assurance of the Republicans who will convene today at the Cow Palace and the uncertainty of the Democrats when they met last week at the Chicago Stockyards. The countenances of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon beam down placidly from posters above the foyer of the Republican Convention headquarters at the Fairmont Hotel. Delegates have assembled here to ratify what most of them believe will be a wholly perfunctory renomination formality. Their task is somehow to infuse meaning into a ritual.

The busiest man in town is Harold Stassen, who yesterday went through five television and radio appearances as well as a press conference. Some persons have drawn a superficial analogy between Mr. Stassen's dump-Nixon efforts here and Mr. Truman's indorsement of Harriman at Chicago. The analogy is misleading. Mr. Truman was the spokesman of the Democratic Old Guard, trying desperately to enshrine old ideas and retain control over the party machinery. Mr. Stassen has never belonged to the Republican Old Guard. He has been and is a maverick, and the object of his current campaign is to shunt aside the man who is the darling of the Republican Right Wing.

If there is no present sign that Mr. Stassen's main effort has drawn any significant response among delegates, he at least has forced the Republican strategists into the gesture of adopting a "free and open" convention respecting the vice presidential nomination. In the minds of the planners this must be entirely facade. No doubt the Democratic attack on Mr. Nixon, and the broad hint that they intend to make him a major target in the campaign, have made the Republican regulars the more determined to stick with him—and the Democrats are delighted to have it so. Yet there remains a substantial undercurrent of unvoiced fears and misgivings about Mr. Nixon's qualifications to succeed to the Presidency. Mr. Stassen has not given up trying to channelize these misgivings and convince the convention of the pitfalls of asking voters to approve Mr. Nixon as a potential President.

Experience has shown that party platforms are not very meaningful, but the Republicans have a chance to create additional interest in what is now an open and shut convention by the kind of program they approve. They have a chance, for example, to gig the Democrats on civil rights, though if they are wise from the standpoint of national harmony they will not be too rip-roaring about it. The plank proposed by the Southern Republicans is a considerably more unequivocal indorsement of the Supreme Court decision than what the Democrats adopted.

The GOP also has an opportunity to write a better foreign policy plank that the grab bag put together by the Democrats. The draft report is essentially a moderate document which, despite some objectionable portions, makes few concessions to the Right Wing. Similarly the Republicans can, if they wish, adopt economic planks that will refute one of the Democratic inconsistencies on financial policy and inflation, as well as a labor plank that will set GOP policy in perspective.

All side issues apart, the Republicans here represent a party whose fortunes are singularly dependent on the personality of Dwight D. Eisenhower. A button which some of the delegates are sporting expresses the appeal precisely: "For the Love of Ike Vote Republican." Mr. Eisenhower's enormous value as a conciliator and unifier in domestic and world affairs is undeniable, whatever truth there is to Democratic charges about his failure to exercise his leadership fully. But Mr. Eisenhower has had two serious illnesses, and his health and the qualifications of his possible successor are matters of proper and genuine national concern. The task of this convention is to develop broader and more persuasive reasons than love alone for the public to vote for the Republican ticket.

Associated Press Wireph

SCENE OF GEORGIA DELEGATION'S POSITION AT OPENING SESSION

Good Seats Are Located at Right of Arena, Looking Toward Podium

GEORGIA'S LONE WOMAN GOP DELEGATE

Miss Margaret Twiggs, Augusta, With W. B. Shartzer

TWO ALL AMERICANS FOR IKE — Fritz Pollard, Brown University All American football great and captain of the '16 Rose Bowl team, is welcomed at Citizens for Eisenhower national headquarters in New York by his longtime friend, John Reed Kilpatrick, National Chairman, and an All American at Yale '09-'10. On the left is Stanley Roberts, Special Assistant to the Citizens for Eisenhower Public Relations Director.

For Duration Of Campaign

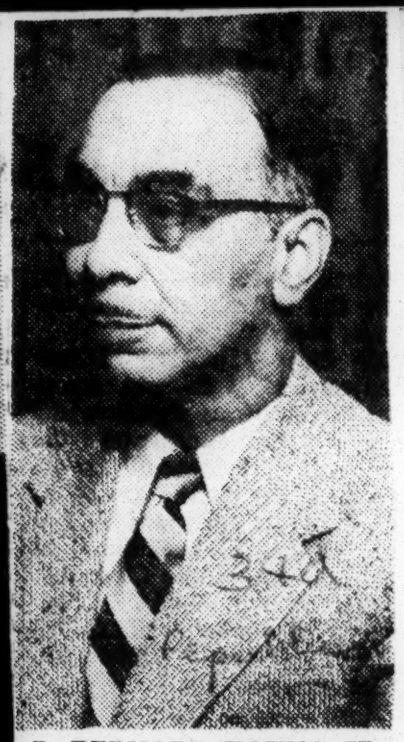
Young Joins The GOP Public Relations Staff

WASHINGTON — The Republican National Committee has "drafted" one of the country's top journalists, P. Bernard Young Jr., to serve with it during the Presidential election campaign as director of information for its minorities division, it was announced this week by Val J. Washington, chief of the division.

Two-time winner of the Willkie Journalism Award, the Norfolk (Va.) newspaperman is one of the most-traveled and experienced editors in the profession. Following his graduation in 1929 with honors from Ohio State University's school of journalism, where he was the first Negro managing editor of the college daily, The Ohio State Lantern, Young became a full-time member of the staff of the Journal and Guide, in Norfolk.

WITH THAT nationally known publication, he served successively as reporter, assistant managing editor; managing editor, and associate editor, and in 1943 succeeded his father, the publisher, as editor-in-chief. Currently on leave of absence to accept the national Republican post, he has set up office in Republican headquarters here in the Capitol Building, 1625 Eye street, N. W.

Accredited by the Navy and Army as a war correspondent, he went on Navy anti-submarine patrol bombers flights in the early days of World War II. He waived a chance to serve as an Army correspondent to accept membership on a commission authorized by the White House to make a social, economic, and political survey in West Africa during late 1944 and early 1945.



P. BERNARD YOUNG JR.
Joins GOP Staff

* * *

IN AFRICA HE visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa, and the Belgian Congo, covering over 30,000 miles by air to, from, and in Africa. While in Liberia, at the invitation of President W. V. S. Tubman, he addressed a joint session of the Liberian Congress.

Accredited to the United Nations Organizing Conference in San Francisco in 1945, his coverage won him the first of two Willkie Journalism awards, for objective reporting. The following year he won another Willkie award for editorial writing. A third successive award went to The Journal and Guide for public service.

* * *

YOUNG COVERED the 1946 atomic bomb tests at Bikini Island as a correspondent accredited to Joint Task Force One, and in 1948 was one of three colored reporters traveling with President Truman during a Caribbean cruise to Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Cuba; the first such trip with a President by Negro pressmen accredited to the White House.

As a guest of the Secretary of the Navy, Young in 1949 went on a seven-week midshipman training cruise aboard the battleship U. S. S. Missouri, with stops in France and Cuba.

* * *

A VETERAN "short-snorter," the Norfolk newspaperman has flown the Caribbean three times, the Atlantic twice and the Pacific twice.

Receiving his preliminary education in the Norfolk public schools and at Hampton Institute, Young won while at Ohio State the scholarship and gold key award of Sigma Delta Chi, honorary journalism society.

Earlier this year he was one of a group of citizens presented with gold keys, along with President Dwight D. Eisenhower, for editorial and other journalistic contributions to the cause of education. The awards were jointly given by six national educational groups meeting at Atlantic City, N. J.

* * *

YOUNG WAS a member of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, and is a member of that organization's successor, the National Citizens Council for Better Schools. He is a member of the board of trustees of the National Urban League, and was appointed by Norfolk's City Council to two municipal commissions, Welfare and Minimum Housing Standards.

Married to the former Miss Undine A. Davis of Hampton, Va., he is the father of three boys and resides in Norfolk at 2829 Mapleton avenue.

Maryland's Negroes Moving to Ike

By LEO EGAN

Participating reporters: George Cable Wright, John C. Devlin, Stanley Levey and Raymond Robinson Jr.

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

BALTIMORE, Md., Oct. 11—In Maryland many signs point to a sizable shift of Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican column in this year's presidential election. The trend is particularly pronounced in Baltimore, where Negroes constitute 25 per cent of the city's population and cast about 20 per cent of its vote.

Three reasons for the shift are discernible:

1. President Eisenhower's ending of racial segregation in nearby Washington, not only in schools but also in restaurants and hotels. "When I visit friends in Washington now I feel like a real man," one Negro businessman said.

DESEGREGATION PROGRESS

2. Substantial progress in desegregating Maryland schools, for which primary credit is given to Gov. Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, a Republican. The governor, who placed Eisenhower's name in nomination at the 1952 Republican national convention, is closely associated with the President in the minds of most Negroes.

3. A strong suspicion that Maryland Democrats, and Democrats in general, are responsible for the resistance to integration that is unmistakable in many areas of the state.

A Negro longshoreman on a Baltimore dock put it this way: "I wouldn't ever vote for the party Eastland belongs to." He was referring, of course, to Sen. Eastland (Miss), chairman of the senate judiciary committee.

THE BALTIMORE SHIFT

All signs indicate that the shift in Negro voting in Baltimore will be far more substantial than in Northern cities like Chicago and Detroit, where there are similar large concentrations of Negroes. The reasons seem to be Baltimore's nearness to Washington and the lack of any strong labor union campaign to identify the Democratic Party as the "workingman's party," such as exists in both Detroit and Chicago.

If the signs prove right on election day, the shift in the Negro vote in Baltimore could go a long way towards offsetting shifts from the Republicans to the Democrats in other segments of the population.

In 1952 Eisenhower carried Maryland by 104,087 votes, getting 55.4 per cent of the 902,074 votes cast for President. But he lost the Negro area of Baltimore by almost seven to three. Consequently he lost the city by 11,864 votes.

A half dozen Negro spokesmen had this explanation for the 1952 Negro vote in Baltimore: "We were really voting for Harry Truman. Truman had been good for the Negroes and we thought Stevenson was his man. Now we like Ike."

In the opinion of many Negro community leaders, the shift this year is likely to be such that Eisenhower will get an even break in the Negro precincts of Baltimore. Almost none expect such a big swing as to give the President a substantial majority in the area.

FOR LITTLE MAN

There are still many Negroes who believe with the secretary to a real estate broker: "Nobody can beat the Democrats for the little man. They did more for the Negroes than anyone. I voted for them in 1952 and I'm going to vote for them again."

The civil rights issue and particularly desegregation in the public schools presents an extremely ticklish problem for the Democrats in Maryland. Down on the eastern shore and in other areas, white Democrats are complaining that the party is not fighting integration the way it should. As a consequence they say they are not going to vote at all this year. Norman Thomas, a 60-year-old gasoline station attendant at Stevensville, is one such. "I'm too disgusted to vote," he said. "This integration has everybody upset. Why, even the Negroes are asking why there has to be a change."

Basically these are Democrats reared in the Southern tradition. Party regularity is almost a religious principle with them. Under no circumstances can they picture themselves voting Republican. When they are dissatisfied with the Democrats they express their feelings by staying home on election day. Adlai E. Stevenson appears due to lose quite a few of his 1952 votes among Democrats of this type.

OFFICEHOLDER PRESSURE

On the other hand, Democrats are under pressure from the officeholders in Baltimore and from the liberal elements that dominate the party organization in the Maryland suburbs of Washington to take a much stronger position on civil rights than they have.

While conceding that they are involved in an uphill fight, Democratic leaders see a hope of winning by the inroads they claim to be making in the Washington suburbs, on the Eastern Shore and in suburban Baltimore County, outside of the city of Baltimore.

These are areas that went heavily for Eisenhower in the 1952 election but in which the Democrats scored substantial gains in the senate and congressional races of 1954.

In these areas, Democrats are attempting to exploit the typical suburban school shortages and high local real estate taxes. Both are being laid to the Eisenhower administration: the school shortage because of the lack of federal financial aid for school construction, and high local taxes because of the high interest rates now being charged for borrowing by local government agencies.

WORKER VIEW

The people who live in Montgomery and Prince Georges differ from other suburbanites in that so many are employed by the federal government in Washington. They do not react politically as residents of other suburbs do.

One government employe who lives in Bethesda said he had voted for Eisenhower in 1952 but was shifting to Stevenson because of the government's internal security and economy in government programs. "They make it so a federal worker doesn't know from one day to the next if he'll be working," he explained.

Other government employes said they were switching to Stevenson because the Democrats, as a rule, were more generous with pay increases for government employes.

A second factor on which Democrats are counting heavily is an apparent lack of the crusading zeal that accompanied the Eisenhower campaign of four years ago.

Clarence Miles, who was chairman of the Maryland Citizens for Eisenhower committee, in 1952, for instance, has publicly announced his support of Stevenson this year. So have several other less well known figures.

EXPECT VOTE SHRINK

One top-echelon Democrat predicted that this year's total vote in Maryland would be only 70 to 80 per cent of the 1952 record total. Several political writers for Maryland newspapers are likewise of the view that the total vote will be smaller, but do not agree that it will fall off so much.

Any decline, in the opinion of Democratic leaders, would be more injurious to the Eisenhower cause than to Stevenson. This conclusion rests on the assumption that it was the outpouring of people who ordinarily do not vote that was responsible for the the big Republican margin of 1952. These will be the first to return to their old non-voting habits, it is suggested.

Another factor in the Democratic party fold were many who were voting against Truman in 1952. There are few, if any, Negroes in this category but there undoubtedly are some whites.

ERRED ON IKE?

At the big Sparrows Point plant of the Bethlehem Steel Co., two workmen going home at the end of the day's shift said they had voted for Eisenhower in 1952 but would vote Democratic this time.

One explained: "1952 was the first time I ever voted Republican but I think I made a mistake. Ike's okay but I didn't think big business would grab so much power."

The other said: "Ike made a lot of promises and he hasn't come through, like a tax cut and a better break for labor."

Tom Corcy of Westover, operator of a truck hauling business who has his own farm as well, reported that "everybody is switching to Stevenson."

"Things are the worst since Hoover," he went on. "Money is tight. We are being squeezed right out, I'll tell you."

After a minute's reflection, Dorcy added: "If Eisenhower goes back, it'll be the women's vote that does it. They are soft on Ike. They think we have no war and just peace. But you still see boys getting drafted."

In Maryland, as elsewhere, there are some voters switching the other way, too, from Stevenson to Eisenhower. Capt. Oscar Pope, captain of a yacht at Oxford, remarked: "I am a Democrat but this man Stevenson is doing too much mud-slinging. He sounds like Truman."

As of now, it is difficult to find a responsible Democratic leader who will claim that Stevenson can carry the state. Most of them are saying only that the contest will be close and they have a chance. Republican leaders on the other hand are confidently predicting another Eisenhower victory in Maryland but are not claiming as big a margin as before.

NEGRO VOTERS SUPPORT IKE—A majority of California's 156,000 Negro votes will be cast for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket November 6th, in the opinion of Dr. Paul T. Robinson, M.D., Richmond, and Mrs. Vivian Osborne Marsh, Berkeley—two leaders in the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign. Picture shows (left to right) Northern California Chairman William M. Brinton, Mrs. Marsh and Dr. Robinson signing the roster "I Like Ike."

Local Leaders Say Bay Voters Going For Eisenhower

A majority of California's estimated 156,000 Negro voters will cast their ballots for Eisenhower and Nixon on November 6th, in the opinion of Dr. Paul T. Robinson, M.D., Richmond, and Mrs. Vivian Osborne Marsh, Berkeley, two leaders of the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign. Both are accredited among colored voters as being political analysts.

While still unhappy with the tempo of adjustment for his race over the past four years, Dr. Robinson stated. "The colored voter finds his clearest ray of hope with the Eisenhower and Nixon administration. The minority voter is mindful of the southern alignment of Stevenson and Kefauver and questions the sincerity of Mr. Stevenson on vital issues affecting the welfare of the Negro."

Similarly Mrs. Marsh added, "The Dixie block and its record on civil rights is proving the dominant political influence affecting the Negro vote. Leaders in the Dixie block. she continued, "have endeavored to bottle up our civil rights, particularly in relation to jobs and education. Personally I don't see how anyone can vote Democratic when grown men—members of that party—throw rocks at little children."

Dr. Robinson, a resident of 1307 Kelsey Street, Richmond, and a practicing general surgeon, was active in Louisiana politics prior to coming to California four years ago. Here he has identified himself with committee work on behalf of Eisenhower and Nixon.

Mrs. Marsh served as secretary of the State Republican Convention group headed by Lt. Gov. Harold Powers and aided in organizing the Alameda County Republican League. She resides at 2838 Grant Street, Berkeley.

Hall Likely To Succeed Brownell

By DAVID KRASLOW
Of Our Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall may succeed Herbert Brownell Jr. as attorney general, top GOP sources confided Monday.

The tipoff that Brownell is planning to resign soon, it was pointed out, was seen in the fact that one of Brownell's chief personal assistants has quietly lined up another job for himself in the Justice Department.

"He came in with Brownell four years ago," a source said.

HALL

BROWNELL

"He couldn't be going after another job unless he knew the boss is going to quit."

Hall, it was learned, has told intimates he is "interested" in being attorney general "if Brownell leaves."

This possibility is being talked about among top officials in the administration.

The strategy would be for Hall to build up a record in the prosecution of civil rights cases, then step down to run for governor in New York in 1958.

"Len definitely has the bug," one source said. "He'll run for governor. It's just a question of choosing the best approach. With civil rights being such an important issue in New York, the attorney general's job would be a natural springboard."

Brownell and Hall "are very good friends from way back." Brownell also is a New Yorker. He and Hall were prominent members of former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey's organization in that state.

Brownell, it is believed, will return to private law practice. "There's still some talk in the White House about putting him on the Supreme Court when the next vacancy crops up," a source said.

PRESIDENT ONLY BARRIER TO NIXON ON GOP TICKET

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 8-19-56 P. 1

By ROBERT E. THOMPSON

SAN FRANCISCO — (INS) — Vice President Richard M. Nixon zoomed Saturday toward a renomination victory that could be withheld from him by only one man — President Eisenhower.

Republicans assembled for their 1956 convention agreed generally that the designation of an Ike-Nixon ticket was but a formality, barring a surprise move by the Chief Executive.

A small minority, most of its members preferring anonymity, retained the hope, however, that Mr. Eisenhower would follow Adlia E. Stevenson's precedent and force a floor fight over the number two spot.

* * * *

This tiny band of Republicans held also that a floor fight, pressed by Mr. Eisenhower, would demolish Nixon's candidacy. A showdown on the issue will come at midweek.

Daily World

There was some feeling among delegates that Mr. Eisenhower might feel obliged to follow Stevenson's course and seek a wholly open convention on the Vice Presidential choice.

Sun. 8-19-56

Repeated attacks on Nixon by the Democrats appeared, however, to make most Republicans more adamant in their refusal to bounce Nixon off the ticket. P. 3

White House Aide Harold Stassen maintained on the eve of the convention that his campaign to place Massachusetts Gov. Christian Herter on the ticket with the President was gaining strength.

* * * *

Eisenhower-Herter headquarters were very much in evidence on famed Market Street, across from the Old-World Sheraton Hotel that housed former New York Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Senate Minority leader William F. Knowland of California, and California Gov Goodwin Knight.

Dewey, Knowland and Knight figured prominently in speculation over Mr. Eisenhower's running mate should Nixon be scuttled.

Maryland Gov. Theodore McKeldin, like Knight, bore the expectant demeanor of a hopeful bridesmaid, waiting at any moment to be called to the altar herself.

One well-placed GOP leader suggested that approximately five names might be placed in nomination on the convention floor should a fight develop.

In addition to Herter, Knight and McKeldin, he suggested that these might include former Colorado Gov. Dan Thornton and Washington Gov Arthur Langlie, who was set to keynote the convention.

Other names tossed around by the anti-Nixon group were assistant House Republican leader Charles Halleck of Indiana, Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, and Illinois Sen. Everett M. Dirksen.

Those in general command of both the party machinery and the convention--such as GOP National Chairman Leonard Hall -- continued,, however, to predict unequivocably that Nixon would remain the party's and the nation's number two man.

GOP Asks Moderate Integration

Herald P. 1 Miami, Fla. Tues. 8-21-56

SAN FRANCISCO — (AP) — Republican platform drafters called Monday, in a proposed civil rights plank, for elimination of racial segregation in public schools with "all deliberate speed."

They said this should be done "locally through federal courts."

The tentative plank—approved by a 105-member platform committee—said the Republican Party concurred in the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the schools and in the Court's direction that this end should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed."

It added that "true progress" in eliminating segregation "can be attained through intelligent study, understanding and good will."

Two leaders in the demand for a "strong" civil rights declaration said the GOP plank, on balance, appeared to be a "thin shade stronger" than the Democratic plank.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joseph L. Rauh, national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, added:

"We regret the failure to pledge an effort to eliminate the (Senate) filibuster rule which has blocked all federal civil rights legislation."

The GOP plank, which was threshed out at closed sessions marked by appeals for "soft" language, was accepted by most Southern delegates as one they said they could "live with." At one time they threatened to carry the issue to the floor.

But with White House intervention, the committee added language aimed to satisfy the South.

Herald P. 2-A

That language would put the Republicans on record as saying they "accepted" the court's ruling rather than "endorsed" it. Added also was the suggestion that the decision should be implemented through "intelligent study, understanding, education and good will."

Tues. 8-21-56

Platform Chairman Prescott Bush, senator from Connecticut, said this plank was "stronger" than one adopted by the Democrats at Chicago last week after a stormy fight.

The Democrats also provided any outright endorsement of the Supreme Court decision. They said it had "brought consequences of vast importance." They rejected "all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts."

The GOP plank said the implementation order of the court "recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of the country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and long-standing decisions of the same tribunal."

It went on to say that use of force and violence by any group or agency "will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation."

Progress, it said, "must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved."

The plank pointed to what it termed a party record of accomplishment in the civil rights field and pledged Republicans "anew to advance the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin."

BUSH SEEKS PLANK ON BIAS DECISION

Times P. 32 New York

Head of G.O.P. Platform Unit Would Back Court Ruling —Leaves for the Coast

Sun. 8-12-56

WASHINGTON, Aug. 11 (AP)—Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, who will supervise writing of the 1956 Republican platform, said today he would urge that the platform endorse the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in public schools.

It is this question which is raising thorny problems for the Democratic platform drafters, meeting this week in Chicago.

Before taking off by plane for San Francisco, site of the Republican National Convention, the chairman of the Resolutions Committee told news men:

"I hope the Republican party would speak approvingly of the decision and do all we can to bring about its implementation."

Mr. Bush predicted his party's platform would be a concise review of the Eisenhower Administration accomplishments.

No "Equivocation"

It will be, he said, "free of the equivocation" on civil rights questions now being voiced among Democrats.

The Republican Resolutions Committee begins its hearings on the platform in San Francisco on Wednesday. The convention opens a week from Monday.

Mr. Bush said he was taking to San Francisco the views of President Eisenhower, John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, and other Cabinet officials and Congressional leaders. He added:

"The Resolutions Committee will have before it a wide variety of proposals from which it will be able to draft a concise, forthright review of the Eisenhower Administration's accomplishments, its principles and its program for continued peace, prosperity and progress.

"It will be an honest report to the people, free of the equivocation now being heard in Chicago on the subject of civil rights."

The Senator declined to say what views he had obtained from General Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles for insertion in the platform. But he did say that the President had emphasized that the platform should be kept as concise as possible.

Shorter Platform Expected

He predicted a shorter platform than that of 1952. In response to questions, he said the platform committee would not spend as much time attacking Democrats as emphasizing affirmative points.

In a further reference to civil rights, he said his party did not have to write a platform that would satisfy both Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, and Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan. These two men virtually represent the opposing extremes on the issue.

Senator Bush said the document would be designed to "reflect the political philosophy and program of the Eisenhower Administration and its hope for the future."

He said the committee had scheduled only two days of hearings but would take a third day if necessary. He said he would announce subcommittee chairmen and assignments on subjects at a press conference in San Francisco Monday morning.

G.O.P. Acts to Seat Mississippi Rivals

Times P. 1 New York

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 14 Preliminary skirmishing for the Republican National Convention got under way today with two surprises.

Herald 8-15-56

In squabbles between rival delegations from Mississippi and from South Carolina, the

Republican National Committee's Subcommittee on Contests came up with two unexpected recommendations.

It voted to seat both the contending Mississippi delegations, spliting the state's fifteen convention votes between them unevenly.

Eight votes were recommended for the "Black and Tan" (biracial) delegation headed by Perry Howard, venerable Negro lawyer and the state's recognized national committeeman. Seven votes were recommended for a rival so-called "Lily White" delegation headed by E. O. Spencer, a Jackson (Miss.) hotel operator.

In the South Carolina dispute, the subcommittee voted to unseat a long and entrenched "regular" Republican faction that has vexed the national organization. In its stead the committee recommended recognition of an insurgent delegation led by David Dows, a former sheriff of Nassau County, N. Y.

The subcommittee's recommendations in both disputes will be passed tomorrow to the national committee. It in turn will make its recommendations to the convention's Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee will make its report early in the convention when floor fighting may develop. This seems quite likely in both cases. The convention opens here Monday.

Stassen Poll Shows Ticket Loss With Nixon

BY CHARLES DENTON

SAN FRANCISCO, — (INS) — Harold E. Stassen made public Saturday a poll which he said shows the GOP wolud lose eight per cent of the national vote if Vice President Richard M. Nixon runs for re-election.

The minute he finished disclosing his tallies to a news conference, a top senate republican offered a poll of his own reflecting overwhelming national support for an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

Senate GOP Policy Chairman Styles Bridges of New Hampshire provided results of the second poll, which described as "a fair and square attempt to attain the facts."

He said it was conducted by the Manchester, N. H., Union Leader and Sunday News, using "only former FBI agents in each and every state in the nation" to question democrats as well as republicans "at random."

Stassen's poll, which covered only the west and northeast in detail but also contained nationwide estimates, was carried on by a professional research organization.

The Stassen poll indicated that even though Nixon would detract from GOP voting strength, President Eisenhower still would have 6.4 per cent more votes than Adlai E. Stevenson in the November election.

Stassen told a news conference he will "continue to quietly and persistently" strive to have next week's convention nominate Massachusetts Gov. Christian A. Herter rather than Nixon for the vice presidency.

He said his poll reflected a 12.6 per cent margin favoring an Eisenhower-Herter ticket over a Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. This is based he said, on a survey of "those who now have an opinion" on such a contest.

The Bridges survey, conducted in one "typical rural area" in each state, showed a strong lack of voter enthusiasm for Herter.

Nearly half the persons poll were unable to identify Herter, and 54.3 per cent said they would prefer an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, while only 25.7 per cent favored an Ike-Herter combine.

The senator's tally indicated that 57.7 per cent of the electorate would vote for Mr. Eisenhower if Nixon were his running mate.

Bridges said Nixon had not seen his poll and knew nothing of its existence.

President Eisenhower's disarmament advisor--now on a one-month leave of absence--said the nationwide study was "taken by an impartial, experienced, professional organization, The Advertest Research Company, of New Brunswick, N. J."

Stassen said: "It was made through interviews conducted in more than 200 areas in the U. S. by more than 250 interviews, on Aug. 10, 11, 12 and 13. A scientific cross-section of the American voting public, spread geographically and by economic status, political party, sex, and age, was taken."

He added that " a second impartial experienced research organization, the national analyst, of Philadelphia, was also consulted on the sample method used and on the type of questions."

Stassen's poll indicated that combining President Eisenhower with Nixon on the ticket would cost the GCP an estimated total of 4,620,000 votes, of which 2,280,000 would swing to the Democratic Candidate, Adlai E. Stevenson.

41 Georgians Attend Republican Conclave

The largest Republican delegation in the history of Georgia left for San Francisco this weekend to attend the National Republican Presidential convention, which is scheduled to start Monday. There were 41 in the total delegation.

From Atlanta were (delegates-at-large): W. J. Shaw, W. B. Shartzer and Robert R. Snodgrass. — Delegates: Randolph W. Thrower and Charles A. Mayo, Jr.; Alternate delegates-at-large: Clayton R. Yates: Alternate delegates: Rev. W. M. Jackson and Mrs. Lottie Harris! From Blue Ridge (Delegate-at-large) Reid Mull! Savannah: (delegates) L. B. Toomer and James L. Sundy; Moultrie: Raymond D. Hill (alternate) Edwin McKee. Thomasville: Raymond D. Hill (alternate) Hoyt Wimpy; Rochelle: W. K. Holt, Jr.; Fort Valley: Clarence W. Walton; Fayetteville: W. Roy Harrell, Wadley:: Roy G. Foster, Sr. (alternate) Roy G. Foster, Jr.; Macon: Carl Westmoreland (alternate) Frank C. Jones; Bremen: C. E. Hughes; Lookout Mountain: Dyer Butterfield; Valdosta: Charles W. Barnes, Jr.; Alma: T. J. Townsend;

Cornelia: Jack Bradley; Dawsonville: W. Roscoe Tucker; Augusta: Miss Margaret Twiggs, W. C. Ervin. (alternate) Lucian: Williams, Louis Bohler; St. Simons Island: (alternate delegates-at-large) Jas. M. Kent; Waynesboro: O. B. Johnson; Calhoun: Harbin King; Perkins: (alternate) John B. Davenport;

Rhine: James M. Brophy; Columbus: James S. Briggs; Griffin: A. C. Touchtone; Rome: Clyde P. Smith; Rydal: V. R. Nalley; Burnswick: J. P. Atkinson; Jasper: Dr. E. A. Roper; Ellijay: C. E. Waters.

HE HEADED a delegation which sought to represent Mississippi Republicans at the party's national convention in San Francisco next week.

The group sought to unseat the delegation headed by Perry Howard, Negro lawyer and Republican national committeeman for Mississippi since 1924.

ADAM WIRED Spencer as follows: "Now that Perry Howard has been recognized as the Republican Party of the state of Mississippi and the party has demonstrated your efforts, labor and work are not appreciated, may I suggest that you come back home, hang your coat and hat on a Democratic rack and join with the political forces of democracy in administering a thorough repudiation to the Howard forces."

Negro Women Submit Bill at GOP Convention

Resolution Calls for Action from Both Political Parties

SAN FRANCISCO, (ANP) — Six representatives of the National Council of Negro women are here this week for the purpose of presenting to the Republican National convention a resolution to the GOP platform committee.

The delegation includes Mrs. William T. Mason of Washington, D.C., national president; Dr. Margaret Just Butcher, also of Washington, D. C.; Mrs. Arnetta Wallace of Nashville, Tenn.; Mrs. Ors S okes Perry of Kansas City, Mo.; Mrs. Ruth Mueller of Los Angeles and Mrs. Katie McGhee of Oakland. They will present the same bill to the Republican convention that they submitted recently to the Democratic National convention.

The following is the test of their resolution:

"That the Democratic and Republican Conventions pledge not only to include strong civil and human rights in their program platform. but give a further pledge to work honestly for the passage of such enabling legislation in the 85th Congress.

"That the Democratic and Republican conventions include in their platforms a pledge to see that the 14th amendment is implemented through the Justice Department and-or Congressional action.

"That the Democratic and Republican conventions pledge continued support to the United Nations and its agencies.

"That a pledge be made that special assistance be given the people in many sections of Africa and the West Indies to help them in their desired goals. That such assistance as technical advisers, trainees, research teams, foreign aid in necessary goods, health teams, educational projects, assistance in developing economic resources and other aids to stabilize and undergird their aspirations be given with all possible speed.

"That the Democratic and Republican conventions include in their platforms a pledge that the services of women for significant posts representing the U.S. government, for diplomatic services, judgeships, members of the president's cabinet, heads of government departments, international representation and in all other areas requiring the services of men and women with special aptitudes and qualifications will be considered and that Negro women be given due consideration for these same services.

"That the Democratic and Republican conventions pledge to support measures to insure fair employment practices, and appointment of women on the same basis as that of men in government service.

Demos invite Eisenhower bolter back into party

CHICAGO, Aug. 16—(AP)—Bidwell Adam, chairman of the Mississippi Democratic Party, today invited E. O. Spencer, Jackson, leading Eisenhower supporter in Mississippi, to return to the Democratic Party.

Spencer, a former Democrat, was a leader of the Eisenhower forces in Mississippi in 1952 and for the past three years has been patronage director for the Republicans in the state.

34d(?) 1956

REPUBLICAN

Mississippi's Integrated Delegation

MANY AN EYEBROW was raised in surprise by visitors to Republican National Convention. The reason. Why, the integrated delegation from the State of Mississippi. Political observers said the integrated delegation was further evidence that the Republican Party is going all out to woo Nego voters in the coming Presidential election in November.

Republican Camp In All-Out Bid For Nation's Big Name Leaders

By ETHEL PAYNE

SAN FRANCISCO — One of the most interesting stories to come out of the GOP convention concerns the number of prominent Negroes who were either Democratic or independent in politics who are now actively working on the Republican side.

Foremost among the "switchers" is Roscoe Dunjee militant longtime editor and publisher of the Oklahoma Black Dispatch. Dunjee changed to a Democrat in 1932 under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now, after a period of "soul searching," he has announced that he will actively support President Eisenhower and the Republicans nationally, but emphasized that he will continue to remain Democratic locally.

DENIES REPORT

An Oklahoma newspaper had published a story that he would also support local Republican candidates, but Dunjee emphatically denied this. In San Francisco sporting an Ike button and an elephant in his coat lapel, he said he was changing for three reasons.

1. Because the Democrats had compromised too much on the civil rights issue.

2. Because he said there was a growing movement in the Democratic party led by reactionary Southerners to declare the 14th amendment unconstitutiinal.

3. The 70-year-old editor said he believed that since Eisenhower is now 66 and this would be his last term in the White House, that he will do more and more to emulate Abraham Lincoln in greatness and to make his last term outstanding in history in working through the executive branch, to push for civil rights. Dunjee says the Republicans have done more in the past three and a half years in this area than the Democrats have done in 80 years.

GOP CORNERS COLE

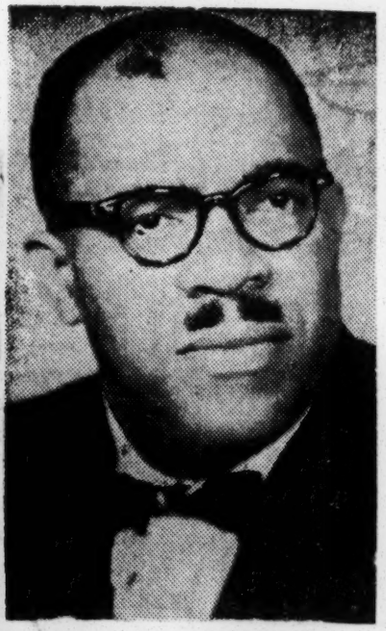
The GOP has cornered an impressive array of big time talent to enlist in its cause. Among these are singer Nat King Cole, band leader Lionel Hampton, and famed distance runner, Mal Whitfield.

Inside reports say that negotiations to bring singer Marian Anderson to San Francisco to perform, broke down chiefly because of the objections of her Democratic husband, Orpheus Fisher and gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, who thrilled the Democratic convention in Chicago is reported being wooed for the Republican campaign.

HOWARD MAKES SPEECHES

They will add to Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset of Philadelphia, who has joined the staff of citizens for Eisenhower and Dr. T. R. M. Howard, formerly of Mound Bayou, Miss. and now of Chicago, both of whom will take the high road to make speeches in behalf of President Eisenhower. Mrs. Fauset was once high in Democratic politics.

MAHALIA JACKSON



DR. T. R. M. HOWARD

MORROW PRESENT

E. Frederick Morrow, the White House administrative aide, flew out here in the presidential party to lend a hand to Jim Hagerty, White House press secretary, at temporary White House Press headquarters.

Maxwell Rabb, the cabinet secretary, and the President's chief advisor on minority affairs and his wife are here. Rabb is a delegate from Massachusetts.

Clarence Mitchell stayed on after the battle for a stronger civil rights plank to observe convention proceedings.

Lily White Leader Raps Election Unit

JACKSON, Sept. 30 (U.P.) — A Mississippi "Lily White" Republican has accused the State Election Commission of playing "cheap politics" by refusing a petition to keep the rival "Black and Tan" Republicans off the November ballot.

Wirt Yerger Jr., chairman of the state Republican Executive Committee, said a decision by the "three-man Democratic commission" Friday disregarded "the ruling of the Mississippi Supreme Court in favor of cheap politics."

The election commission approved slates of electors submitted by both the Lily Whites and Black and Tans, meaning the Mississippi Republican vote will be split two ways.

The Lily Whites had asked that the Black and Tans be kept off on grounds the bi-racial group was not entitled to use the Republican name and therefore should not be allowed to represent the Republican candidate. The Supreme Court earlier recognized the Lily Whites as the official state Republican Party.

Yerger charged the commission with choosing "to serve only the National Democrat Party and one Perry Howard," the leader of the Black and Tans. Yerger further charged that Howard, a Washington Negro, "is actually working" for the Democrats.

Additional Shift Of Negro Leaders To Eisenhower

It is encouraging in that regardless of political faith or affiliation, certain among our top leaders are chosing values in preference to party regularity. This often happens under our Democratic systems, as was noted when a few years ago certain Republican leaders chose to support Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Now, that the march is on for progressive government and the time has arrived when there must be no guess-work at chosing sides in these critical moments, there is seen a definite trend of top Negro leaders to President Eisenhower.

The mention of a few of these providing a trend would include editor Roscoe Dungee of the Oklahoma Dispatch, Dr. T. N. M. Howard, Mississippi leader and outspokesman for civic rights and lately Dr. Frederick D. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee Institute.

The independent voter will prove an outstanding factor in this election which might be the turning point in the life of this Republic and a common denominator of many of our national problems for generations.

That is as it should be under a Democracy. Regardless of party faith or affiliation, when a real crisis emerges threatening the existence of our systems, the saving of the system should be the first consideration. If the system is not saved, then all is lost.

While on this phase of current political trends, it is interesting to note that Hon. A. Clayton Powell, ranking Democratic Congressman from New York, has served notice that he is not campaigning for Adlai Ewing Stevenson, the Democratic nominee.

So the shift is on; the shift is to save those unprecedented gains made under Eisenhower — first of all.

Definitely a trend has set in. We watch it with avidity.

STEVENSON PUTS RACIAL 'CLIMATE' UP TO PRESIDENT

Assails Eisenhower Stand —Liberals Here Nominate Him and Mayor Wagner

By DOUGLAS DALES

Adlai E. Stevenson declared last night that it was the responsibility of the President to do all in his power to create a climate of compliance with the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

He implied clearly that President Eisenhower was not creating such a climate. He based his comments on a statement made by the President last week, when he said of the Supreme Court decision: "I think it makes no difference whether or not I endorse it."

In an address to several thousand persons attending a meeting of the Liberal party's state committee at Manhattan Center, Eighth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street, the Democratic Presidential nominee said:

"I think, for myself, that the attitude of the President, who is our only official elected by all the people, does make a difference to those struggling with the day-to-day conflicts of new laws and oud customs in a changing society.

"I count it the responsibility of the Chief Executive to do all in his power to create a climate of compliance with the law and to encourage with the immense prestige and power of this office those who are earnestly trying, often in difficult circumstances, to comply with the court's decision."

Party Nominats Slate

Presumably when Mr. Stevenson prepared last night's speech he was unaware of General Eisenhower's statement at a press conference yesterday calling on Southern states to help carry out court orders to end school segregation.

The main purpose of the Liberal State Committee meeting was to give the party's nomination to Mr. Stevenson and Senator Estes Kefauver, his running mate, and to Mayor Wagner, who was nominated Monday as the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate.

Mr. Stevenson said that he wanted to say "again what I have said from one end of this country to the other—that we must, of course, support the Supreme Court decision."

"All who voted for my nomination know where I stood," he said, adding, "I stand squarely, beyond this, on the statement in the Democratic platform, adopted unanimously that "we reject all proposals for the use of force to interfere with the orderly determination of these matters by the courts.'"

The nominee said that the country "needs badly the restoration of government which recognizes the existence of people, which will seek to meet their needs, to guarantee their rights and to enlarge their opportunities."

It is the nature and tradition of the Democratic party, he said, to care about people, "not as statistics in a market survey, but as individual men and women and children."

That is the reason, he continued, why the Democrats will win in 1956, the reason why Gov. Edmund S. Muskie was re-elected in Mainte Monday and the reason why the party is "so sensitive to the crucial importance of what is happening today in the desegregation of our public schools."

Mr. Stevenson noted some contrasts between 1952 and 1956, observing that "no one has leveled the charge of bashfulness against me this year."

"I trust that the office is seeking the man,' he said, "but I am doing my best to facilitate its search."

One remarkable change, he noted, was that whereas the Republicans four years ago "rallied the country against the egghead menace," the opposition this year has "organized a committee devoted to the care and feeding of the egghead vote."

Criticizes Nixon Position

Mr. Stevenson said that perhaps the most striking change had occurred with Vice President Richard M. Nixon.

"I know of no instance," he said, "in which a man has so energetically tried to convince the electorate that everything he has said and done in past years bears no relation to himself, and that, until further notice, he is to be considered a new man."

Among the points on which Mr. Stevenson assailed the Eisenhower Administration was an asserted failure to offer "hope, inspiration and leadership" to "the new disenchantment within the Communist empire."

"We have failed," he said, "because a business-dominated Administration simply cannot comprehend the nature and complexity either of the revolutionary thrust of our time or the human longings which animate it. We cannot capture the souls of disappointed people by boasting that our stomachs are full or that our arms are strongs. We can do so only by reviving the original American mission—the conception of our nation as the bearer of hope and freedom to oppressed peoples everywhere on earth."

Assails G. O. P. on Immigration

In his speech accepting the Liberal nomination, Senator Kefauver pledged "to continue to work tirelessly for what I believe to be the true liberalism." He defined true liberalism as "an appreciation of, and a concern for, the inherent dignity and the supreme importance of every individual."

He assailed the Republican Administration for its attitude toward the immigration laws, declaring that "it seems to reflect a belief that immigration is a source, not of strength, but of weakness."

"A studied policy," he declared, "keeps refugees—men and women who have suffered in defense of the principles upon which this nation was founded—from crossing our shores."

Senator Kefauver said that wage earners had received little consideration from the party that "passed the Taft-Hartley Act, that made possible the passage of the right-to-work laws, that cuts taxes for the rich and is against tax cuts for the poor, that slashed public housing to the bone, that has supported every give-away of natural resources from Niagara Falls to the Valley of the Tennessee to Hells Canyon."

He added: "I can understand why President Eisenhower talks so much about the Party of the Future. He's afraid to look over his shoulder at the record of the past."

Mayor Wagner, who will seek to retain for the Democrats the seat in the Senate now held by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, said he had decided to make the race because he wanted "to be right in the thick of this fight—side by side with Adlai Stevenson and help overthrow the present incumbents."

Mayor Hits "Flounderings"

Mr. Wagner, who will be opposed for the Senate by Attorney General Jacob K. Javitssaid the "flounderings of the past four years have produced nothing new, nothing constructive."

"Leadership has been lacking," he continued, "and we have had government by special interest rather than government by the people in accordance with the Constitution."

The Mayor said the public had waited impatiently four years "for some concrete program, some social philosophy, some humane executive direction."

P. B. Young Jr. To Write For Republicans

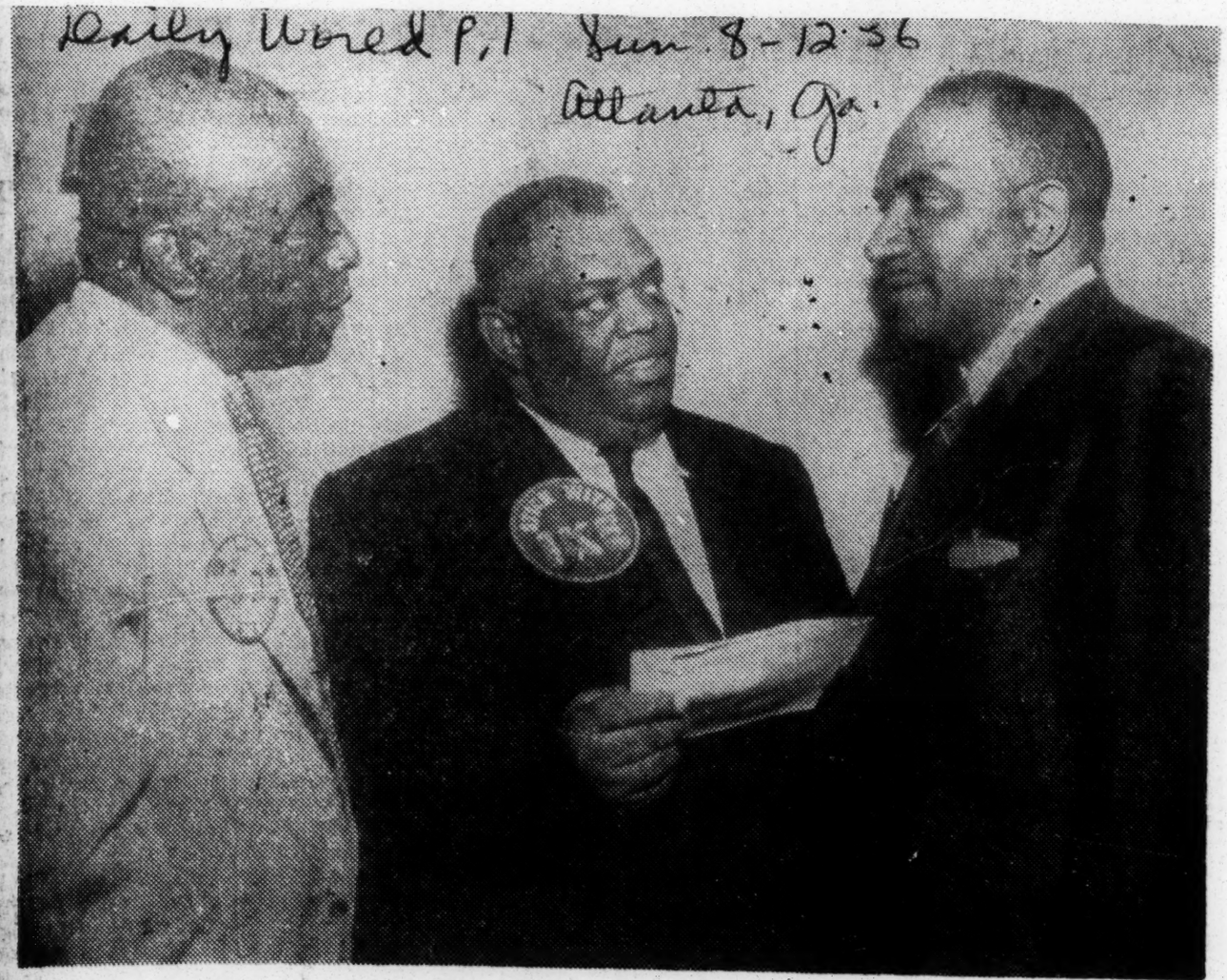
WASHINGTON. — The Republican National committee has "drafted" one of the country's top journalists, P. Bernard Young Jr., to serve with it during the Presidential election campaign as director of information for its Minorities division, it was announced this week by Val J. Washington, chief of the division.

Two-time winner of the Willkie journalism award, the veteran Norfolk, Va., newspaperman is one of the most-traveled and experienced editors in the profession. Following his graduation in 1929 with honors from Ohio State University's school of journalism, where he was the first Negro managing editor of the college daily, the Ohio State Lantern, Young became a full-time member of the staff of the Journal and Guide in Norfolk.

With that nationally known publication, he served successively as reporter, assistant managing editor, managing editor, and associate editor, and in 1943, became its editor-in-chief, vice president, and secretary. Currently on leave of absence to accept the National Republican post, he has set up office in Republican Headquarters here in the Cafritz building, 1625 Eye St. N.W.

Accredited by the Navy and Army as a war correspondent, he went on Navy antisubmarine patrol bomber flights in the early days of World War II. He waived a chance to serve as an Army correspondent to accept membership on a commission authorized by the White House to make a social, economic, and political survey in West Africa during late 1944 and early 1945.

In Africa he visited Sierra Leone, Liberia, Gold Coast, Nigeria, French Equatorial Africa, and the Belgian Congo, covering over 30,000 miles by air to, from, and in Africa. While in Liberia, at the invitation of President W. V. S. Tubman, he addressed a joint session of the Liberian Congress.



Daily World p.1 Sun. 8-12-56
Atlanta, Ga.

TO DELIVER OPENING PRAYER AT GOP MEET — Reverend J. B. Williams, center, is showing the personal letter from President Eisenhower inviting him to deliver the opening prayer in the National Republican Convention in California. Three years ago, President Eisenhower, in a visit to Harrisburg was moved by the inspiring prayer of Reverend Williams who has been pastor of the Second Baptist Church of Harrisburg for twenty years. The president remembered the occasion and extended the California invitation last month. Shown with Reverend Williams are William P. Young, left; Republican leader of Pittsburgh and Dr. William H. Gray, Jr., right; pastor of Bright Hope Baptist Church, Philadelphia.

WASHINGTON

GOP Rights Plank Stronger

Fri. 8-24-56 Pittsburgh, Pa. p. 18

Republicans Can Write Dixie Off, Seek And Win Northern Negro Key Support

BY ROSCOE DRUMMOND

SAN FRANCISCO

THIS REPUBLICAN CONVENTION has put a new and powerful political weapon into the hands of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon which could prove to be the one thing in the coming campaign capable of resolving doubts on the side of a Republican victory.

That weapon is a civil rights plank, unanimously adopted Tuesday as the capstone of the Republican platform, stronger, more explicit, more concrete, than came from the Democrats in Chicago.

If the Deep South and most of the border states are going to return to Democratic ranks this Fall—as now seems altogether probable—then there is mighty little in the North that President Eisenhower can afford to lose.

For 20 years They Have Aided Democrats

BEAR IN MIND that for the past 20 years the Negroes have voted almost solidly Democratic, first because of the economic gains they feel they received under President Roosevelt and, second, because of the civil rights promises they received from President Truman.

Bear in mind that in the biggest cities of five big electoral-bloc states — New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan—the Negro vote is increasingly concentrated and in any close election holds a potential balance of power.

This isn't just theory. Take two examples:

In 1952 when Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan was reelected by a statewide margin of only 8,620 votes, three Negro wards in Detroit alone gave him a margin of 28,000.

In 1954 when Averell Harriman won the governorship in the huge state of New York by only 11,125 votes, New York City's five Negro districts spelled the difference between defeat and victory by giving him a margin of 20,221 votes.

In the populous, critical cities of the North the Negro population now reaches 21 per cent in Philadelphia, 19 per cent in Detroit, 17 per cent in Chicago and 11 per cent in New York and Los Angeles—cities which provide the biggest concentrated vote in five states which have 156 electoral votes and all of which the Republicans are likely to need to win.

If the Republicans can make a solid break-through in the Negro vote in these cities in these states this Fall, which they have not been able to do in many years, this could well over-balance the prospective return of the South to its one-party tradition.

Here are the tools which the Republicans believe will enable them to make this needed break-through:

1. The Republicans here set forth a platform which goes beyond the Democratic civil rights plank at three important points—(a) by proclaiming that it "concurs" in the decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that public school desegregation must be ended; (b) by pledging itself to "support" this decision and help carry it out "by all branches of the federal government;" (c) by committing the party to a six-point civil rights legislative program designed to help guarantee Negroes against being denied their rights by the states—a program which many Democrats fought in the last session of Congress.

2. A Republican attorney general directed his solicitor general to argue the case in behalf of the Supreme Court decision requiring public schools' desegregation "with all deliberate speed." Therefore the Eisenhower administration has established itself as an active ally of the decision.

3. The Eisenhower administration has achieved a record of vigorous and sustained effort to end racial discrimination in every area over which the federal government exerts authority and influence. It has eliminated discrimination in federal employment and in the public schools, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds of the District of Columbia, making the Capital a national example of what can be accomplished. The President's Committee on Contract Compliance headed by Vice President Nixon, has made tremendous inroads against racial discrimination in employment opportunity in industries throughout the nation.

Adlai's For Same Thing, But Has More Opposition

OBVIOUSLY A PARTY PLATFORM in itself will not make possible the Republican break-through in the Negro vote, particularly since the Democratic nominee, Adlai Stevenson, is firmly committed to the same objectives. But Mr. Stevenson is handicapped by strong Democratic opposition to his views and the Eisenhower record is an impressive earnest that it can and will live up to its pledges.—©

Its Significance to Negroes

Courier p. 5

GOP Convention!

Pittsburgh, Pa

By EMMETT E. DORSEY

James M. Burns, brilliant student of American political parties and politics, observes that "Republican Congressmen, having deserted President Eisenhower on issue after issue in Washington, will enthusiastically help draft him in San Francisc to run again."

Sat 9-1-56

The reason for this odd behavior is that there are two Republican parties—the Presidential Republicans and the Congressional Republicans. The Presidential Republicans (the Eisenhower faction) is composed of moderate conservatives. They desire to conserve the social gains of the last generation and continue the internationalist foreign policy demanded by the needs of the time. This party's major effective support comes from the enlightened business community and most of the upper and lower middle class, denizens of America's suburban communities.

Considerably to the right of the Presidential Republican party is the Congressional Republican party, which is led by Senate Minority Leader William Knowland and House Minority Leader Joseph Martin and other Republican leaders of the Senate and House—about 15 men. This party, "the real Republican party," represents primarily the Midwest and Northwestern and Western rural districts.

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MANY OF these areas are almost as much one-party constituencies as are those of the South. This is the powerful conservative wing of the party. It resists the mild social welfare and civil rights policies of a Republican President. In foreign policy it tends to an isolationist position. This is the strong segment of the Republican party which in the words of Adlai Stevenson "cynically covets Mr. Eisenhower as a candidate, but ignores him as a leader."

The Congressional Republican party in coalition wtih the Southern Democrats determines Congressional legislative policy almost in disregard of the wishes of Republican and Democratic Presidents. Further, it is this group in collaboration with the Southern Democrats that created and preserves those Congressional rules of procedure designed to thwart the majority's will and assure the coalition's dominance.

Since a primary interest of Negroes is social welfare and civil rights legislation, the importance of Congress must be kept in mind. The pageantry, emotionalism and excitement of national conventions and Presidential campaigns tend to overshadow Congressional elections. Yet there is the hard fact that the civil rights legislation which Negroes want and need is contingent upon the kind and amount of pressure that is brought to bear on members of Congress. Party platform pledges are not unimportant. They are particularly significant when they deal with fundamental rights which state and local governments withhold and forcibly deny. Whatever the platform pledge, however, Congress must be dealt with for the passage of law.

The platforms of both political parties in 1948 and again in 1952 contained civil rights planks pledging several civil rights laws. Yet Congress has produced no such legislation. Indeed, neither the Republican nor Democratic Congressional parties seriously attempted the passage of any civil rights legislation. The 1952 Democratic platform promised an effective cloture rule which would obviate filibusters. The Senate made short shrift of this impertinence. Only 15 Democrats, 5 Republicans and one Independent, a total of 21, voted for this new rule. Sixty-four votes are required for passage of such a rule of procedure. Thus the filibuster continues to hover menacingly

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hower seeking re-election was in complete control of every action taken by the Republicans in San Francisco. The platform is a glowing summary of his record in office. The President was unanimously renominated. The delegates were unimpressed by Mr. Stassen's campaign to "dump" Nixon. Mr. Stassen's issue would have involved the convention in a public consideration of the significance of the Vice Presidency in view of the President's health. The delegates wanted, above all else, to avoid such a predicament. Mr. Nixon, by means of brilliant political bargaining and intimidation, committed the party leaders to his support.

The Vice President easily won renomination.

The one basic revision of the script of this prefabricated convention was that of weakening the civil rights policy statement. Before the convention there was agreement upon a "hard" civil rights plank. The Supreme Court decision was to be endorsed. Enforcement was to be promised and specific items of civil rights legislation were to be assured. Republican strategists had planned an all-out campaign to recapture much of the Negro vote in the great Northern cities. This plan, for all practical purposes, meant that the dream of a two-party South was to be abandoned.

The "hard" GOP civil rights plank didn't materialize. Roy Wilkins views the plank adopted as a "thin shade stronger" than that of the Democrats. The Democrats "recognize" while the Republicans "accept" the Supreme Court deciison. Neither endorses. The Republicans advocate gradual and "progressive" elimination of segregation with the courts bearing the major burden. The GOP plank also promises "support" of the President's six-point civil rights program. A promise of "support" of any civil rights legislation is meaningless unless accompanied by a determination to abolish the Senate filibuster.

■

INCIDENTALLY, the abolition of segregation in the District of Columbia was not brought about by the Republicans, the Democrats, the Congress or the President. It was accomplished by desions of local Federal courts and of the Supreme Court, involving cases which Washington citizens, local lawyers and the NAACP brought into being and fought.

Dixie Republican delegates, notably those of Virginia, Florida and Texas, vigorously and effectively applied pressure upon the platform committee and the temporary White House in Chicago. They were persuasive. President Eisenhower ordered a toning down of the civil rights plank.

The national Republican party decided that it must not offend the sensibilities of prospective Southern Republicans.

Possibly the Gallup poll indicating that most Negroes, in spite of Eastland, will continue to vote Democratic influenced the decision of the GOP not to court Negro votes by means of a strong statement of affirmative policy as regards desegregation. Apparently it is difficult to reconcile a dynamic policy of desegregation with a philosophy of moderate conservatism.

Courier Pittsburgh Sat 9-24

Seconded Ike—Dr. Helen Edmonds of Durham, N. C., is congratulated by GOP Convention Chairman Joe Martin after her seconding speech on behalf of President Dwight D. Eisenhower for the Republican nomination in San Francisco's Cow Palace.

Associated Press Wirephoto

CLASHING BANNERS: Supporters of Democratic candidates appear at a Republican rally in Providence, R. I. Scuffle occurred during a speech yesterday by Vice President Nixon.

Nixon, in South, Starts Drive for Negro Votes

Herald Tribune p. 12
New York
Fri. 9-27-56

By Earl Mazo

KANSAS CITY, Kan., Sept. 26.—Vice-President Richard M. Nixon launched in the South today the Republican party's major drive for the votes of Negroes and other minorities that exercise a balance of power in pivotal Northern, Central and Western states.

At a press conference in Houston, Tex., before leaving for Missouri and Kansas, Mr. Nixon admitted readily he is an honorary member of the National Assoication for the Advancement of Colored People. Upholding the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools, he called for "moderate, steady advancement" in the field of racial integration and urged that the extremes of both sides" be avoided.

Speech Today

Tomorrow at the University of Louisville in Louisville, Ky., he will make a major address on civil rights.

Mr. Nixon said he also will refer to it, at his other Southern campaign stops — Nashville, Tenn., on Friday, and Tampa and St. Petersburg, Fla., Saturday.

Thus it was clear he would use Southern platforms — places where pro-civil-rights talk is politically inexpedient—to dramatize his party's position as a champion of the minorities.

Republican leaders would not admit this might mean they are writing off the South. They insisted, in fact, they still hope to win again at least the four states President Eisenhower carried in 1952—Texas, Tennessee, Florida and Virginia.

Stresses States Rights

In his principal Texas speech, delivered last night in Houston and televised state-wide, Mr. Nixon urged Southern Democrats to vote for Mr. Eisenhower as a native Texan who represents their states-rights views, as opposed to what he called the "big government ideology" of Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic nominee.

After the press conference today, however, Willard Francis, Republican finance chairman for Texas, sadly said, he doubts Mr. Eisenhower would carry Texas again this year. He and others said anti-integration Southerners would not take kindly to Mr. Nixon's statements on civil rights.

Mr. Nixon, who was recovering rapidly from the influenza and laryngitis that has bedeviled him since Monday, noted in his Kansas City, Kan., speech tonight to a Republican audience that Mr. Stevenson was addressing a Democratic rally across the river in Kansas City, Mo., at the same time.

Attacks Stevenson

The Vice-President vigorously attacked Mr. Stevenson as an advocate of New Deal and Fair Deal measures who offers the nation a return to the "discredited" era of former President Truman's administration.

He stepped up his hand-shaking drive in Springfield, Mo., a politically evenly divided city of 96,000, frequently getting out of his car to greet scores of men, women and children. A no-empty-seat audience of more than 5,000 crowded the Shrine Mosque, with many standing outside.

Dr. Malcolm Todd, the physician who is accompanying the Vice-President, treated Mr. Nixon's throat with a cortisone spray before his speaking appearances today, as he did last night. The doctor said he also "doses" the Vice-President with "vitamin pills to pep him up."

He's in N. A. A. C. P.

At his Houston press conference Mr. Nixon made these points:

1. During his campaign for Congress in 1946 he addressed an N. A. A. C. P. meeting in a Monrovia, Calif., Methodist Church At the meeting he was made an "honorary member" and, "of course, I accepted." Mr. Nixon said he has not been active in the organization, however. (He was charged with being an N. A. A. C. P. member at a White Citizens Council meeting in Jackson, Miss., last night.)

2. If Southern political leaders who seek to suppress the N. A. A. C. P. "thought about the implications of what they are doing, they would do differently," he said The organization, he added, does not advocate violent overthrow of government and is entitled to function under the American system.

Condemns Bias

3. Racial discrimination is not only morally wrong, and not in accord with "the American way," Mr. Nixon said, but it injures American prestige abroad. Furthermore, he said, this country "cannot afford" to do without the full economic and cultural potential of its 17,000,000 negroes.

4. He said he agrees with the Supreme Court school integration decision, adding: "The position of the Administration" is this: "We must have moderate, steady advancement in keeping with the decision, and we must avoid the extremes of both sides."

U.S. To End Race Strife, Says Nixon

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 10-19-56

NEW YORK, Oct. 18 (AP)—Vice President Nixon predicted tonight the United States will surmount "our present crisis" on segregation as creditably as it passed other tests in the past.

"Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit, side by side, at any school — public or private —with no regard paid to the color of their skin," Nixon said.

HONORS SMITH

The Republican vice president's talk was prepared for a dinner in memory of Alfred E. Smith, the Democrat who became a symbol of justice to and accomplishment for members of minorities.

"We lived through the Antiforeign riots of the Know-Nothing days and the hooded terror of the Ku Klux Klan," Nixon said. "Each time we emerged a stronger nation, ashamed of prejudice and hate, and more determined to give equal justice to all."

CITES RESISTANCE

Nixon said that while "there is resistance to the granting of our Negro citizens their full rights under law," men of "good will in all sections of our land are working with complete devotion toward the day when the American ideal of equality of opportunity is a reality for all of our people."

The vice president said the Supreme Court decision that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional is only one of many actions, federal and state, aimed at discrimination.

WILL OBEY

But he said laws depend on "the will of the people to obey," which "cannot be imposed from without." He called for common work by churches, schools, labor, business and other organizations to "promote understanding, brotherhood and national unity."

In today's campaigning Nixon told a crowd of 2,000 at the Providence City Hall that Adlai E. Stevenson would be no match for Russian leaders if he were elected president and went forward with his "naive" plan to end hydrogen bomb tests.

Nixon Predicts Day of 'No Regard to Color'

Herald Tribune
New York
Fri. 10-19-56

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Cites Past Crises

"We lived through the anti-foreign riots of the Know-Nothing days and the hooded terror of the Ku Klux Klan. Each time we emerged a stronger nation, ashamed of prejudice and hate, and more determined to give equal justice to all.

"I feel sure that we shall pass through our peresent crisis with equal credit."

Nixon told a police-estimated crowd of 2,000 at the Providence City Hall that Adlai E. Stevenson would be no match for Russian leaders in a contest of units if he were elected President and went forward with his "naive" plan to end hydrogen-bomb tests.

In Norwich, Conn., he addressed a crowd estimated at

Addresses 5,000

5,000 by Police Chief Josepr L. Gendron, telling them that in keeping the peace "Mr. Stevenson just isn't in the same league with President Eisenhower."

In New Haven, where Stevenson was recently booed in a near-riot, Nixon also got a few boos.

Nixon, In 'Nonpolitical' Speech, Says Segregation Has No Place In America

Courier-Journal Louisville Ky. Oct 19-1956 P. 2

He Appears With Democrats

New York, Oct. 18 (U.P.)—Vice-President Richard M. Nixon said tonight that "segregation, discrimination, and prejudice have no place in America."

Nixon, in a speech described as a nonpolitical break in his campaign, said, "Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit side by side at any school—public or private—with no regard paid to the color of their skin."

In Motorcade First

His address was made at an appearance with Democratic Governor Averell Harriman and Mayor Robert F. Wagner, Democratic Senate nominee, at the annual Alfred E. Smith memorial dinner.

Nixon stepped into his nonpolitical role after a 200-mile motorcade trip from Providence, R. I., drumming up Republican votes through New England's gold and scarlet hills.

The Vice-President said America must "prove to the Communist world that freedom, and freedom alone, can bring out the best energies of mankind."

He said America has not always lived up to its ideals—it had slavery, discrimination based on race, religion, and national origin, and "even today there is resistance to granting our Negro citizens their full rights under law.

President Stumps South In Desegregation Plea

Herald Tribune P. 1
Sun. 10-30-56
Eisenhower speech, Page 18.
New York

By Robert J. Donovan

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.—President Eisenhower, fighting to crack the "Solid South" again, made a one-day foray into Florida and Virginia today and, in Miami, appealed for "intelligent understanding" of the problems of desegregation.

The President nowhere mentioned the Supreme Court decision banning racial segregation in the public schools. Indeed he discussed the civil-rights question only in passing and only in the broadest terms. He urged that it be handled justly and in an unpartisan spirit and to the greatest extent possible by state and local governments instead of by the Federal government.

In his speeches at the airports in Miami, Jacksonville and Richmond he based his appeal for Southern votes chiefly on the Administration's record of ending the Korean War, keeping the country at peace and fostering good times.

In his efforts to capture Virginia's twelve electoral votes again, Mr. Eisenhower showered praise in Richmond on Sen. Harry F. Byrd, Democrat, a man who wields great political power in his state. Virginia went Republican in 1952 after Sen. Byrd refused to support Adlai E. Stevenson. In the current Presidential election he has not taken a stand.

Herald-Tribune

At Byrd Field in Richmond the President said that he had carried out his 1952 campaign promises to "bring back clean government to Washington" and "to put a stop to the loose spending of your tax dollars." The President said he also had carried out his pledge to halt attacks by the Federal government on the sovereignty and resources of state and local governments.

Cheered in Drizzle

It was dark in Richmond when the President arrived in a drizzle to greet several thousand cheering Virginians—perhaps his best crowd of the day.

In Richmond the President also had high praise for one of Virginia's first citizens, "my old chief and friend," General of the Army George C. Marshall.

The President, who departed by plane from Washington this morning and returned early this evening, spoke prophetically in Miami about the danger in the Middle East before he learned of the Israeli thrust into Egypt.

"Present Danger"

Referring to the "real and present danger," because of Arab-Israeli animosities, he said that no sudden improvement could be expected, and added: "We can—and we do—use the full moral power of America to direct the purposes of all nations away from conflict — toward concord."

It was while the President was in Jacksonville later that a reporter gave White House press Secretary James C. Hagerty a bulletin telling of the Israeli thrust into Egypt. It was in this way, evidently, that Mr. Eisenhower learned of the new crisis.

Greets Van Fleet

Mr. and Mrs. Eisenhower took off from Washington aboard the Presidential plane Columbine at 8:20 a. m. and landed at Miami's International Airport at 11:57. The airport is eight miles from the business district, and the crowd did not exceed 10,000 persons.

"Hello, Van," the President called as he stepped out of his plane and spotted his old West Point classmate, Maj. Gen. James Van Fleet, at the forefront of the welcoming committee. Nominally a Democrat, the former 8th Army commander in Korea has been speaking throughout his native state of Florida for Mr. Eisenhower.

The Miami audience, including a large percentage of elderly men and women, was prolifically equipped with all manner of "Ike" signs. However, this crowd displayed only a solitary Nixon sign. All but one of the many placards just hailed "Ike"—not "Ike and Dick." The President's picture was on the flag-draped platform, but not that of his running mate.

Welcome From Crowd

"I have been advised," the President told the Miami audience, "that it was a waste of time for me to visit the South this year." (The crowd shouted, "No.") "I have been told that Florida's decision in 1952 was a sheer political accident—that it will not be repeated." ("No," the crowd yelled again.)

Then he went on to bring up, though in the most general terms, the issue that is so explosive in the South. He said:

"Four years ago I pledged that as President of all the people I would use every proper influence of my office to promote for all citizens that equality before the law and of opportunity visualized by our founding fathers. I promised further to do this with the conviction that progress toward equality had to be achieved finally in the hearts of men rather than in legislative halls

"Justice for Americans"

"I urge then, as I urge now, the handling of this question to the great possible extent on a local and state basis. I believed then, as I believe now, that there must be intelligent understanding of the human factors and emotions involved. . . . We have tried to bring reason, good sense and good judgement to the performance of clear duty in this matter. We have earnestly tried to keep it from becoming a partisan matter, for we are talking here not about a political issue but about justice for Americans."

The crowd applauded.

A crowd of 3,000 was awaiting the President when he made his next stop in Jacksonville at 2:35 p. m. Here Mr. Nixon was back in the picture again in the score of "Ike and Dick" signs.

Mr. Eisenhower warned the Jacksonville audience that the Democrats could destroy prosperity by "playing politics" with it in the campaign.

He reported that hitherto unpublished figures show that 1,000,000 more persons were employed this October than in October, 1955, and added, "that, my friends, makes it the biggest October in our entire history.' There were 4,300,000 more persons employed this month, he said, than in October, 1952, the last year of the Truman administration.

Text of Nixon Talk at Alfred E. Smith Fete

Times P.16-C
Trib 10-19-56
New York

Following is the text of an address by Vice President Richard M. Nixon as prepared for delivery last night at the twelfth annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner:

When I received your invitation to address this dinner honoring the memory of Alfred E. Smith I tried to think of a single theme that would explain his greatness. It was difficult to do this, because he had so many fine qualities.

He was a poor boy from the East Side of New York. He had little in the way of formal education. But he achieved distinction as a leader of men, a tower of strength in the business community, and, above all, as a man of unblemished character.

He was a magnificent example of the American dream. He typifies the truth of the statement that in America there is no forgotten man, no common man, no little man, no average man. There is only our fellow-man.

Why is America a great nation?

The greatness of America does not lie in our economic strength or our unequaled wealth. It cannot be measured by military power or diplomatic prestige.

Other nations have been wealthy and powerful. But their wealth was for the few. Their power was vested in an aristocracy of blood or of class. In these nations, privilege and right were restricted to the ruling élite. The remainder, the so-called masses or common men, had duties rather than rights, favors rather than privileges.

It took daring on the part of our founding fathers to say that all men were created equal. It took faith to assert that every man was endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights.

The world of 1776 was not cast in this image.

In the words of Lincoln, "our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

These moving passages from two of our greatest national documents carry a message which America today should never forget. It is a message of the dignity of man as a child of God.

Doctrine of Free Men

Other ages spoke of the divine right of kings. We speak of the divinely granted rights of every man. In our Government no man is so great that he is above the law. No man is so lowly that he is beneath its protection. We are free men, equal under law.

When our founding fathers spoke of man's rights as granted by the Creator, they put certain rights beyond the pale of Government. The state does not grant these rights. It cannot take them away. It can only protect and enforce them. These rights were stated simply in the Declaration of Independence. They are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Our basic rights are spelled out in more detail in our Constitution and its first ten amendments, the Bill of Rights.

This was a daring concept, in the light of history at that time, it also stands out in striking contrast to the slave states of the present century. Thirty-nine years ago next month a new state was created in Russia. Twenty-three years ago a new state was created in Germany. Both denied the dignity of man and the sovereignty of God and His moral law. To them the state was absolute, the citizen nothing. There was no right to life. Liberty vanished behind the barbed wire of slave labor camps and concentration camps. There was no happiness, because slaves can never be really happy.

It is important that we remember that communism and nazism are evil things in themselves. They are not wrong merely because they have threatened American security and the freedom of other nations. Even if these threats had disappeared, they would still be wrong, because they denied human freedom and raised their blasphemous hands against the Creator. These things must be said, lest some of the steps taken by our Government be misunderstood.

Need for Peace Meetings

It is necessary for our national leaders to meet with the leaders of such states, in the hope of forging a secure peace for the world. We have even taken advantage of the partial lifting of the Iron Curtain to try to let Communists see freedom in action. But when we take these steps, we are not absolving a system that has enslaved eight hundred millions of our fellow men. That we must never do.

Our purpose rather is to lessen their burdens today, and to hasten the tomorrow when they will be free. We hope first to remove from all mankind the paralyzing fear of war and the crushing burden of armament. Then we seek to prove to the Communist world that freedom, and freedom alone, can bring out the best energies of mankind. By a free exchange of persons, we hope to show them that, even on their materialist assumptions, they must restore full freedom if their society is to work.

The contrast between the lot of the citizen in their society and ours is a contrast between darkness and light. It is not that we are without fault or that we have perfectly lived up to our ideals. We had slavery during the first seventy-six years of our nation's history. There has been discrimination based on race, religion and national origin. Even today there is resistance to the granting of our Negro citizens their full rights under law.

But the greatness of America lies in the fact that the nation as a whole has fought to eliminate these injustices and to seek ever more forcefully our ideal of equality. When our Constitution was written, the founding fathers were preparing for the day when slavery would be abolished. When that day came, this nation went to war, brother against brother, to establish our ideal of freedom.

We lived through the anti-foreign riots of the Know Nothing days and the hooded terror of the Ku-Klux Klan. Each time we emerged a stronger nation, ashamed of prejudice and hate, and more determined to give equal justice to all.

Confident for Future

I feel sure that we shall pass through our present crisis with equal credit. Most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit, side by side, at any school—public or private—with no regard paid to the color of their skin. Segregation, discrimination and prejudice have no place in America, and I can report to you tonight that men of goodwill in all sections of our land are working with complete devotion toward the day when the American ideal of equality of opportunity is a reality for all of our people.

The wealth of America does not lie merely in the productivity of our factories and our farms.

We are also rich in the greatness of our people. But who are the people of America? Ours is no master race. Our fathers came from all nations and from all continents. We are English, Irish, German, Italian, Polish, French. We are European, Asian, African. But first, last and always, we are Americans.

We enjoy a better life than most of our cousins who remained behind. Is this merely because of the great resources of a new continent? We have been blessed by the richness of our land, but other nations with such resources have not progressed as we have. The real secret of American greatness lies in the fact that from the time of our foundation we have recognized the supreme dignity of men and women as individuals. All of us, no matter how diverse our origins, have had the right to equal opportunity under law, and year by year we have been taking ever stronger steps to implement this right for all Americans.

The result has been a fusion of the best ideals and the strongest energies of all the peoples that have come to our shores. In the "melting pot" of America we have not tried to shape everything according to one pattern. Rather, we have welcomed all and have all shared in the diversity and richness that each has to contribute.

Notes Strength in Diversity

We must always remember that our nation has achieved so much precisely because of our willingness to accept what each new American has to offer. We are strong in our unity. But we are stronger still because of our diversity. We do not force conformity. There is no one settled pattern that is the American way. We are a progressive people, constantly experimenting to see what may be better than what we had before. Because we are willing to change, we are never satisfied with second-best.

But underneath these changes are certain eternal principles which we must cherish if we are to retain our greatness. One of the most fundamental of these principles is that of equality under law, the basis of our civil rights. Let me explain these two terms, "equality" and "under law," as I understand them.

Equality to us is basically a religious ideal. It does not refer to talent, ability, culture or background, for we differ in those respects. It does not even refer to equality of opportunity; this is a consequence, rather than the substance, of our belief. Equality means one simple thing—in the words of Al Smith, "We believe in the common brotherhood of man under the common fatherhood of God."

But we have gone further and placed this religious belief under the sanction of civil law. Our Constitution and, particularly, the Bill of Rights and the Fourteenth Amendment ordain that the full majesty and power of our Federal Government shall be used to protect and enforce this equality. The sovereignty of Federal courts shall strike down any law, ordinance or action that tries to make any American a lesser person before the law.

Rights to Communists

We uphold these rights even for those who would subvert and overthrow our system of law. We grant full rights to Communists, for example, not because we are soft on communism, but because we dare not be soft in regard to the great principles of law that have molded our nation. We will vigilantly protect our nation against treason and subversion, but we shall do this within the framework of due process and our proved concepts of justice.

The decision of the Supreme Court on segregation in schools is but one step in a continuing process of giving substance and vitality to our democracy.

State law and actions of the Federal Government are moving forward to eliminate bias in employment, discrimination in housing, and bigotry in any form that can be touched by law. Race and religious hatred strike at the roots of that remarkable unity that is the achievement of our nation. For the survival of our highest ideals, we must eradicate them from the face of our society.

But we who hold office in the Federal Government would be the last to hold that our efforts alone will suffice. The most perfect law legislators can write is only as good as the will of the people to obey it. And that will must come from within us. It cannot be imposed from without. Laws which do not have the support of the people will in the end be nothing more than dead and meaningless words on dust-covered parchment.

Power of the People

If laws are not the complete answer to our problem, where must we look for its solution? Our Constitution has strictly limited the scope and powers of Government. We must always remember that those powers not specifically granted to Government are retained by the people. And with power goes responsibility.

This means that all of us have responsibility for implementing the American dream of equality. Our churches and schools, our labor unions and employer associations, farm groups and city groups, and the countless associations and societies that we have formed, all must work together toward our great objective.

I do not like to phrase this goal in negative terms of avoiding bias and discrimination. Let me put it positively—we should all work to promote understanding, brotherhood and national unity. In this way alone can we retain and advance the national ideals which are the true greatness of America.

Why is this cause so important?

America cannot afford the moral, the economic and the international cost of prejudice and discrimination.

We know the moral cost—the quiet suffering of millions of our fellow men whose only crime was that they were different in race or religion or color from others in their communities.

We know the economic cost—the loss of thousands of skilled craftsmen, engineers, teachers, lawyers and doctors,

whom we need if we are to develop our resources to the full, but who are not trained because they are denied the equality of opportunity for education which is their right.

An Example for the World

I can testify from experience as to the international cost. Every instance of prejudice in America is blown up a thousand fold by the enemies of freedom and does irreparable harm to our cause abroad. I have often expressed the idea that the world struggle today is a contest for men's minds. It is mainly in the realm of the spirit, and only secondary in the military, diplomatic and economic fields.

In such a struggle, the kind of people we are counts much more than what we say. To the diverse people of the world —different in race, religion and national origin, but one in the sight of our Creator— let us show forth the highest meaning of our democracy, a nation under God to seek the welfare of all, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, powerful and weak.

This was the revolutionary ideal which caught the imagination of the world in 1776. Our history books tell us that the American Revolution ended in Yorktown. But the American Revolution will not be complete until the ideals of independence, equality and freedom which kept men fighting at Valley Forge are a reality not only for Americans but for peoples throughout the world.

VP Says Change Of Heart Remedy For Integration

Advertiser P. 7-A
Mar. 9-27-56

By WILLIAM F. ARBOGAST

SPRINGFIELD, Mo., Sept. 26 (AP) —Vice President Nixon said today the problems of racial integration cannot be solved by "revolutionary means" but only by "a change in the hearts of men."

They must "never become a political football" he warned as he disclosed that he holds honorary membership in the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Montgomery Ala.

IN TEXAS

Nixon invited questioning about his stand on civil rights at a Houston, Tex., news conference before leaving for a midafternoon speech here.

And he said he would have more to say on the subject in a noon speech tomorrow in Louisville, Ky., whose school officials have been commended by President Eisenhower for their progress in educational integraton.

Nixon called for a "moderate, steady advance" in keeping with the Supreme Court ruling banning school segregation, but warned against "extremes on both sides."

His experience, he said, was that "moderate, clear - thinking, right-thinking people will prevail."

NAACP MEMBER

Nixon said he became an honorary member of the NAACP in 1946 but has "not paid dues nor taken any part in the organization's activities." He said he is an honorary member of many organizations.

"Any organization not advocating the violent overthrow of the government has the right to express its views," he said. "The NAACP does not advocate the overthrow of the government by violence, of that I am sure."

Asked if he endorsed NAACP policies, Nixon replied:

"We must work toward a realization of equality of opportunity. . . and the good things of life, regardless of race, creed or color."

He added a warning that "every evidence of prejudice and racial tension" is used against the United States by its enemies.

MILITARY FORCES

He said the matter of preserving law and order through use of state military forces in areas where segregation has caused trouble is a problem of the individual states and one that must be handled on the state level.

"The problem of integration must never become a political football." We are not going to solve the problem until we change basic attitudes, until there is a change in the hearts of men," he said, adding that such change must be brought about by "education and persuasion."

Nixon said he was "very happy" to note that Adlai Stevenson subscribes to the Supreme Court ruling and "does not question the law of the land" in that respect.

Before his audience here, Nixon delivered what has become known as his "basic speech." In it he stressed what he called the gains of the nation during the four years of Republican administration. He accused the Democrats of having nothing to offer but "the same old jalopy they had in 1952, with a new paint job."

"A LITTLE WEAK"

On arrival here Nixon said that other than being "a little weak" he felt no after-affects from the siege of influenza and laryngitis which slowed him down earlier in the week.

The Shrine mosque where he spoke was packed to its capacity of 5,000 and officials in charge of the rally said several thousand more were turned away. Crowds lined the street as Nixon's motorcade moved from the airport into the city. The vice president and his wife, Patricia, got out of their car and walked more than a block, shaking hands and conversing casually with people who lined the curbs.

Call P. 13
Kansas City, Mo.
Fri. 10-12-56

PLANNING KANSAS REPUBLICAN STRATEGY is this committee of district representatives who are serving as chief aides in the campaign of Warren Shaw for governor of Kansas. At a meeting recently held in Wichita, the group above, led by P. G. Porter, director of minority groups for the Kansas State Republican committee, went over the civil rights section of the platform of the party for interpretation to Negro voters. Standing around Porter, left to right, are: Prentice A. Townsend, Topeka; John Royston, Kansas City, Kas.; Edwin Sexton, Jr., Wichita; and Warren Estes, Baxter Springs.

Nixon Switches From Jim Crow Florida Hotel

Call P. 20
Kansas City Mo.
Fri. 10-12-56

GRAND RAPIDS, Mich. (ANP) — Here for a speech last week, Vice President Nixon told reporters that the reason he switched hotels in St. Petersburg, Fla. was because "we encourage the breaking down of racial discrimination."

Nixon made the statement at a news conference where the question arouse as to why his party suddenly switched hotels during the weekend at the Florida city.

He said: "I have a standard rule that we are always to stay at what we call unrestricted hotels."

He pointed out that the advance staff which made the arrangements in St. Petersburg was apparently unaware of the hotel's restrictions against Jews and Negroes.

He said in some states it may not be possible to follow this rule, but added: "Whenever possible the rule will be followed."

Both Miss. Republican factions backed Ike

Afro-American Sat. 11-24-56
Baltimore Md.

JACKSON, Miss. (NNPA)—President Eisenhower was the nominee on the ballot of both Mississippi Republican parties — the "lily whites," and the "Black and Tan" faction headed by Perry W. Howard, Republican National Committeeman.

National Republican leaders reportedly urged Mississippians to back the "lily white" slate of electors.

P. 20

Mr. Howard himself made the trip here from Washington to cast his vote.

THE BALLOTING in the state was down more than 100,000 from 1952. Many white voters reportedly remained away from the polls because they did not like the stand of either President Eisenhower or Adlai Stevenson on the civil rights issue.

A total of 1,505 of the 1,820 precincts in the state reported 124,699 votes for Mr. Stevenson and 55,188 for Mr. Eisenhower.

In 1952, Mr. Stevenson received 172,566 votes and Mr. Eisenhower received 112,966. Some of the Eisenhower votes in 1952 were due to the activities of Independents for Eisenhower.

New York Times Comes Out for Ike

Post & Times Herald
Washington D.C.

NEW YORK, Oct. 15 (AP)—The New York Times tonight announced its support of President Eisenhower for reelection. It had supported him originally in 1952. The Times lists itself politically as independent.

Sun 10-16-56

Local Handling of Racial Problem Is Ike's Theme in Miami Foray

Constitution Sun. 10-30-56 P. 1

Atlanta Ga.

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 29—President Eisenhower urged that the problem of achieving racial equality be handled largely "on a local and state basis" as he campaigned in the South today.

He told a Miami airport audience he is convinced progress toward achieving equality of opportunity and equality before the law has "to be achieved finally in the hearts of men rather than in legislative halls."

He was applauded lightly as he said that "there must be intelligent understanding of the human factors and emotions involved if if we are to make steady progress in the matter rather than simply make political promises never intended to be kept."

In the field of civil rights, he added, he had tried to bring

By RUSSELL BAKER

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"reason, good sense and good judgement to the performance of clear duty."

Though he delivered three airport speeches in an 1,800-mile aerial barnstorming campaign in Florida and Virginia, he touched on the civil rights issue only once.

That was in Miami in his first speech of the day.

In Jacksonville, Fla., and Richmond, Va., where the Southern tradition is stronger than in Miami, he did not discuss the racil theme. Nor did he refer directly in any of his speeches to the controversial school integration issue or the Supreme Court decision.

He concentrated instead on three themes: Peace, prosperity and attacks on the Democratic ticket.

And at Miami, he tried his grip for the first time at the handshaking style of campaigning developed to a high art by Sen. Estes Kefauver.

Surrounded by several hundred rabid admirers en route to his plane after speaking, he shook hands by the score with a zest rarely matched by Kefauver and a folksiness as impressive as the senator's own.

Otherwise the political day was memorable chiefly as one in which he freely praised Virginia's powerful Democratic senator. Harry F. Byrd, and Gen. George C. Marshall, another distinguished Virginian and the President's old wartime commander.

Constitution

It was Byrd, the chief political power in the state, who helped Eisenhower carry Virginia in 1952.

P. 12

This year the senator has said nothing to give aid and comfort either to the President or to Adlai Stevenson.

Florida and Virginia both were carried by Eisenhower in 1952 in the first Republican break into the "Solid South" since 1928 when a religious issue helped them.

TEXAS FORAY NEXT

On Wednesday the President will make airport speeches in Texas and Tennessee, the two other Southern states he captured in 1952. The political experts rate him slightly ahead in Florida with its big "immigrant" population from the North. Virginia is rated very close with Stevenson holding a slight edge.

Most of the President's speeches today were restatements of campaign themes already well developed. He accused his Democratic opponents of giving the nation a falsely pessimistic picture of its economy and foreign relations.

He attacked Stevenson on the draft and hydrogen-bomb issues. He peppered him with sarcasm about the backfire charge that the Eisenhower administration had lent money to Juan Peron, the former Argentine dictator.

STRESSES PEACE TUNE

He again hammered hard on assertions that he had restored peace and secured it and that the country was enjoying a Republican prosperity without precedent.

The President's first stop was Miami, where a noontime crowd of 6,000 sprawled across the airport apron on three sides of a bunting-draped wooden platform.

His speech presented a series of fresh, sharp attacks on the Democrats and Stevenson.

Eisenhower labeled the Democratic candidates' prophesiers of "misfortune and disaster" and suggested they might take a more optimistic view if they looked at the burgeoning growth of Miami. He drew a laugh from the crowd by pronouncing it "Mee-ami." The preferred local pronunciation is "Miamuh."

NEGRO EVANGELIST PRAISES IKE FOR 'HEAVEN BORN DEAL'

Chicago Tribune Wed. 9-19-56

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Sept. 18—Elder Lightfoot Solomon Michaux of the Negro Church of God today told President Eisenhower he is "giving the country a heaven born deal."

9-19

Michaux gave Mr. Eisenhower a record of one of the preacher's recent sermons, which the President had read. The gift of the recording led to the invitation to the Negro preacher to visit the White House.

The President and the preacher have been friends since World War II when Mr. Eisenhower was the supreme allied commander in the west. Michaux supplied Mrs. Eisenhower with servants from his congregation at that time.

Asked whether he discussed politics with the President, Michaux replied: "We were so busy talking about heaven, we didn't have time to talk politics."

Ike, Adlai not NAACP members

Tribune 10-27-56

WASHINGTON, Sept. 27—(AP)—President Eisenhower told his news conference today he is not a member of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Sun. Tele.

The question was raised following the disclosure by Vice President Nixon that he is an honorary member of the NAACP.

Eisenhower said he never was.

Eisenhower said that the late Walter White, then NAACP director, once visited him in Europe and had high praise for Eisenhower's efforts to end discrimination in the armed forces.

But, the president said, White never invited him to join.

Ike's Good Health

Post 10-29-56

Washington D.C.

President Eisenhower's doctors reported yesterday what millions of citizens who have seen him recently, in person or on television, had concluded for themselves—that his physical condition is now good. The President's own confidence that he is physically fit was indicated by the fact that he took his work along with him to Walter Reed Hospital. His optimism concerning his own condition had been further demonstrated by his vigorous campaigning of the last few weeks. The doctors' report thus comes only as confirmation of the self-evident.

Warm congratulations to the country as well as to the President are in order. Whether the President wins or loses his race for reelection next week, the country has a vital interest in his continued good health. Regardless of party, a vast majority of the American people will wish for him a keen sense of well-being during the remainder of his tenure in the White House, be it three months or four years, and during a pleasant retirement period.

Mon. 10-29-56

It would be a serious mistake, however, to read into the doctors' report more than it says. They have found the President to be in sound physical condition as of Sunday, October 28. They could not, of course, forecast how long his good fortune in this respect will continue. Physicians are not prognosticators, and it would be foolish for them to pretend that they can see all the contingencies that may arise in regard to the health of any person in the years ahead. The best they can do is to check present conditions for any possible evidence of trouble ahead. Cheering as are the doctors' findings, therefore, no one should suppose for a moment that they have given, or could give, any assurances that the President's present vigor will continue for four more years.

NEGROES RETURNING TO THE G. O. P.

Daily Tribune P. 16

One of the features of the recent election was the shift of many Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican party. The movement is worth examining, for it will be influential in many future elections.

Wed. 11-14-56

In Chicago's 2d, 3d, and 20th wards President Eisenhower got 35.4 per cent of the votes, a gain of 10.6 points over his percentage in 1952. Mr. Eisenhower's gains were greater in areas where the Negro population is more stable and where the level of income and education is higher. In the 20th ward his percentage rose from 25.5 to 39. Six Evanston Negro precincts, which went Democratic by 2 to 1 margins in 1952, were carried this year by the Republican party.

Chicago

The Harlem district of New York City stayed Democratic, but by a reduced majority. In Cleveland, Baltimore, and Bridgeport, Conn., Mr. Eisenhower won districts which he lost in 1952.

The sharpest reversals took place in the southern states. Mr. Eisenhower's vote rose from 31 to 85 per cent in Atlanta. In Louisiana a 15 to 1 Negro Democratic vote in 1952 was changed to a 5 to 1 Republican vote. Negro votes took a major part in the President's victories in Virginia, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and Florida. Thruout the south the Republican party made gains in the cities, where there is less intimidation of Negro voters than in the rural districts.

In future elections more and more Negro voters are likely to see the importance of electing a Republican Congress and thus depriving the southern Democrats of their chairmanships. The 15th amendment prohibits any state from depriving a citizen of suffrage because of his race. The 14th amendment provides a method of cutting down the representation in Congress of any state that denies Negroes the ballot. The power to enforce this provision is given to Congress, but as long as southern Democrats hold a commanding position in that body, it presents no threat to established practices.

Both the 14th and 15th amendments have been virtually ignored for many years in parts of the south. In their efforts to gain full rights of citizenship Negroes might have been wiser if they had sought full voting rights before demanding integration of the public schools. Having won the school fight in the Supreme court, they may now be expected to use their power at the ballot box, wherever they have that power, to win full suffrage in the south.

Bloc voting by a minority group is not an admirable practice when its sole purpose is to advance the selfish interests of the group, but when Negroes are denied their constitutional rights they can hardly be blamed for turning to the party that is more likely to give them all the privileges and immunities of citizenship.

Pastor Denies He Got Money For Politics

HOT SPRINGS, Ark. — Rev. J. C. Austin, pastor of Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago, has released the following statement concerning his participation in the recent political campaign;

"The very ridiculous and untrue statement has reached me here in Hot Springs that I have received $30,000 for my services to the Republican Party."

"I worked out of the office of the Citizens For Eisenhower directed by Samuel Witwer. He can testify to the fact that I received at no time anything above my traveling expenses. No renumeration has come to me from any source."

"Such charges are unfounded and malicious. When it comes to the preacher in politics, the man who is trained and able to do it is the leader of his people along all lines, whether civic, social, religious, or political."

"When it comes to my people in particular, they must look to the pulpit and the press for guidance and I offer no apology for my stand as a leader among my people."

The Taking Of Statue Of "This New Republicansim"

The tumult and the shouting die, but never the dust raised in the recent national campaign, when this "New Republicanism" drew so many and varied comments. All the way from whooping up an alleged impulse on the part of the President's setting up his own party, from what liberalism remained in the regular ranks of the GOP, to an attempt to become a more serviceable and workable facility, the press of the nation expounded.

The President, however kept the "even tenor of his way." He had long made a choice of the GOP and fully realized that there was sufficient ingredients within the framework of the Grand Old Party for the working out of those principles so much in demand in a new era of changed conditions and stream-line precision. In that, he set about to bring the GOP up to date.

Highly noticeable among the epochal happenings during the campaign, were those former Franklin D. Roosevelt Democrats, among the new converts of that faith, on happy return to the party of their fathers. In that campaign the challenge was too strong on the fronts of Civil Rights, even for the most orthodox to remain within the ranks of that party to which they admitted they had been drawn for bread during the depression days.

"But man cannot live by bread alone" runs an old scriptorial writ, and this was seen during the recent years when segregation drew such bold attention and that scorching fire which began the melting of those "wings of wax" on which it had soared ever since the 1896 Plessy Vs. Ferguson decision which declared that there could be two, separate but equal facilities; two Republics in one; two faiths upon a single ideal and two Gods, going in different directions, but could be consistantly and comfortably served.

Now, that the election is history and those pronouncements made on the stumps occupied by the GOP adherents are proving more than empty campaign promises, but strokes of activation, there are those left on the decks where they heard the whisper, "man cannot live by bread alone," attempting to chide this "New Republicanism." They were first to charge that the thrust of Attorney General Herbert Brownell relative to the 14 states affected by the segregation decision, was nothing short of an attempt at further advancing the interest of the Republican Party. They attempt to cast spurious aspersions at what is simply the declaration of a sworn officer to carry his duties according to the Constitution of the United States.

It will be a sad day in America when it can be said that a sworn officer is playing cheap politics, when he is insisting upon the carrying out the provisions of his oath.

Nope, we do not believe that any sworn officer in the high personnel of the government will fear to carry out the mandates of his superior, the Constitution of the United States.

This "New Republicanism" is continuing to show the country and the world that it meant what it said on the campaign stump; that it meant what it said after the election, through the attorney general of the United States —— will mean just what it says —— when Herbert Brownell Jr., reaches his climax after his opinion on those documents he has ordered to Washington by Dec. 14th., for study and a proper directive.

Party Strong in State

Republican Vote Study Points Up Weaknesses

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 1.— Leonard W. Hall, Republican National Chairman, is studying a post-election survey that singles out results in New York State as highly favorable to future party prospects, but warns that Republicans face hazardous times in Pennsylvania and some other states.

Sen. Barry M. Goldwater, R. Ariz., prepared the paper and sent it to Mr. Hall for National Committee scrutiny. Sen. Goldwater was chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee until early this year.

His chairmanship was marked by a highly controversial prediction in February, 1955, that the Republican party could scarcely hope to capture control of the Senate in the 1956 election because of 1954 election reverses in state legislatures. The forecast was correct.

Precinct Work Urged

The central thesis of Sen. Goldwater's memo to Mr. Hall was this: the "modern Republicanism" that President Eisenhower has embraced won't mean a thing unless the party returns to what the Senator called "old-fashioned Republican precinct work." His survey found the party in good condition in New York.

Sen. Goldwater wrote:

". . . I think we can recognize that unless we have a rekindling of the intense precinct spirit that gave us strength throughout the states that have been historically Republican, we are going to continue to show declines in our vote-getting ability for Governors, Senators and Congressmen. . . . If what our leader terms 'modern Republicanism' is to be put across to the people of this country, then we must return to old-fashioned Republican precinct work."

Made Gains in State

The political situation in New York, Sen. Goldwater said, points up this basic contention that if the Republican party is to make gains at the Gubernatorial and Congressional levels, it must first improve its position in the lesser balloting for state legislatures.

In New York the Republicans picked up two State Senate and four Assembly seats between the off-year 1950 and 1954 elections. In the election just past, the party made further gains in the State Legislature and won the Senate seat held by retiring Democratic Sen. Herbert H. Lehman. That victory, Sen. Goldwater contended, supported his argument that, other things being equal, Republican gains in balloting for lesser offices will bear later election fruit in contests for the higher offices of Senator, Governor and Representative.

Distortions Noted

Sen. Goldwater conceded that his theory was not fool-proof. He noted distortions in several states, attributable to local factors, intra-party splits and other conditions. He wrote Mr. Hall it was too early to "establish any pattern from the elections of 1956."

Elsewhere in the country, his survey showed the following:

In Connecticut, the party "made gains in the total Congressional votes but lost in the State Legislature and re-elected a Senator"; in Pennsylvania, the party "showed losses" in the 1950-1954 period in State Legislature and total Congressional vote and lost a Senate seat; in Colorado, loss of a Senate seat followed losses in both lesser categories between the two off-year elections; in Oregon, the same was true; but in Washington, loss of a Senate seat followed Republican gains in votes for the State Legislature and in the total Congressional vote.

Other major exceptions to the Goldwater "precinct" thesis occurred in West Virginia and Kentucky, but in both states local personality factors played important roles.

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Dr. Fred D. Patterson Breaks With Democrats; To Support Eisenhower

NEW YORK, N Y. — Charging that the Democratic platform is a "hodgepodge of expediency" designed to attract votes of the "reactionary South," Dr Fred D. Patterson, former president of Tuskegee and now director of the Phelps Stokes Fund, announced

DR. FRED D. PATTERSON

week that he has broken with the Democratic party and will work for an Eisenhower-Nixon victory in November.

Declaring that he had voted Democratic under Presidents Truman and Roosevelt because the Democratic platform at that time had a "positive dedication to the welfare of all Americans," Dr. Patterson said the Democratic party, after 20 years in office, "gravitated into inevitable complacency" and has "lost its forward thrust in behalf of general welfare."

Attacking the Democrats civil rights plank, Dr. Patterson pointed to a television statement by former Governor Talmadge of Georgia in which Talmadge said he will support the Democratic ticket in November solely for the purpose of preserving the seniority of southern legislators whose committee chairmanships will enable them to kill civil rights measures.

"Under these circumstances" Dr. Patterson said, "I could not possibly vote Democratic."

Patterson lauded the Republicans endorsement of the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation and said President Eisenhower has "repeatedly spoken against second class citizenship."

Dr. Patterson said further:

"The Republican party traditionally stands for capitalism and free enterprise. The nation owes its growth and present eminence tot he values inherent in the free enterprise hTe working of the capitalistic system based on efficiency in support of the profit motive often creates ills and hardships which must from time to time be offset by measures which involve the total welfare and assure that the nation's phenomenal wealth is finally used to support a higher level of life for all citizens.

"The Democratic party has the role of primary concern in the area of human welfare. When that role is well played a happy result accrues to the nation.

"A strong two-party system requires that such a party have its proper program and that each party share the governing role long enough to make its program felt. A party too long in office becomes complacent and stagnates.

"The Republican party was out of office for 20 years, long enough to develop new strength and to redicate itself to the program of free enterprise conditioned by the needs of pressures of the 20th century. Another term is desirable for the full achievement of its program and as an appropriate reward for satisfactory accomplishment to date."

REPUBLICAN

FIRST SUCH CONFERENCE

Warner was one of eight newspaper editors and writers who "interviewed" the Vice President in what the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, sponsor of the half-hour program, described as the "first transcontinental news conference in television history." As the cameras switched to each city, the interviewer there was able to see and hear Nixon in Washington, and be seen and heard by him, through the use of twin TV cameras.

The other participating newsmen represented papers in Los Angeles, Indianapolis, Nashville, Kansas City, Houston, Minneapolis, and Portland, Ore.

VIEWED BY PRESIDENT

President Eisenhower watched the program at the White House after Nixon had given him a personal account of his strenuous 16-day political barnstorming trip through 32 States, which ended Wednesday in this city.

"In your speech here in Philadelphia," Warner reminded Nixon "you found fault with the Democrats' use of the phrase, 'the little man.' Democratic candidates here continue to charge that the Republicans have scant concern for the small businessman. What is your specific defense against this charge?"

The sound of that charge, Nixon replied, "is almost like a broken record. The Democrats keep saying the President is for the rich and against the poor, for the big businessman and against the small one. For the record, let me say that we believe no one is a little man. Every American has a God-given right to grow as big as he can and to prosper."

day, who have more jobs at higher pay than ever before in our history—and who have it with peace."

He accused the Democrats of talking for everyday people in 1952, and of saying they were for them. But, Nixon added, "they did something terrible to them. They let the value of the dollar go down so that no matter how hard they worked and saved, they couldn't get ahead."

DOLLAR SAFEGUARDED

He declared the present Administration believes it has an obligation to keep faith with the thrifty and has given them a dollar on which they can rely.

The Vice President also declared he and other GOP candidates do not intend to "kid the American people in an election year" by holding out false hopes that the draft can be ended soon. Adlai Stevenson has said the draft should be ended as soon as possible, consistent with national security. Nixon said he agreed it should be ended as soon as national safety makes this possible, but that there is no chance at present that it can be done, and that it is "completely irresponsible" to suggest that it can be.

67 Million Jobs Bolster GOP Claim. Nixon Savs:

WASHINGTON, Oct. 4.—Vice President Richard M. Nixon turned the Democrats' 1952 campaign slogan of "You never had it so good" against them tonight by appropriating it as a description of Republican prosperity in 1956.

67,000,000 wage earners have more jobs at higher pay than ever before in the Nation's history. His statement came in answer to a question put to him during a cross-country television interview by Paul McC. Warner, editorial director of The Philadelphia Inquirer.

CHARGES INCITEMENT

He cited the use of the term, "little man," as part of the Democrats' attempt to turn economic classes in this country against each other and declared:

"Anyone who tries to pit class against class is rendering a disservice to this country. Who are these 'little people' that the Democrats talk about. If they are the wage earners, we have 67,000,000 wage earners in this country to-

Eastland - Ike Deals Become Election Issue

By ETHEL PAYNE

The patronage link between Sen. James Eastland and the Eisenhower administration became a major campaign issue this week as the Democratic National committee refused to accept Republican denials.

The charge that the Republicans were "doing business" with Dixiecrat politicians, including Senator Eastland, was first laid bare by Drew Pearson in his syndicated column.

On April 8, 1956 Pearson wrote: "One of the queerest political alliances in the USA is now operating between Dixiecrat Senator James Eastland of Mississippi and the Eisenhower administration. It's an alliances by which Eastland ladles out most of the Eisenhower postmasterships and other jobs in Mississippi.

"The unique alliance has caused considerable resentment among Republican Negroes . . . because it by-passes GOP Negro politicians. In past Republican administrations, Mississippi patronage was always handled by Perry Howard, long time Republican National committeeman for Mississippi, and a Negro.

"Mr. Howard when questioned, confirmed the fact that Republican patronage was being handled by Senator Eastland with the assistance of E. O. Spencer of Jackson.

"Spencer, a lifelong Democrat, shifted over to the Republican party only this year. He is the owner of the Althall hotel in Jackson which is headquarters for the White Citizens council."

Behind this bizarre barter and trade arrangement is a web of political machinations which Democratic spokesmen say has been unmatched in any other administration. It is part of the artful witches brewing of the brain trust that calls the tune on strategy.

According to Perry Howard, Spencer has been entertained by Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr. in Washington and has also visited at the White House.

Vice President Nixon, when asked by a reporter from the Mississippi Spokesman why not a single Republican had voted against Eastland as chairman of the Senate Judiciary committee refused to answer the question.

Democrats say this lends substance to reports of a confirmation pact between Eastland and the Republicans on the Sobeloff judgeship, part of a package deal.

Simon E. Sobeloff, the Solicitor General of the United States was nominated early in 1955 to be a federal district judge for the Fourth Circuit of Maryland and Virginia. He was okayed by the Judiciary committee, despite the fact that Sen. Eastland had sworn he would block the appointments of any judicial nominees who had anything to do with the Supreme Court decision.

As solictior general, Sobeloff had appeared on behalf of the government as a "friend of the court" in the 1955 hearings before the high court on how to implement the 1954 ruling. Oddly enough, the day Sobeloff was confirmed by the Judiciary Committee, Sen. Eastland was conspicuously and conveniently absent from the hearings.

Republicans of Webster County Rally at Fort Dodge

Fort Dodge, Iowa—The Republicans of Webster County held a successful rally at the Fort Dodge High School, here Wednesday, Sept. 26, when a box lunch was served.

Among the distinguished guests at the rally were Iowa's Gov. and Mrs. Leo A. Hoegh. Governor Hoegh is being pinned with an "Ike and Dick" Button.

Among important speakers were: Atty. W. Lawrence O liver (left) of Des Moines, seated next to Whitney Gilliland who delivered the principal address at the rally.

Miss Beverlee Oliver, daughter of Attorney Oliver, sang "The Star Spangled Banner' 'at the opening of the G.O.P. Rally and another song during the meeting.

BIG SWITCH — President Eisenhower is shown at the White House greeting publisher, Mrs. Robert L. Vann, left, and Michigan's Democratic state senator, Mrs. Cora M. Brown, during a recent visit. State senator Brown took the opportunity to announce her support of Ike for reelection. She supported Adlai Stevenson in 1952. (NEWSPRESS PHOTO).

34d 1956

Eisenhower's Four Years

A Summary of the 'New Republicanism' That Has Emerged Under President

This is the last of a series of articles analyzing the record of the Eisenhower Administration at the start of the Presidential campaign.

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 2—The main theme of this series of reports to The New York Times is that the first Republican Administration in twenty years has adopted most of the foreign and domestic policies it opposed in the era between Presidents Hoover and Eisenhower.

The question now is whether this acceptance of leadership abroad and a modified welfare state policy at home is a durable or ephemeral change, a temporary personal triumph forced by President Eisenhower or a fundamental shift in Republican philosophy imposed by events.

This is the central question about the significance of the Eisenhower Administration at the start of another campaign, for a Presidential election is not only a judgment on the past but a bet on the future.

There is considerable evidence that a durable change in the Republican party is taking, but has not wholly taken place. All politicians are impressed by success, and General Eisenhower has demonstrated that the modified New Deal, which is now officially called the New Republicanism, is popular.

He has done what the British and Australian conservatives did long before: He has adopted the policies of the political opposition and adapted them to his own use, given them new slogans, administered them a little more tidily, and claimed they were something wholly new.

This new Republicanism has already produced its converts among the older leaders of the Republican party, and it is gradually producing a number of younger "I'm Like Ike" Republicans who think they see in the Eisenhower formula an instrument of continuing personal and party power.

Men such as Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey and Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, who thought of themselves as economic traditionalists before they came here in 1952, are now administering policies they used to regard as radical or dangerous, and are beginning to see in them virtues they never thought existed.

These four years of responsibility have been an education for many Republican leaders. After twenty years in opposition, few of the men who came to Washington to take over the administration of the Executive Branch in 1953 had any experience of Government.

They found that it was not the same as business. They discovered that the world of the Nineteen Fifties was not at all like the world of the Twenties, and many of them shed their old illusions and assumptions as they went along.

Donald B. Lourie, who came to Washington as Under Secretary of State early in the Eisenhower Administration, put it this way:

"I had lived the life of a business man on the near North Side of Chicago most of the time since I got out of Princeton. I knew nothing about Government and very little about the world.

"I honestly thought there was a mess in Washington,' that the place was crawling with communism and corruption, but that there was nothing wrong with it that couldn't be fixed fairly fast once a group of hard-working, honest Republicans took over. I soon learned that government and the world were more complicated than I thought."

While this process of education was going on, the right wing of the party, which looked askance at the continuance of most of the Democratic foreign and domestic policies, lost its rallying point with the death of Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, and, coincidentally, a lot of younger Eisenhower types, all fascinated by television and conscious of "public relations," began replacing many of the Taft followers at the top of the G. O. P. state political organizations.

It is fairly obvious, too, that the political sophistication of this Administration has increased with experience. In the field of foreign affairs its public statements have often been appallingly clumsy, but its handling of domestic political problems has steadily improved.

Letter and a Shove

When he ran into any suggestion of wrongdoing among his own officials President Eisenhower, unlike his predecessor, got rid of them with a polite letter and a shove. When the Secretary of the Interior, Douglas McKay, alienated the public power supporters in the Northwest and got himself identified with the right wing on public resources policy Sherman Adams nudged him out of the Cabinet and into a race for the Senate against the incumbent, Wayne Morse of Oregon.

The White House staff stumbled badly on the Dixon-Yates power plant deal. However, its handling of the farm bill veto, the gas bill veto, the dangerous political situation created by the President's two serious illnesses, and the revolt of Harold E. Stassen against the renomination of Vice President Richard M. Nixon demontrated a degree of political skill that surprised even the Democratic opposition.

That is one side of the story. The Administration tried at the beginning to reconcile its political prejudices with its new responsibilities, but failed and gradually gave priority to its responsibilities.

It adapted itself to politics it could not change and learned to take credit for policies it was merely continuing. It learned by doing, and when it got in trouble it proved to be fairly skillful at minimizing the political damage.

The other side of the story has to do primarily with the President, his system of administration, his appointments, his promises, his attitudes of mind, and the basic changes that have taken place in the world since he entered the White House.

He has accepted, with some modifications, the domestic social changes of the Thirties and the revolutionary foreign policy changes of the Forties.

By his personal influence among the other leaders of his Administration—and influence that was without parallel, even in the days of the second Roosevelt—he won support for these policies from men of widely different backgrounds and beliefs: Secretary Humphrey, a self-made business man; from Secretary Wilson, an industrial manager; from Harold E. Stassen, a New Dealish politician; from Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, a department store labor expert, and many others.

Never the less, the President—normally a lucky man—had the misfortune to win consent for old policies that had been in conflict just at the time when convulsive new social, economic and population changes were taking place at home, and a revolution in America's relations with its allies and enemies was occurring overseas.

This point is not in dispute in Washington. There are sharp differences of opinion here about how to prepare for the 11,000,000 new Americans since 1953; how to deal with the revolt in the South against the Supreme Court's order to integrate the races in the public schools; what to do about the rising nationalism and neutralism of Asia and Africa; how to respond to the cunning political and economic offensive of post-Stalin U. S. S. R., and how to reconcile security and solvency in an atomic arms race with a nation that still maintains overwhelming conventional ground forces.

It is conceded by most observers, however, including the Administration leaders, that this is a time of unprecedented change demanding new ideas, great imagination and flexibility of thought and action, unusual gifts of expression and all the administrative and intellectual capacity the Government can command.

And this is precisely the area of the Administration's greatest weakness. Whatever else it is, this is not a reflective, imaginative, or articulate Administration. It can carry on or modify old policies once the President has set the course, but it is not an administration of originators or thinkers. And if he does not set the course, each administrator tends to follow his own bent.

Oddly enough, though the President accepted the Republican nomination in 1952 by calling for a crusade—a favorite word he had used in the title of his book "Crusade in Europe"—there is very little in the record of the last four years to indicate a crusading spirit.

It has spoken occasionally in evangelical tones, and it has moved far to the left since Senator Taft was the principal Republican spokesman, but it has been extremely loath to break new ground, or to change established policies, even when they were established by the Democrats.

Another paradox is that while this Administration came to power by appealing primarily to youth, to independent voters, and to disillusioned free-wheeling Democrats, it has given most of its key jobs to older men, who are not noted for independent thought.

The President himself will be 66 years old before the election of 1956. Secretary of State Dulles is 68. Secretaries Humphrey and Wilson are 66. Secretary of Commerce Weeks is 63. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Marion B. Folsom is 62.

And it so happens that the younger leaders in the G. O. P.—Vice President Nixon, 43; Senator William F. Knowland, 48; Harold E. Stassen, 49; and Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., 52—not only lack the President's gifts of mediation but are all among the most controversial figures in American political life.

In this situation, the problem of succession and the problem of young imaginative, energetic leadership to meet the new domestic and foreign problems both remain, as a wholly new set of problems emerge.

There have been three great cycles in American history. The first—from Washington to Lincoln—extended the new republic to the Pacific. The second—from Lincoln to McKinley—established the authority of the Federal Government during and after the war between the states.

The third—from McKinley to Eisenhower—developed the natural resources of the nation, exploited with great imagination the opportunities of the industrial revolution, and establish the United States as a world power.

This third cycle was marked by fierce foreign policy debate over America's imperialistic advance into the Pacific during the Spanish-American War; its role in the two German wars, and its leadership in the struggle against Soviet and Chinese Communist imperialism.

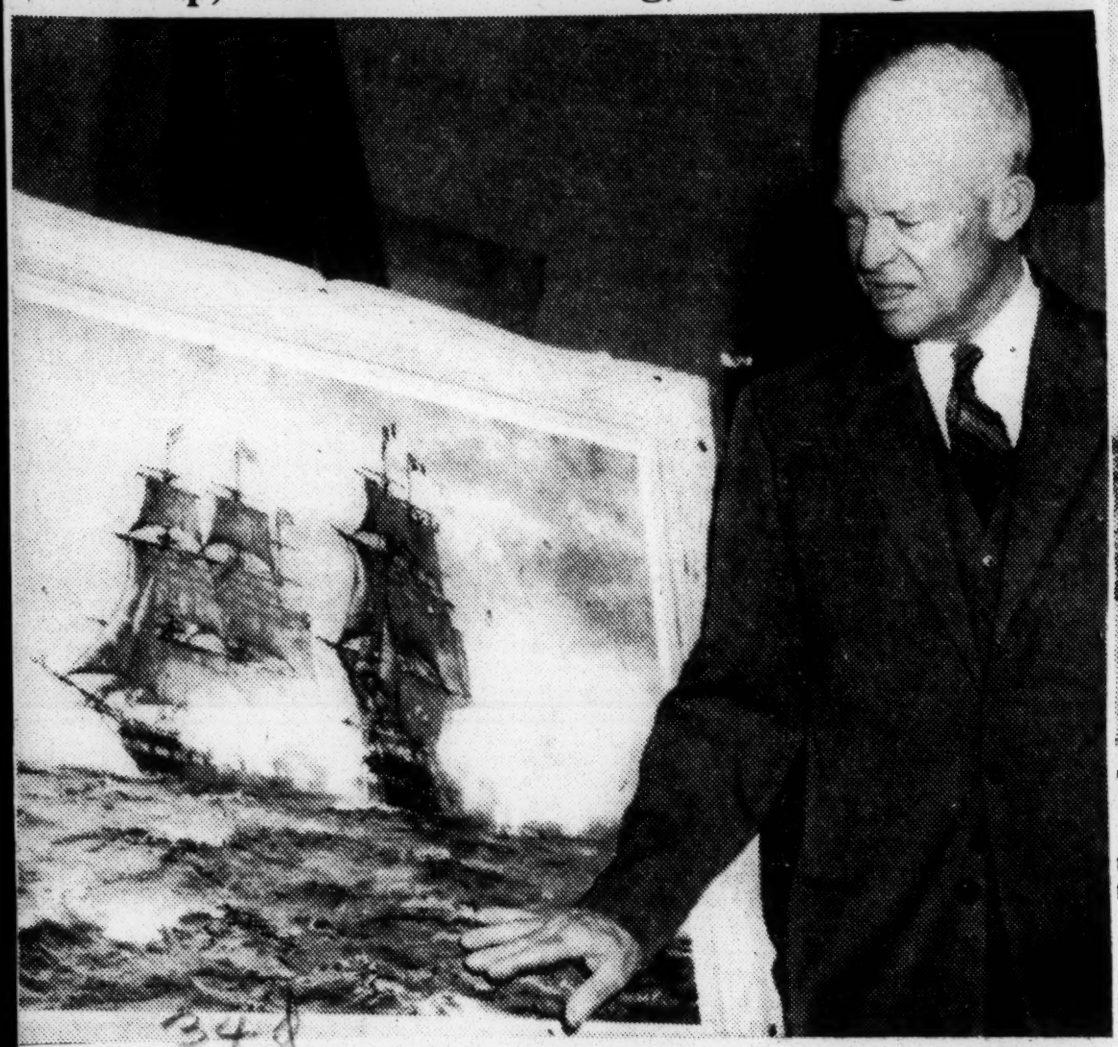
Similarly, on the home front, these fifty years provoked angry divisions over Theodore Roosevelt's trust-busting; Woodrow Wilson's new freedom, and Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, and the question now is whether this third cycle is drawing to a close.

General Eisenhower has done a great deal to this end. He has appealed to the best in the American character. He has encouraged and symbolized their optimism and generosity. He has at least blurred the edges of old disputes and rancorous party divisions, and deepened his party's experience. But the third cycle is not yet over and a fourth is clearly on the way.

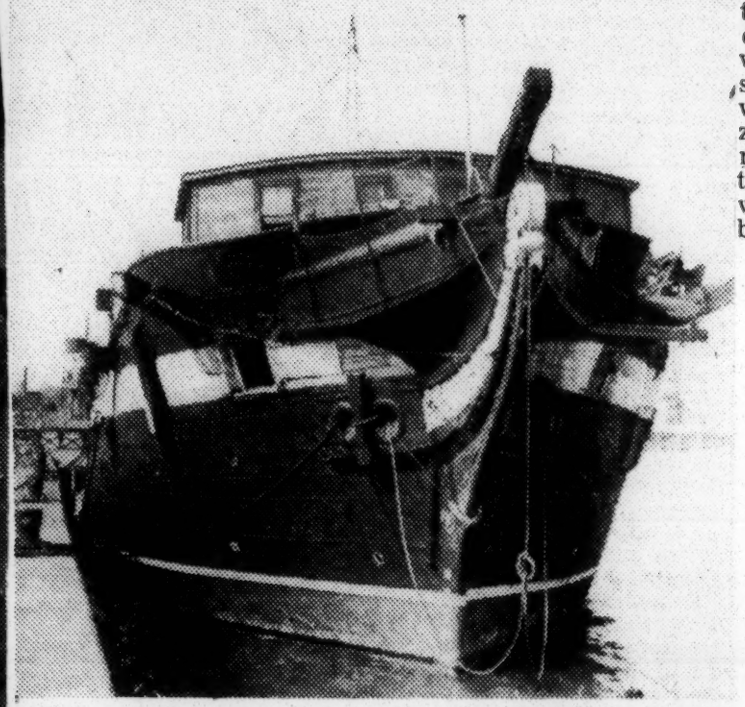
Even after this era of good feeling, it is primarily the remarkable personal gifts and popularity of this one appealing but wounded soldier that are giving direction to the Republican party.

There is no natural and obvious successor among his associates who can command equal unity in the Congress and the nation, which is why he is trying to carry on. History, that slow poke, will finally get around to making its real analysis of these years, and will see it all in better perspective, but, meanwhile, the people have to vote as best they can.

Warship, Honored in Painting, Is Waiting at Pier



President Eisenhower views painting presented to him by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin in behalf of Constellation Commission of Maryland. Work of Montague Dawson, the picture shows an engagement between the U. S. S. Constellation, left, and the French Insurgente.



Associated Press Wirephotos

Tied up in Baltimore harbor, the Constellation herself is exposed to wind and wave. Sister ship of the Constitution ("Old Ironsides"), she saw service against French privateers in Seventeen Nineties. Permanent berth is to be built for her at Fort McHenry, but delays have occurred.

Text of GOPers' civil rights plank

News - Birm., Ala.
Exc. 8-21-56

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 21—(AP)—Following is the text of the tentative proposed draft of the Republican National Convention's platform plank on civil rights:

The Republican Party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

In the area of exclusive federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this administration.

Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia government and in the district public facilities including public schools, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds. The Eisenhower administration has eliminated discrimination in all federal employment.

GREAT PROGRESS has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the federal government and secure federal contracts. This administration has impartially enforced federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the president to the second session of the 84th Congress.

The regulatory agencies under this administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregation in the active armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans hospitals and among civilians on naval bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY has unequivocably recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees to all people the blessing of liberty, due process and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native-born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed or color.

The Republican Party accepts the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through federal district courts. The implementation order of the Supreme court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and longstanding decisions of the same tribunal.

We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved.

Dr. Edmonds seconds 'Ike'; two other women speakers

Afro-American P. 9
Sat. 9-1-56

San Francisco, Cal. — Among speakers at the GOP Convention, here, last week, were three nationally know women.

Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins, long identified with the political and civic life of Chicago, appeared on the symposium, "The Women Speak."

Mrs. Higgins discourse was on "Opportunity."

Dr. Marjorie Parker, of the Washington Department of Education, a speaker on the same program, talked on "Unity" in the party.

Miss Patricia Spaulding of Durham, a convention page, carried the letter banner for both speakers.

DR. HELEN G. EDMONDS, head of the history department at North Carolina College, Durham, was one of the eight persons to give seconding speeches for President Eisenhower.

Dr. Edmonds said:

"Many were bitterly disappointed by the national leadership of the Democratic Party in Chicago last week when it first hesitated, then equivocated, and finally refused to declare itself willing, under our Constitution, to assure each American citizen of his fundamental rights. It was a tragic spectacle. I am sure that those of our people who yearn to be first-class citizens will remember this sad moment in Chicago—and that thei rvotes on November sixth will showhow well they remember it."

Virginia GOP Rejects Interposition Endorsement

Journal + Guide Norfolk, Va.
Sat. 7-28-56

ROANOKE, Va. — The Republican State Convention's resolutions committee had before it Saturday a draft of a resolution which would have asked the convention to go on record as supporting the interposition resolution adopted by the last General Assembly. Also, in committee there was offered a resolution opposing Federal legislation on civil rights.

There was a proposal also which would have set forth a "Virginia Republican manifesto," declaring the party to be separate and apart from the national GOP, but instead "the Virginia Republican Party."

* * *

THE DRASTIC resolutions were defeated in the committee by vote of 7 to 3.

Chief backers of the manifesto idea and the interposition support came from Committeeman William Siple of the 4th district, who chiefly authored the resolutions that were turned down. The other two votes supporting Mr. Siple were by Southside Virginia committeemen.

The resolutions committee also had before it a proposal drafted by I. R. Dovell, of Luray ,that would (1) amend the constitution to require all nominees for the Supreme Court to be federal judges of lower courts with at least ten years experience on the bench, and (2) express belief of the Virginia Republican party in nominating candidates for President and Vice President by natronal primary rather than by party conventions.

That resolution was turned down.

THE CONVENTION approved resolutions endorsing the Eisenhower Administration and pledging the state party's support to the re-election of the ticket and also endorsing the record of Virginia's two Republican congressman — Representatives Joel T. Broyhill of the 10th district, and Representative Richard Poff of the 6th district.

Messrs. Broyhill and Poff signed the two southern manifestos presented to Congress and have voted generally with the Democrats. They joined the Democratic members of the House in voting against the enactment of civil rights legislation.

by Elizabeth Arlen for Republican bigwigs Wednesday night and for a Citizens for Eisenhower luncheon Tuesday.

Patricia E. Spaulding, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Asa T. Spaulding (Elna) of Durham, N. C., is one of the pages at the Republican national convention.

Miss Spaulding is 16. She will be a senior in Hillside high school in Durham this fall. She is the guest here of Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Nixon. This is her first experience at a political convention. She flew from Durham to Washington, D. 1955.

Highlights of GOP National Convention

Call Kansas City, Mo. P. 1
Sun. 8-24-36

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

SAN FRANCISCO. — (NNPA) — Among delegates, alternates and visitors here for the GOP convention are Mrs. Sarah Washington, wife of Val Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee; Mr. and Mrs. Harry Polk (Evelyn) and Mr. and Mrs. Barrington Parker (Majorie), all of Washington, D. C.

Mr. Polk is a delegate from the District of Columbia, and Mr. Parker, an alternate. Mrs. Polk is a teacher at Birney school in Washington. Mrs. Parker is president of the Baker's Dozen in Washington.

Dunjee To Switch

Roscoe Dunjee, editor of the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., flew here for the convention. As soon as the Republican platform is made public, he will announce a switch from the Democratic to the Republican party.

Gilbert H. Randall, superintendent of mails in Des Moines, and Calvin Pruitt, a mail clerk for the State of Iowa, also of Des Moines, are assistant sergeants-at-arms.

Phillipa Schuyler, pianist, was scheduled to play at the ball given C., and non-stop from Washington to San Francisco on United Airlines.

Flies With Stassen

She got a kick out of seeing on the same plane Harold Stassen, Administrator-on-leave of the International Cooperation Administration, who pushed a campaign to defeat Vice President Richard M. Nixon for renomination; Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey and Secretary of Commerce Sinclair Weeks.

Her father is vice president and actuary of the North Carolina Mutual Insurance Co. He is going to India in November as a member of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Elwood Graham, a member of the Illinois legislature, is an assistant doorkeeper at the convention. A Chicagoan, he is with the Illinois department of education and registration in Chicago.

Milton G. Williams, editor and publisher of the Twin City Observer, Minneapolis, and the St. Paul Observer, was here as an observer.

Raymond W. Cannon(a Minneapolis attorney, also was a convention visitor.

Sun 8-24-56

He said he has been interested in the Republican party since 1912 and "I want to see it succeed in this campaign."

He has attended the last four or five conventions and is quite active in Minnesota politics.

Senator Hubert Humphrey, unsuccessful candidate for the Democratic vice-presidential nomination in Chicago, when mayor of Minneapolis appointed Mr. Cannon to the then newly-created Minneapolis Fair Employment Practices Commission and he has been a member ever since. It is a non-salaried, part-time job.

Attended President's Conference

Mr. Cannon attended the conference of the heads of big plants and firms with President Eisenhower's Government Contracts Committee called by Vice-President Nixon in Washington in April, 1955.

Lamar Perkins, Assistant Attorney General of New York State, also was a convention visitor.

Mrs. Thomas J. Brown (Olivette), widow of Dr. Tom Brown, a Washington, D. C. physician, and her sister, Mrs. James M. Stockett, Jr. (Henrietta), of Providence, R. I., stopped over in San Francisco during the convention.

They are sisters of Mrs. Athalia Thomas, assistant to Val J. Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee. Mrs. Brown's late husband was the brother of Mrs. Nellie Dawson, wife of Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, of Illinois.

They are touring the West by train. They had been to Vancouver and were on their way to the Yosemite Valley and Los Angeles, then back to Washington.

Mrs. Brown is a member of the faculty of the District of Columbia.

Elks For Best Plank

Mrs. Jessie M. Vann, president and treasurer of the Pittsburgh Courier, will visit in Oakland after the convention, then go to Los Angeles with Mr. and Mrs. Hobson Reynolds of Philadelphia for the Elks convention.

Mr. Reynolds is director of the civil liberties department of the Elks. He urged at both the Democratic and Republican national conventions the civil rights plank proposed by the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.

"The Elks are pledging our support to the party that gives us the most favorable civil rights plank," said Mr. Reynolds, "and we are advocating men and measures rather than party."

The Maryland delegation included Charles Cornish, councilman of Cambridge; Harry Cole, State Senator, Baltimore; Donald Boyce, a liquor inspector and a member of the Republican State Central Committee and a delegate in 1944 and an alternate in 1952; Augustus D. Know and William Turks, also liquor inspectors in Baltimore, and John Woodland, also of Baltimore.

Women Are Heard

Speakers who participated in a symposium of women's opinions on public issues, "The Women Speak," were Mrs. Barrington Parker of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins of Chicago.

This program was a feature at the Tuesday session of the convention. Miss Bertha S. Adkins, of Salisbury, Md., assistant to the Republican national chairman, presided.

Among a group of women representatives of women's non-partisan organizations invited by Miss Adkins to be her guests at the convention were Mrs. Vivian G. Mason of Washington, D. C., the National Council of Negro Women, and Mrs. Irene B. Gaines of Chicago, the National Association of Colored Women.

Republicans Completing Draft

Herald Tribune P. 1
Sun. 8-19-56
New York

Platform Will Reflect 'Eisenhower Philosophy'

By Don Irwin

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 18.— Republican platform - drafters went into night session tonight hopeful of completing work by midnight on a program that will reflect an "Eisenhower Republican philosophy."

Sen. Prescott Bush, Conn., chairman of the Resolutions Committee that is preparaing the paper, told reporters he was confident it will implement President Eisenhower's programs, but he also reported that late insertions and additions may make the platform somewhat longer than the succint document the President had hoped for.

"I think we will come up with a platform that will fully reflect the philosophy of the new Republican party—an Eisenhower Republican philosophy," Sen. Bush said.

Sen. Bush refused to discuss specifics of any plank pending final action by his ninety-member committee, but there were strong indications that the platform's civil rights plank will be at least as vigorous as that adopted by the Democratic convention, and possibly more so.

Delegates from six Southern states were reported considering plans to file a minority report dissenting from the views taken in the still-secret plank. Indications were, however, that they would content themselves with the report, and not take the fight to the floor.

Sen. Bush predicted that the party's stand on civil rights would be "excellent," and that the plank would be "more succinct, shorter and more forthright and direct" than the compromise Democratic proposal, which has been termed "weasel-worded" by Republicans.

Such a plank, Sen. Bush said, "should be satisfactory to a large majority of voters." Asked how it would be received in the South, Sen. Bush said he didn't know, but thought it contains nothing 'that would fairly offend the citizens of the South."

Sen. Bush disclosed that a new approach will be used in presenting the platform to the delegates Tuesday in an effort to avoid the dry, ill-attended reading sessions honored by custom.

He said he himself would read to the convention only the platform preamble, which he termed a "declaration of faith." The committee plans to have printed copis of the document ready before the session starts, for distribution to all delegates, he said, so its full contends will be known before it is considered.

The platform said "ideas" considered for the party charter had been referred to President Eisenhower during deliberations that began here with hearings Wednesday. Thursday, Sen. Bush said, he had talked once with the President by telephone and had communicated with him through White House staff members now set up in an office here.

In reply to a question, Sen. Bush said the platform "may be more liberal in some respects" than those approved by Republican conventions of the recent past. He said in answer to another query that the long Democratic platform, loaded with attacks on the Administration, "has had no particular influence on our deliberations."

As for the President's goal of brevity, Sen. Bush said that as the committee considered ideas submitted at hearings before ten subcommittees, it encountered good proposals it had not anticipated and that the paper's scope expanded. But he said he hoped it would be sho rter than either the new Democratic platform or the 6,000-word platform adopted by the Republicans in 1952.

Like the last platform, the new document will devote nearly a third of its length to foreign policy, Sen. Bush said. But, unlike the 1952 product, the new paper is expected to be an affirmative statement of the Administration's approach to foreign affairs, rather than an attack on the policies of the Democrats who went out of power three and a half years ago.

The Resolutions Committee based its work on a draft completed last night by the ten subcommittee chairmen on the basis of the earlier hearings and background papers supplied by Administration agency chiefs.

LILY WHITES READY RECOGNITION CASE

Details Ironed Out For GOP Convention Presentation

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 2. (AP) — Mississippi's Lily White Republican Executive Committee Thursday ironed out details of its case for recognition by the Aug. 20 National Convention at San Francisco.

The Mississippi Republican Party, an all-white group recognized by the state, wants to unseat the predominately Negro group, which is not recognized by the state but has represented Mississippi in the National Convention for more than 30 years.

Both the Mississippi Republican Party and the Black and Tan Grand Old Party are in agreement about supporting President Eisenhower for re-election and in leaning heavily toward supporting Vice President Nixon for another term.

The Mississippi delegation will have 15 votes in the National Convention.

Republican National Committeeman E. O. Spencer, a Lily White whose title also has not been recognized by the National Convention, said his group has "good chances for being seated."

He said:

"We have had good support from National Convention officials whom we've contacted and from the White House. Besides, the state Supreme Court held the Mississippi Republican Party (the Lily Whites) is the legally constituted Republican Party in Mississippi."

Mr. Spencer is well known at the White House, having been state chairman of Citizens for Eisenhower since 1952.

Mr. Spencer said some "10 or 15" members of the Lily White group would go before the Republican Contest Committee in San Francisco Aug. 14 to "determine if there is a contest" between his group and the Black and Tan group.

The next day, the same "10 or 15" will face the National Committee and on Aug. 20 they go before the Credentials Committee for final action on the Lily Whites' claim.

Earlier, Wirt Yerger Jr., chairman of the Lily Whites' state Executive Committee, said the Black and Tans' long tenure with the Republican Party actually would weigh against it "because they haven't done anything to build up the party.

"Chances are definitely in our favor if the National Convention wants to do what is right. I believe this is the beginning of a two-party system in Mississippi."

LILY WHITES SET FOR CONVENTION

GOP Group Slates Fight for Recognition

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 11 (AP)—Mississippi's Lily White Republicans were to leave Sunday for San Francisco and their fight for recognition at the GOP national convention.

E. O. Spencer, Jackson hotel man who is national committeeman for the Lily Whites, and Wirt Yerger Jr., their young state chairman, will arrive in the coast city with N. W. Overstreet Jr., the Jackson lawyer who will help present their case.

Their contest with the Negro-dominated Black and Tan Grand Old Party, which for many years has been the officially recognized Republican organization in Mississippi, is to begin Tuesday.

The Black and Tans are led by Perry W. Howard, Negro attorney who spends most of his time in Washington. Howard, senior member of the Republican national committee and its only Negro member, will be on hand for his faction.

The Lily Whites, who have legal title to the name "Mississippi Republican Party," claim that Howard is not a bona fide resident of Mississippi. In briefs they will present at San Francisco, and which they made public this week, they also contend the Black and Tan faction did not hold legal precinct and county conventions in many Mississippi counties.

On the eve of his departure for the West coast, Spencer released this statement:

"We know that we have right and justice on our side and we feel that the honor and integrity of the national Republican party is at stake.

"Our contest is not based on race, creed or color—but on our state law which has been confirmed by our state supreme court and the United States supreme court.

"If Perry Howard were as white as snow, the record and facts would remain that he is not a bona fide citizen of Mississippi and is not qualified to represent our state in the Republican national convention."

Integration? Ike Giving It No Thought

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8 (AP)—President Eisenhower said today he has not given "any thought" to whether the Republican Party platform should contain specific endorsement of the Supreme Court's school integration ruling.

He told his news conference the issue "probably involves procedures rather than principles."

Asked if the administration plans to enforce the court's decision this fall, Eisenhower said the "first jurisdiction" lies with the federal district courts.

He said the country has to make "certain reforms by education"—that is, by "getting people to understand what are the issues" in the Supreme Court's order.

But he said that if no action is taken in local areas to comply with the school integration ruling, the district courts "will have to take some cognizance."

He said he thought the Supreme Court was reluctant to "issue an order for compliance" and instead urged that the decision be met with "deliberate speed" thereby placing jurisdiction before the local courts.

Howard Sr. is reelected by GOP

By LOUIS LAUTIER

SAN FRANCISCO (AP)—Perry Howard was re-elected GOP national committeeman from Mississippi. As senior member he called the committee to order on Thursday and presided until Leonard Hall was re-elected national chairman.

The convention seated eight members (six colored and two white) of Howard's faction, and seven members of the lily-white faction headed by M. Spencer of Jackson, Miss.

THE LILY-WHITES refused to sit with Howard's majority delegation and found seats on the other side of the auditorium.

Mr. Howard said he was happy about the convention and that his group would contend for control of the patronage.

Mr. Spencer is said to have returned to Mississippi when the convention decided against him.

The colored delegates were unhappy about the civil rights platform when it was first announced, but on the second day they were not.

Dr. Helen Edmonds, North Carolina College history professor, was among the persons seconding the nomination of President Eisenhower for a second term here Wednesday night.

Decrying action taken by the Democratic convention in Chicago last week, Dr. Edmonds said it "first hesitated, then equivocated and finally refused to declare itself willing under the Constitution to assure each American citizen of his fundamental rights."

"It was a tragic spectacle," she declared, and the voters among the colored people on Nov. 6 "will show how well they remember it."

J. ERNEST WILKINS, under secretary of labor, was one of the seconders of the nomination of Vice President Richard M. Nixon for vice president for a second term.

He cited his association with Mr. Nixon in meetings of the Cabinet, but mostly as a member of the President's Committee on Government Contracts, of which Mr. Nixon is chairman.

He said he knew of his own knowledge that Mr. Nixon believes that "this country can not afford the luxury of prejudice and realizes that there is no such thing as a second class citizen."

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER was nominated unanimously on the first ballot, Chairman Joseph W. Martin Jr. insisting on a roll call and tally of the votes of all the states.

Mr. Nixon also was nominated on the first ballot, with one lone dissenting vote, which later was changed to make the vote unanimous. Terry Carpenter of Nebraska, ex-Democrat, dissented to test the "open convention" claim of the GOP.

President Eisenhower was nominated by Rep. Charles Halleck of Indiana, while Gov. Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts nominated Mr. Nixon after Harold Stassen's attempt to "dump" him collapsed.

MR. STASSEN joined the parade of seconds for Mr. Nixon, promised his support to the Eisenhower team, but warned the GOP that he is determined to remain in the party but will press for the right to disagree.

Before the nominating session began there had been talk of the North Carolina delegation's walking out of the convention when Dr. Edmonds was recognized to second Mr. Eisenhower's nomination.

But the walkout did not take place.

There also was some muttering among colored delegates because a northerner was not chosen for the honor of seconding the nomination of the Chief Executive.

On the previous day two colored women took part in a dramatic presentation, "The Women Speak," at the Tuesday session of the convention.

They are Mrs. Mason Higgins of Chicago and Mrs. Barrington Parker of Washington. They were among 15 women who spelled out in about 20 minutes a capsule account of the record of the Eisenhower administration.

* * *

USING EACH LETTER in the words, "Republican Women," the women speakers pointed up specific accomplishments of the administration. As each woman spoke an usherette raised a placard indicating the phase of the administration record being discussed.

Two of the usherettes were Misses Patricia Spaulding of Durham, N.C., and Beverly Blagburn of San Francisco. Miss Bertha S. Adkins, assistant to Leonard W. Hall, Republican national chairman, and why even more of us will vote for Eisenhower in 1956," initiated the program.

"We are here to tell why we voted for Eisenhower in 1952 Miss Adkins said. The speech of Mrs. Parker follows:

By Emmett E. Dorsey

The Republican Party And the Negro Vote

Courier Pittsburgh Pa 11/3 Nov 3 1956

FROM the 1860's to the era of the New Deal Negroes gave almost total loyalty to the party of Lincoln. The elections of 1936 dramatically demonstrated that F. D. Roosevelt and his social welfare program had captured the Negro for the Democrats. This Negro vote, since 1936 some 70 to 80 per cent Democratic, has been decisive. It frequently has been the margin of victory for Democratic Senators and members of the House of Representatives.

The electoral vote of several Northern states has been decided by percentages of the popular vote less than the percentage of voting Negroes... When in 1952 some groups abandoned the Roosevelt coalition, Negroes in even larger numbers voted Democratic.

Republican leaders and party strategists are aware of this history. The GOP plans in this election as never before to court assiduously the Negro vote. Richard L. Tobin, public relations director for the National Citizens for Eisenhower, recently stated that the civil rights issue and the Negro vote are of major importance in the coming elections. He said that Negroes must be told "that a vote for any Democrat was a vote for Eastland." Further, "it was almost certain that a 5 to 10 per cent switch of Negro voters to the Republican column would give the Republicans control of Congress."

■

JAMES RESTON of The New York Times reports: "The GOP strategists regard this election as a period of maximum opportunity in their dream of shattering the Roosevelt coalition and regaining the allegiance of the Negroes." The Republicans plan to concentrate on the Negro voters in some 61 Congressional districts in the North that were won in 1954 by margins less than the percentages of the Negroes in the population. Of these 61 districts, 32 are now represented by Democrats and 29 by Republicans.

The 1954 majorities in 19 of the 31 Democratic districts were so large that an almost total defection of Negroes would be required for Republican victory. But 13 of these districts with large Negro populations were won in 1954 by votes that were less than 55 per cent Democratic. The GOP plans an all-out effort in these districts.

■

THE REPUBLICANS will exploit the disaffection of Negroes over the Democratic manifesto defying the Supreme Court and the role that Senator Eastland and other militant segregationists play in shaping Congressional Democratic party policy. The Republican plan goes even beyond 1956 when the GOP no longer will have the Eisenhower magic to keep it in power. Republican strategists expect to entice a large percentage of the Negro vote. Such a victory is basic aspect of the determined effort of the GOP to win the voters of the great cities outside of the South. Large pluralities in the big industrial centers are necessary for the Republican party again to become the majority party.

The Republican party has been in control of the national government during most of the time since the Civil War. Despite desperate need, the GOP during its long tenure of power made no serious effort after 1875 to afford Southern Negroes the protection of the national government. Republican moderation on the problem of race relations became, and remained, a policy of giving the South virtually a free hand to dispose of the Negro without interference by the national government.

AS THE CONSERVATIVE political party, Republicans decided in the 1870's that the country could not afford the constant agitation and the jeopardizing of business and economic development by a turbulent race problem. In Congress the Republican leadership collaborated with the Southern Democrats. In exchange for the opposition by Southerners to social welfare legislation the Republican leadership has either opposed or given only token support to civil rights legislation.

Rules of Congressional procedure were created by this coalition to assure its control of the legislative process. Except during periods of national crisis and basic party realignment, as during the 1930's, such a coalition of Southern Democrats and the Republican leadership controls the Congress. Thus, a cynical bargain between the Southern Democrats and the Republican leaders is the accepted basis upon which the Congress operates.

■

THE AMERICAN society during the last generation has undergone great and fundamental changes. Basic among these changes are: The social welfare governmental orientation brought into being by the New Deal and Fair Deal; almost unbelievable industrialization and and urbanization and the crowding of Negroes into the great cities of the East, Midwest and the West. These profound social changes have not been without effect upon the Republican party. No longer is the GOP the bitter opponent of all social welfare legislation. Nor is the Negro vote now taken for granted.

The Republican party now represents itself to the Negro as the forthright champion of civil rights legislation. As the 84th Congress was drawing to a close, the Eisenhower Administration presented to the Congress its long delayed civil rights proposals. The measures which Attorney General Brownell recently proposed were much the same as those submitted more than a year ago by Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr., Democrat of Missouri. At that time Senator Hennings requested aid and support from the Attorney General for these measures. The Attorney General's office either failed to respond to the Senator's several communications or stated that it had no opinion as to specific items of these measures.

■

INCIDENTALLY, Senator Hennings' bill was in the hands of the Senate Judiciary Committee long before the Attorney General's measures began to move in the House, only to be permanently pigeon-holed by Senator Eastland. The tragically farcical and cynical House treatment of the Administration's civil rights bill is now a matter of record. Joseph Martin and his Republican colleagues voted for this bill. Martin admitted on the House floor that the Republican support was designed to recapture the Negro vote. But the strategy was a transparent fraud. All informed people know that the measure would be killed in the Senate. The time element alone made Senate passage almost impossible.

Further, it was well known that Senator Eastland's Committee was organized to suppress the bill. Then, of course, even if by miracle the bill reached the floor of the Senate, the final assurance of defeat was the certainty of filibuster. The Republicans were not prepared nor disposed to overcome these formidable blocks. A carefully planned, forthnight, and adequate fight against the adamant and resourceful opposition of the Southerners to all civil rights legislation would endanger the traditional alliance—more valuable to the Republican Congressional leaders than civil rights legislation even in these crucial times.

■

FOR NEGROES to vote Republican this year solely as a protest against the power of the Southern segregationists within the Democratic party is not intelligent or effective political behavior. Negroes who vote Republican must insist: (1) That there be a strong desegregation and civil rights plank in the Republican party platform. (2) That the Congressional Republican leaders repudiate by word and deed the militant segregationists.

This means that the GOP must develop policy and strategy which are not tied to Southern reaction and racism. Further, Republicans in Congress, in alliance with Northern Democrats, must free Congress from those rules of procedure which assure dominance of Southern Democrats and reactionary Republicans. (3) That the Republican party must not be content with reluctant acceptance of the social welfare gains of the New and Fair Deals; it must have its own positive policy of enlarging such gains.

Editor's Note: Mr. Dorsey is a professor in the department at Howard University and has, for nearly 30 years, taught and written on politics and government at that institution.

District Suffrage Plank Given Initial Approval

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19 — A Republican platform plank urging voting rights for the District of Columbia has cleared subcommittee stage and is expected to be recommended to the convention by the full platform committee.

The plank proposed by District Republicans states:

"We favor self-government, national suffrange and representation in the Congress of the United States for residents of the District of Columbia."

This differs from the Democratic plank in details, home rule backers think important.

The Democratic plank adopted in Chicago last week urged "immediate" home rule and "ultimate" national representation.

Pro-home rule Democrats felt the emphasis should be put on home rule because it could be obtained quicker. Congress can pass legislation giving the District a measure of self-government. A vote for President and voting members in Congress would require a constitutional amendment.

Local Republicans always have been more enthusiastic about a vote for President than for home rule. The furtherest they have gone was to indorse President Eisenhower's statement that the home rule bill which died again in Congress this year would be acceptable with changes to let him appoint the mayor and exercise a limited veto over the elected city council.

The 1952 Republican platform urged both local and national voting rights for the District.

Chief effort of the District delegation right now is to get its number of convention votes raised from six to ten for 1960.

The Rules Committee established a special subcommittee to try work out a "formula" to give the District more delegates without having to do the same for the territories.

Learning the subcommittee would recommend against an increase, District delegates launched a lobbying drive today to buttonhole all members of the Rules Committee and explain why they should get more recognition. District Chairman George L. Hart, Jr. was encouraged" this afternoon about the results.

The District's main arguments are that in the last six years it has contributed more to the national party treasury than 36 states or territories and that it has fewer convention votes than 13 states with less population.

Size of state delegations are pegged to their congressional representation. But the number of convention delegates for the District and the territories and possessions is set arbitrarily, Hart said.

"We say this formula idea is ridiculous," said Hart. "It should be based on work done for the party. But we are now suggesting a formula based on extraordinary service."

If NIXON is chosen again, he will be the first Republican vice-president to be renamed when there was a good chance of success.

To Be Special Hostess For Republicans

DURHAM, N. C. — Sixteen-year-old Patricia Ann Spaulding, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A. T. Spaulding of Durham, North Carolina, has been chosen by the Republican National Committee to serve as a special page at the Republican Convention in San Francisco, the week of August 20, 1956.

Miss Spaulding is a senior at Hillside High School of Durham, and a member of the Hillside High School Chapter of the National Honor Society, also the Quill and Scroll International Honor Society for High School Journalists. She is one of the sixteen chosen for this special assignment.

While in San Francisco, Miss Spaulding will be the house guest of Dr. and Mrs. W. C. Nixon.

Second Term Shift

HAROLD E. STASSEN's attempt to stop the renomination of VICE-PRESIDENT NIXON would not have been necessary years ago. Then the general rule was that a vice-president's usefulness ceased after one campaign and one term of office. The head man on the ticket was pretty sure to be renominated, but his running mate almost never.

From 1840, when MARTIN VAN BUREN and RICHARD M. JOHNSON were a renominated and beaten ticket, to 1912, no vice-president was named for a second term. JAMES S. SHERMAN of New York broke that rule in 1912 when PRESIDENT TAFT, the Republican candidate, was doomed to defeat, and no one else wanted the second place.

The situation was repeated in 1932 when the Republicans, with little hope of success, renominated HERBERT HOOVER and CHARLES CURTIS. The Democrats ran THOMAS R. MARSHALL in 1912 and 1916, and JOHN GARNER in 1932 and 1936. Otherwise their tendency was to try and change their luck.

MISS PATRICIA A. SPAULDING

Howard Wins In Delegation Fight

By ETHEL PAYNE

SAN FRANCISCO — Perry Howard, veteran Negro committeeman from Mississippi, won a clear cut victory over the "lily white" Spencer faction when the Republican committee on credentials approved Howard's group as the official delegation from Mississippi.

In a compromise gesture, Howard accepted seven of Spencer's group on his own delegation, while retaining eight of his members.

Howard Spencer, leader of the opposition delegation, had appeared at the convention armed with a court order declaring them the legal delegation. The Republican credentials committee overruled the claim.

Immediately following the ruling, Howard held a meeting of his group, which named him as national committeeman and Mrs. Edna Redmond as national committee woman.

Howard has held his post for more than 30 years and has been challenged at almost every convention by the rival group.

One of the principal charges against him is that he is not a legal resident of Mississippi. This charge is based on the fact that he maintains law offices in Washington, D. C.

San Francisco — Nat King Cole, world famous singer not only entertained the National Republican Convention but he spoke, saying. "I came to pay my respects to President Eisenhower." Nat appeared at the final session—Thursday night.

Following Cole, President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon delivered acceptance addresses.

During the four-day convention, prominent Negroes had parts on all programs.

KING COLE ENTERTAINS GOP DELEGATES AT CONVENTN

Went To Pay Respects To Ike

Negroes Appear On All Programs

Tentative Planks Drawn for GOP On Civil Rights, Labor and HEW

Post Tribune Herald Tues. 8-21-56
Washington D.C.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20 (AP) *Following is the text of the first tentative proposed draft of the Republican National Convention's platform planks on Labor and on Health-Education-Welfare.*

EQUALITY AND JUSTICE—CIVIL RIGHTS

The Republican Party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

In the area of exclusive Federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican Administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this administration.

Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia Government and in the District public facilities including public schools, restaurants, theatres and playgrounds. The Eisenhower Administration has eliminated discrimination in all Federal employment.

Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the Federal Government and secure Federal contracts. This Administration has impartially enforced Federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the second session of the 84th Congress.

The regulatory agencies under this Administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregation in the active armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospitals and among civilians on naval bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

The Republican Party has unequivocally recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees all people the blessing of liberty, due process and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native-born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed or color.

The Republican Party accepts the decision of the United States Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through Federal District Courts. The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and longstanding decisions of the same tribunal.

We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved.

LABOR

Under the Republican Administration, as our country has prospered, so have its people. This is at it should be, for as President Eisenhower said: "Labor is the United States. The men and women, who with their minds, their hearts and hands, create the wealth that is shared in this country—they are America."

The Eisenhower Administration has brought to our people the highest employment, the highest wages and the highest standard of living ever enjoyed by any nation. Today there are nearly 67 million men and women at work in the United States, 4 million more than in 1952. Wages have increased substantially over the past three and a half years; but, more important, the American wage earner today can buy more than ever before for himself and his family because his pay check has not been eaten away by rising taxes and soaring prices.

The record of performance of the Republican Administration on behalf of our working men and women goes still further. The Federal minimum wage has been raised for more than 2 million workers. Social Security has been extended to an additional 10 million workers and the benefits raised for 6½ millions. The protection of unemployment insurance has been brought to 4 million additional workers. There have been increased workmen's compensation benefits for longshoremen and harbor workers; increased retirement benefits. In addition, the Eisenhower Administration has endorsed more vigorously and effectively than ever before the laws which protect the working standards of our people.

Workers have benefited by the progress which has been made in carrying out the programs and principles set forth in the 1952 Republican platform. All workers have gained and unions have grown in strength and responsibility, and have increased their membership by two millions.

Furthermore, the process of free collective bargaining has been strengthened by the insistence of this Administration that labor and management settle their differences at the bargaining table without the intervention of the Government. This policy has brought to our country an unprecedented period of labor-management peace and understanding.

We applaud the effective, unhindered, collective bargaining which brought an early end to the 1956 steel strike, in contrast to the six months' upheaval, presidential seizure of the steel industry and ultimate Supreme Court intervention under the last Democrat Administration.

The Eisenhower Administration will continue to fight for dynamic and progressive programs which, among other things, will:

Stimulate improved job safety of our workers, through assistance to the states, employes and employers;

Continue and further perfect its programs of assistance to the millions of workers with special employment problems, such as older workers, handicapped workers, members of minority groups, and migratory workers;

Strengthen and improve the Federal-state employment service and improve the effectiveness of the unemployment insurance system:

Protect by law the assets of employe welfare and benefit plans so that workers who are the beneficiaries can be assured of their rightful benefits;

Assure equal pay for equal work regardless of sex;

Clarify and strengthen the eight-hour laws for the benefit of workers who are subject to Federal wage standards on Federal and Federally assisted construction, and maintain and continue the vigorous administration of the Federal prevailing minimum wage law for public supply contracts;

Extend the protection of the Federal minimum wage laws to as many more workers as is possible and practicable;

Continue to fight for the elimination of discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, ancestry or sex;

Provide assistance to improve the economic conditions of areas faced with persistent and substantial unemployment;

Revise and improve the Taft-Hartley act so as to protect more effectively the rights of labor unions, management, the individual worker, and the public. The protection of the right of workers to organize into unions and to bargain collectively is the firm and permanent policy of the Eisenhower Administration. In 1954, 1955 and again in 1956, President Eisenhower recommended constructive amendments to this act. A Democrat-controlled Congress has blocked these needed changes by parliamentary maneuvers. The Republican Party pledges itself to overhaul and improve the Taft-Hartley act along the lines of these recommendations.

HEALTH—EDUCATION—WELFARE

The Republican Party believes that the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the people is as important as their economic health. It will continue to support this conviction with vigorous action.

Republican action created the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as the first new Federal department in 40 years, to raise the continuing consideration of these problems for the first time to the highest council of Government, the President's Cabinet.

Through the White House Conference on Education, our Republican Administration initiated the most comprehensive community state Federal attempt ever made to solve the pressing problems of primary and secondary education.

Four thousand representatives of communities, studying their school populations and their physical and financial resources, encouraged our Republican Administration to urge a five-year program of Federal assistance in building schools to relieve a critical classroom shortage.

The Republican Party will renew its efforts to enact a program based on sound principles of need and designed to encourage increased state and local efforts to build more classrooms.

Our Administration also proposed for the first time in history, a thorough nation-wide analysis of rapidly growing problems in education beyond the high schools.

The Republican Party is determined to press all such actions that will help insure that every child has the educational opportunity to advance to his own greatest capacity.

We have fully resolved to continue our steady gains in man's unending struggle against disease and disability.

We have supported the distribution of free vaccine to protect millions of children against dreaded polio.

Republican leadership has enlarged Federal assistance for construction of hospitals, emphasizing low-cost care of chronic diseases and the special problems of older persons, and increased Federal aid for medical care of the needy.

We have asked the largest increase in research funds ever sought in one year to intensify attacks on cancer, mental illness, heart disease and other dread diseases.

We demand once again, despite the reluctance of the Democrat 84th Congress, Federal assistance to help build facilities to train more physicians and scientists.

We have encouraged a notable expansion and improvement of voluntary health insurance, and urge that reinsurance and pooling arrangements be authorized to speed this progress.

We have strengthened the Food and Drug Administration, and we have increased the vocational rehabilitation program to enable a larger number of the disabled to return to satisfying activity.

We have supported measures that have made more housing available than ever before in history, reduced urban slums in local-Federal partnership, stimulated record home ownership, and authorized additional low-rent public housing.

We initiated the first flood insurance program in history under Government sponsorship in cooperation with private enterprise.

We shall continue to seek extension and perfection of a sound social security system.

We pledge close cooperation with state, local and private agencies to reduce the ghastly toll of fatalities on the Nation's highways.

G.O.P. Southerners Map Rights Protes

New York Times

BY ALLEN DRURY

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19

—The Republican Resolutions Committee pushed steadily ahead today toward completion of the 1956 platform, although Southern delegates prepared a formal protest against civil-rights language they considered too strong.

The Southern protest—an objection rather than a "revolt"—was expected to be placed before the full convention if it should be turned down by the platform committee. But Southern delegates agreed they would undoubtedly go home and campaign loyally for President Eisenhower regardless of the final form of the civil rights plank.

Because of the disagreement, the platform committee was reported to be putting civil rights at the end of its closed-session study of the platform draft.

This would give the Southerners an opportunity to make their argument before the committe puts its final approval on the draft.

The Southerners' minority report is expected to embody a substitute plank. This would replace one favored by Senator Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of the civil rights and immigration subcommittee.

Backed by Administration

The Dirksen plank is backed by the Administration. It would call for full implementation of the Supreme Court decision ordering an end to racial segregation in public schools. It also would call for Congressional action on the Eisenhower civil-rights proposals embodied in a bill that was killed in the last session of Congress.

The bill would have created a special civil rights division in the Attorney General's office and would have provided for court action against anyone depriving individuals or groups of their civil rights.

Instead, the Southerners rallied behind tentative language proposed by Ted Dalton of Norfolk, Va., unsuccessful candidate for Governor in 1954. It read:

"We recognize the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, as in all other decisions, as the law of the land.

"However, we also recognize that the decision overturns the customs and traditions established for generations throughout the South, and that the adjustment to this decision can be produced only by time, consideration and understanding. We propose to follow the course of moderation pointed by our great President Eisenhower."

Wouud Avoid Mention

Some Southerners reportedly were inclined to question the wisdom of giving specific mention to the South as a region with regional problems. They wer esaid to feel that this might cause some criticism from other sections.

All were agreed, however, that they might lag several possible Congressional seats in the South if the platform contained the stronger language asked by Senator Dirksen.

By emphasizing "moderation" they hope dto align themselves with the general theme of the Eisenhower Administration and gone up with a statement politically popular back home.

Northern delegates, however, seemed equally determined to write in the more specific plank. They hoped by this to offer the voters a contrast to the civil rights compromise adopted by the Democratic convention.

Meanwhile discussion also developed in the committee over the exact language to be used in calling for a tax reduction.

Some delegates favored a simple promise in the preamble of the platform, without further definition. A second group reportedly thought there should be a plank promising the cut as soon as justified by the Government's financial condition. A third group wanted a detailed statement on which segments of the economy should be given cuts.

sing the court edict.

Virginia Offers Substitute

Republicans saw a golden opportunity to try to outbid Democrats for the potent Negro vote in the big cities.

But the Southern GOP contingent counselled a "moderate" course in the party civil rights plank.

State Sen. Ted Dalton of Virginia pressed for a substitute plank recognizing the court decision as binding but asserting that segregation is so deeply rooted in Dixie that any change should come about gradually.

Leaders of the Platform Committee met in closed session today to put finishing touches on the 5,000-word campaign policy declaration. It was drafted so as to express the policy of President Eisenhower's administration.

Some of those taking part in the conference said a revised version of the civil rights plank was passed around, but that Sen. Prescott S. Bush of Connecticut, platform chairman, pledged the participants to se-

The revision apparently did not satisfy the Southerners. They kept talking of carrying the issue to the convention floor.

That happened at the Democratic convention in Chicago last week, but then at the insistence of a group of Northerners who regarded their party's civil

The convention, however, is expected to approve the majority version to give the GOP ammunition to shoot at the Democrats in the big Northern population centers.

Sen. Bush and Sen. Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of a Civil Rights subcommittee, described a tentative draft of a party statement on this issue as "forthright."

They hoped to argue the Southerners into accepting the plank in the interest of a harmonious convention.

GOP Facing Floor Fight Over School Integration

Dixie Group Battling for 'Moderation' Plank

(Other proposed planks of Republican platform are outlined on Page 5.)

By OVID A. MARTIN

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19 (AP)—Dixie Republicans threatened today to carry to the GOP National Convention floor a fight to have the party platform keyed to "moderation" on school desegregation.

An endorsement of the Supreme Court decision outlawing separate public schools for white and Negro pupils, plus a pledge to implement the court order was expected to be combined in the main report of the 105-member convention Platform Committee.

GOP leaders said they wanted a "strong, forthright" civil rights stand, particularly because the Democrats adopted a platform last week that steered clear of endorsement of the court decision.

Republicans also were reported ready to fight for a plank in the platform opposing the use of force to implement the court decision.

Dalton interpreted Eisenhower's racial policy as one of moderation. This is the substitute he wanted included in the party civil rights plank:

"We recognize the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, as in all its other decisions, as the law of the land.

"However, we also recognize the decision overturns the customs and traditions established for generations throughout the South, and that adjustment to this decision can be produced only by time, consideration and understanding.

"We propose to follow the course of moderation pointed out by our great President Eisenhower."

Okay of Majority View Expected

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Perry Howard Answers Critics In Letter To Jackson Daily News

JACKSON, Miss., May 21.—(DSN)—Perry W. Howard, long-time National Republican Committeeman for the state of Mississippi, and the only Negro member of that body, who heads the so-called Black and Tan Republican organization of Mississippi, answered his critics in a letter to the Jackson Daily News published last week.

Mr. Howard's letter to the paper was as follows:

Editor, Daily News: I most respectfully ask leave to correct the most erroneous article in your paper of May 12, 1956, by Mr. Howard Suttle, from the Daily News Washington Bureau. I must confess that I am astounded at the seeming effort to be partial in a controversy that has yet to be settled.

It is true that the contest for seats at the National Republican Convention in the Mississippi case will be an outstanding fight as it has been every quadrennial for the past 30 years.

I will not attempt to touch the merits of that controversy, as that matter is, so to speak, in Court, and no attempt should be made to try it in the press or with the public.

I merely want to correct the several erroneous statements:

Up here, the Honorable Walter Sillers, Speaker of the House of Representatives, is credited with throwing the vote that Mr. Eisenhower got. In fact, the vote was not for Mr. Eisenhower, but against Mr. Truman.

He says that there were convictions for job selling of certain members of our organization. As a matter of fact, when the other group of Lily Whites in the 1920s made charges against Dr. S. D. Redmond, Dr. A. M. Redmond, Messrs. McClelland, Buchanan, Patton and myself, we were all exonerated within 15 minutes by a jury and when they took us to Meridian, we had the same results. The article does us a grave injustice.

As for the matter of the recent trouble with a man named Johnson, we know as much about that as we do about what is going on in the Turkish Duma. Further, in San Francisco a red-blooded retired Army Colonel will be there with an affidavit showing that a certain man boasted that he framed Johnson by arranging to have him come to that post office.

Since we have had the system of State Finance Chairmen, Mr. S. W. Miller has been the State Finance Chairman for Mississippi and no one collects a dime except through the Finance Chairman and so far as I know, Mr. Miller has not authorized anyone to act for him.

In the matter of patronage, that is the President's prerogative. We have been without it before and we survived.

Patronage is still in a state of flux.

Mississippians well know that I have for the past one-half century dealt with Senators, Congressmen, Governors, Judges, Newspapermen and others, and I think that possibly some of those might be as high as some who boast of their importance.

Now, as for the statement by Mr. Bookhart. This is the same old rot that has been warmed over and rehashed at every National Convention for the last 24 years. Here is the fact about it. This Senator was having a tough time in Iowa and wanted me to speak in five different cities. I was in the Attorney General's office and was told that the Administration was not interested in that Senatorial fight and that I should go ahead with the case at the Justice Department. Consequently, this hostile Senatorial report that, like dirt daubers, they have slung before the National Convention every four years, so much so that the National Committee knows the story better than those who are telling it.

I was the most investigated man in the United States in 1928, and the most exonerated. There is not one black mark against my record and my political robe is immaculately clean. The F. B. I. agents called in every one of the thousands of postmasters whom I had appointed and queried them as to whether they had given me any money for recommending them and every one of thm said absolutely no. God Bless Them.

It certainly will not cast me down because some fellow says that he wants nothing to do with me because I am not of his race. I never spent much time on this race business. I am not a radical on any subject. I spent my best years at home and abroad in the pursuit of peaceful and kindly relationships between and among the races and have tried to be an intermediary in that regard with considerable success. The people in my home state well know me. They have seen to it that I had a square deal in the courts and I can never forget the demands made by the Jackson Daily News that I should have a square deal and the editorials written by the ablest editor I know in the nation in the person of the fearless Major Fred Sullens.

All of the records in these cases are there in the Courts at Jackson and Meridian for anyone to inspect who wants the facts and does not want to distort them.

I have no vanities. I seek no honors, and my highest desire is to see peace and good will in the State.

After the battle is over, I will give Mississippians the true story of what happened in matters of patronage, etc., behind the scenes and what is going on now behind the scenes.

All of the malicious attacks by the adversaries are just to stop the onward flow to justice.

Politics means nothing to me except as a diversion, but as a good Mississippian, I don't run away from a fight, especially when I feel "my cause is just."

Politics has further been a means of giving me the opportunity to help my friends, which I have done for 50 years without regard to race, creed or color and I think the able and scholarly Governor, who presides over the destiny of the state, has not helped more people than I. I am proud of this record. For I have done this without a penny of reward or expectation of reward. I have not grown weary in my efforts to help any Mississippian anywhere at anytime in my life. That is my greatest joy.

Perry W. Howard.

Rights Plank Pleasing To Georgia GOP Chiefs

By RALPH McGILL

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20—William Shartzer and Robert Snodgras, who head the Georgia delegation here, see in the civil rights plank of the GOP platform, as made public here today, one which should please most Southerners and appeal even to the extremists as the most reasonable and workable plank possible.

Their joint statement said:

"It seems to us the party's plank on civil rights should meet with the approval of every thoughtful Southerner and that even those who hold the more extreme views will recognize its awareness of the Southern problem.

'DISAVOWING OF FORCE'

"The plank includes what every Southerner has been asking, namely a disavowal of any kind of force and for dealing with the issues at the local level of the district judges.

"The plank also takes notice of, and accepts the fact, that patience, tolerance and understanding is needed and that in some states the problem is more severe than others. It asks for deliberate speed, as did the court, and it does not suggest coercive legislation.

"It states the inescapable fact that the decision is the law of the land, but it nowhere proposes use of force or any process not attended with patience and an understanding of local conditions. It seems to us it is a plank we can all live with and work from."

SEE NO FLOOR FIGHT

Negro delegates on the delegation accepted the plank as being in the spirit of the Supreme Court. Four or five other members were disappointed but are expected to go along without any floor fight.

Meanwhile, with no internal struggle worth the name, the Republicans settled down today to give the nation a Hoolywood-style extravaganza, and to give the Democrats unshirted Hades.

For all this the Georgia delegation has a good seat. It is on the right of the huge arena, as it looks toward the podium. The health of the delegates, with one exception, is good. Roy Foster of Wadley, veteran GOP from Georgia, came down with a touch of influenza virus.

WONDERING

As the Georgia delegation got out of its chartered bus and started walking to the Cow Palace one of them said:

"I wonder if we will get in this year."

"What do you mean?" asked several.

"Well, we didn't in 1952," he said.

There was a laugh, but it was not a laughing matter four years ago. The Georgia delegation supporting Dwight D. Eisenhower was not allowed to be seated. The credentials committee certified one favoring the late Sen. Robert Taft.

'52 TURNING POINT

It was the floor fight over this which led to the ousting of the Taft delegates and the seating of Eisenhower's. The convention turned on that point.

Today the Georgia delegates marched right in.

Miss Margaret Twiggs is the only member to obtain a national press. She was outspoken in public and about her part, and the South's part, in the civil rights plank.

As the first convention session got under way today the Georgia delegation received a telegram from James W. Andrews, chairman of the Muscogee County Republican Executive Committee, urging the delegation to present to the platform committee the views of the textile industry of Georgia and of Muscogee County in particular.

The telegram contained a resolution asking for a protective tariff or an import quota in order to correct what the resolution declared to be extremely unfair competitive conditions.

MOVED ALREADY

The Georgians already had made their views known along this line. A committee composed of Shartzer, Snodgrass and Randolph Thrower, all of Atlanta, went immediately to members of the platform committee urging that such a plank be included or that amendments be made to any tentative plank if it did not include such provisions.

"I know how important this issue is to Georgia and the entire textile industry," said Thrower, "and we have been working at it and will continue. We will appreciate any help from our people in the form of telegrams to the platform committee. But we want our people to know we are doing everything within our power to get it done."

Early Monday night the plank on trade was released. The Georgia committee, headed by Thrower, which had been working for the delegation in an effort to assist the textile industry, found the plank "fairly satisfactory."

It does not mention any textile commodity by name, since many are involved, but it does pledge the administration to regulate imports so as to prevent unfair competition.

Georgians were appointed to committees during the afternoon. W. J. Shaw of Atlanta was named to the committee on rules. Reid Mull, the Republican member of Georgia's Legislature from Blue Ridge, was placed on the committee for permanent organization. Snodgrass was appointed to the credentials committee.

The novelty of Confederate flags and a Dixie revolt in the Republican convention continues to be a fascinating spectacle. The Old Guard frankly is in something of a daze. It never thought to see anything like it.

The keynote speech, delivered with less flamboyance than Gov. Clement's at Chicago, was nonetheless typical in that it castigated the Democrats, paraded their sins, glorified the GOP and especially held up the President as the shining knight of our times.

Shartzer and Snodgrass see the convention as dramatizing the candidates and as launching the campaign. With no real issues, the convention becomes the kick-off for votes.

The South is not being neglected. Chairman Shartzer today was chosen to offer a resolution. Other states also are being given places before the convention.

Mrs. Helen G. Edmonds, who is prominent in Negro education in North Carolina, being a teacher at North Carolina College, is to second the nomination of either the President or vice president.

Indicative of the party's intent to make the convention the beginning of the campaign was the parading at the morning session of speakers urging the delegates, and through television, party workers everywhere, to get down to the business of electing a Republican Congress.

Special stress was laid on presenting to the convention the Republican congressmen elected from Texas, Florida and Virginia.

It served a double purpose. It gave the congressman a chance to appear on television and make a speech from San Francisco to all those looking on in their home districts and, of course, it dramatized the fact the Repblicans had won Southern victories.

BUSH CALLED the plank a "very satisfactory solution to a very difficult issue and one "that will help us everywhere." He said he anticipated no floor fight when the subject comes before the full convention.

Was the South satisfied?

"No, not me," said Joe Parsons, chairman of the Virginia delegation. Then he added: "It (the plank) isn't so bad."

Other Southern delegates said the GOP document was one they could live with.

Asked if the Republicans now were in a position to criticize the Democrats on the civil rights issue, Bush said:

"We are in a position to say our plank is better."

Not happy, but—

South won't fight GOP rights plank

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20—(AP)—The Republican platform committee, after four hours of debate, approved early today a civil rights plank its chairman said would help the GOP in both the North and the South.

Southern members intimated they were not so sure of Sen. Prescott Bush's optimism. But there was no indication the Dixie delegates would take the issue to the floor of the national convention opening today.

THE WORDING of the plank was not made public, but it was understood to say the party "accepts" the Supreme Court decision barring racial segregation in the public schools as the law of the land. It approves the civil rights recommendations of President Eisenhower, specifically mentioning proposals for a civil rights commission and to give the Department of Justice a new civil rights division.

Bush, of Connecticut, said the proposed plank would be made public later today. He added that the civil rights plank drafting completed work on the 5000-word platform, which is subject to convention approval.

Bush described the conclusions on civil rights as "very harmonious" and couched in language reflecting Eisenhower's views "very faithfully." He also said the plank was stronger than that of the Democrats.

He added Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, an advocate of a strong plank, "gave some ground" but still achieved language which will be "more helpful in Chicago" than to the Democratic opposition. Dirksen is a candidate for reelection.

Rights Plank Backs Court, Notes Problems of South

By ALLEN DRURY

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SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20—A compromise civil rights plank upholding the Supreme Court ruling on desegregation but recognizing the special problems of the South in dealing with racial questions was released today by the Republican platform committee.

It warned against the use of "force or violence" in resolving racial problems, and pledged the federal government to encourage "true progress" in "every legal manner." In this it did not differ greatly from the plank adopted by the Democrats last week.

The plank represented an administration concession to Southern delegates, who had feared that a stronger plank might stir animosities that would cost the party some Senate and House seats in November.

BACKS FLEXIBLE PROPS

In addition, the committee released the following major platform planks:

Agriculture—Upholding the administration's flexible price supports program and pledging help to keep the farmers prosperous.

Labor—Pledging the administration to protect the right to organize and to extend minimum wage laws to groups not now covered.

Health, education and welfare—Pledging expansion of Social Security, aid to the states in building schools, and other social programs.

COMPLETE AND EMOTIONAL

The heart of the civil rights plank, adopted after five days of sometimes heated discussion during which Southerners made a successful stand against the unqualified endorsement of the Supreme Court ruling originally proposed by the administration, reads as follows:

"The Republican party accepts the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with 'all deliberate speed' locally through federal district courts. The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and longstanding decisions of the same tribunal.

FORCE IS REJECTED

"We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the court supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved."

Sen. Dirksen (Ill), chairman of the subcommittee on civil rights, described the plank as "much firmer" than the civil rights plank adopted by the Democratic convention in Chicago last week. Southern delegates also agreed that it was stronger than the Democratic plank. At the same time they were satisfied that it met their original fears that the GOP urge a speedier enforcement of the court ruling than the South is prepared to accept.

NAACP, ADA PROTEST

The only dissenting voices on the subject in San Francisco today were raised by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, and Joseph L. Rauh, national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action.

In a joint statement they said the Republican platform "on balance . . . appears to be a thin shade stronger than the Democratic platform." But they said they regretted failure to include a pledge to attempt elimination of Senate rules which permit a filibuster against civil rights legislation.

In addition to pledging support for a gradualist approach to desegregation, the Republicans claimed these civil rights gains under the Eisenhower administration:

The appointment of a number of Negroes to "high public positions," the ending of segregation in the District of Columbia government and public facilities, the elimination of discrimination in all federal employment, "great progress" in eliminating discrimination in the hiring of those working on projects under federal contract, action to end discrimination in interstate commerce, and an end to segregation in the active armed services.

RAPID FARM CHANGES

The agricultural plank, defending the administration's flexible price supports program, said it "must be versatile and flexible to meet effectively the impact of rapidly changing condtions."

"It does not envision making farmers dependent upon direct governmental payments for their incomes," the text declared. "Our objective is markets which return full parity to our farm and ranch people when they sell their products. There is no simple, easy answer to farm problems. Our approach as ever is a many-sided, versatile and positive program to help all farmers and ranchers."

The plank asserted that the administration had disposed of nearly $7,000,000,000 worth of surplus products and had, "by aggressive action," put into operation a soil bank plan that has already given farmers about $225,000,000 for contracting to take more than 10,000,0000 acres out of production.

PROMISES TO AGRICULTURE

The plank offered 23 specific promises to agriculture, including:

A new research program, to find new uses for crops.

Improved marketing methods, both at home and abroad.

Price supports "that protect farmers, rather than price their products out of the market."

Expanded rural electrification.

Improved rural mail delivery.

"Sympathetic and understanding relief" for farmers beset by droughts or floods.

Associated Press Wirephoto

HIS VIEWS SOFTENED

Sen. Dirksen

Constructive assistance by "effective purchase and donation" to ease temporary surpluses.

Alabama GOP Delegation Asks Moderate Civil Rights Plank

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19 (AP)—A resolution calling upon the Republican national convention to adopt a civil rights plank "of moderation and understanding" was adopted by the Alabama delegation today.

The Republican Party, the resolution stated, "Could recognize the ordeal of the South, the problem of the South; could speak with the tongue of moderation and understanding and could open avenues of hitherto-unknown support that would make it for many decades to come the party of the vast majority of Americans.

"And this it could do clear of consicence and clean of hand for as God is our judge in the matter of racial relationships we come so to you in this expression."

The delegation, first on the convention's roll calls, voted to yield to Indiana for the speech placing President Eisenhower in nomination. The speech is to be made by House Minority Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana.

In its segregation resolution, the delegation told the convention:

"We first would repel with contempt any suggestion from any source that the majority of the people of Alabama are banded together in any sort of conspiracy to deprive the minority of their rights under the laws of God and man.

"That simply is not so and any fair study of the social structure of Alabama will so convince any reasonable persons.

"We would tell this convention that Alabama reared a social order designed to protect the rights of all men and reared it under the many difficulties inherent in the presence in the same area of contrasting races of near equal proportions.

"That social order segregated the races in certain fields that in others intercourse between them might be a thing of friendship and good will and mutual help in time of difficulty.

"Let it be known that the people of Alabama, and this includes members of all races, believe with all their hearts that an enforced breakdown of this social order of the state laws under which it exists would inevitably replace harmony with discord, peace with friction and friendship with disgust.

"They are as one in this matter, regardless of their political faiths.

"We would point out to the Republican Party that it has broken the once-solid South.

"A major reason for that break has been, of course, the character and integrity of the man it has offered as a candidate.

"Another major reason of compelling force has been growing Southern awareness that the region must come to two-party politics if it is to exercise in the national arena that degree of influence to which its size, its growing importance and its patriotism entitle it.

"We declare the course of moderation as expressed by President Eisenhower on the racial question in Alabama and the other states of the deep South to be not only the course of right and decency and wisdom, but the course of progress from a political point of view.

"The wisest political observers tell us that to place the Southern social bloc under attack in a bid for minority bloc votes on the national level is doomed in advance to failure.

"The Republican Party, even were it inclined to do so, could not write a platform sufficiently radical to attract to it the bloc vote which will be cast in November."

The delegation elected Mrs. Thomas Abernethy of Talladega national committeewiman succeeding Mrs. Myrtle Pitts of Clanton. Marvin Mostellar of Mobile was reelected national committeeman.

Toomer Resigns Post To Aid Republicans

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 5-6-56

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Louis B. Toomer, prominent Georgia Republican, has resigned as Registrar of Treasury of the United States, so he will be free to actively participate in the approaching political campaign.

The treasury official tendered his resignation to President Dwight D. Eisenhower last week, after almost three years of service. He asked that his resignation become effective on May 15.

Appointed to the ofice in August, 1953, Mr. Toomer told the President that since taking over his present position, he tried to execute the functions of the office to the best of his ability.

Pointing out that his decision had not been an easy one to reach, he made it clear that he never worked with a finer group than his coworkers in the Treasury Department. He then explained that the 'Register of the Treasury is restricted by the Hatch Act from active participation in political campaign.'

"I expect to be elected a Delegate to the Republican National Convention from the First Congressional District of Georgia and to actively participate in the Campaign this fall in crucial areas or wherever I can be of help in reelection the President and a Republican Congress," Mr. Toomer said.

The Georgia Republican leader noted that many GOP senators and representatives in the West, Mid West and East were defeated in the last congressional election by less than one thousand votes and indicated that a reversal of a few hundred votes in these localities may mean the difference between the winning and losing of the Congress.

Say Perry H[illegible]ard Coming To State To Bolster The Sagging Fortunes Of Black & Tans

Advocate
Sat. 3-31-56
Jackson Miss.

See Lily White P.1
Republicans In

Dominant Position In Mississippi

Jackson, Miss., Mar. 26.—(DSN)—A highly reliable and responsible source said here this week that Perry W. Howard, long time Republican National Committeeman for Mississippi, who has been living in Washington, D. C., for the past 25 years or more, is expected to come to Jackson at an early date. He will remain long enough to make effort to bolster the sagging fortunes of his so-called Black and Tan Republican organization in the state.

Advocate

In a continuous struggle with the so-called Lily White Republicans of the state, long under the leadership of ex-Nebraska Governor George L. Sheldon, although the Black and Tans have won in every contest before the national committee, the fortunes of the organization took a turn for the worse when as a result of a recently enacted state law, the Lily White group won the exclusive right to use the party name in the state.

With the time for the State Convention rapidly approaching there are those who say that under the new law the Black and Tan group may not be eligible to receive the official "Call" nor to hold a State Convention.

P.8

Since the Lily White group won the exclusive right to use the party name in the state, which has been upheld both by the state and the U. S. Supreme Court the Black and Tan group has adopted the name, The Mississippi GOP Party.

Things took a real turn for the worse last week when E. O. Spencer, wealthy Jackson businessman and head of the Citizens for Eisenhower in the last election was elected National Republican Committeeman by the Lily-White group.

For a long time Governor Sheldon has sought to unite the two groups in the state but with no success.

Whether such unity will come about now that the Lily Whites are being headed by Mr. Spencer may well be the key to the future of the Black and Tan organization and top leadership of Negro Republicans in the state.

CASE WARNS GOP ON NEGRO ISSUE

Times-Picayune
Wrong to 'Make Political Capital,' Says Solon
Mon. 5-14-56

PHILADELPHIA, May 13 (AP)—Sen. Clifford P. Case (R-NJ) said that the Republicans ought not to try to make political capital out of the issue of equal rights for Negroes.

New Orleans, La.

He said in a speech prepared for a banquet of the Pennsylvania Federation of Young Republican Clubs:

P. 18

"There may be some in our own party who take the short range view that this is a matter splitting the Democrats and so let's stand back and let them fight each other.

"But in the long view, in the interests of our country, this is neither a sensible nor a morally just position to take. It is inconceivable to me that the Republican party should adopt such a view.

Called to Avoid Extremism

"We cannot stand aside and watch this nation be torn apart over an issue that can and must be resolved without resort to violence or compulsion."

Case also called on all concerned in the fight over civil rights to avoid "extremism."

He said Negroes "have the same right to vote, to a decent education, to a decent job, to a decent house and to a decent life as the rest of us," and continued:

"It seems to me high time to take the civil rights issue out of the partisan arena.

"The hurling of wild predictions over what can happen if we give the Negro his long postponed rights is harmful, as is the continuing exchange of charges over who's to blame for the situation.

"Meanwhile, the problem is aggravated as tempers flare among the extremists on both sides and the moderates are pushed ever farther and farther back from the conflict.

"I can see no partisan advantage in watching American turn against American. This is a problem that cries out for calmness and moderation—for unity and understanding."

Case said President Eisenhower was exerting the right kind of leadership, that "he has stood firmly for integration of our public schools on a steadily progressive basis . . . has urged the adoption of a moderate legislative program to strengthen and expand our civil rights statutes."

NEGRO DELEGATE REPORT IS DENIED

Times-Picayune
Spencer Cites Story About Miss. GOP Plans
Thurs. 5-3-56

JACKSON, Miss., May 2 (AP)—National Committeeman E. O. Spencer of Jackson denied Wednesday a New York Times story of April 19 saying the Mississippi Republican party would take one Negro delegate and alternate to the GOP National Convention in San Francisco.

New Orleans, La.

The Times story said in part "The new group led by Mr. Spencer and Mrs. Miller (Mrs. J. Balfour Miller of Natchez) has promised its delegation to the San Francisco convention will include at least one Negro delegate and alternate."

Gov. J. P. Coleman called attention to the story at his press conference this morning and commented:

"I'm glad to be relieved of the necessity of making a campaign for the Democratic party this summer. I can use that time elsewhere."

Two Factions

Coleman explained that if the white Republican faction took a Negro delegate and alternate to San Francisco no Democratic campaign would be necessary in Mississippi.

Mississippi Republicans are split into two factions: The Mississippi Republican party composed of white members and the Black and Tan Grand Old Party composed of Negroes.

For years the Negro group has been recognized by the national party headquarters as the official state machinery for Mississippi.

This year however, led by former Democrats - for - Eisenhower who have taken full Republican party membership, the white faction is making a strong bid to replace the Negroes.

To Ask Retraction

Spencer, who headed the Citizens for Eisenhower movement in Mississippi in 1952, said neither he nor Mrs. Miller, the white faction's national committeewoman, had talked with the Times' reporter whose by-line appeared on the story. He said it appeared "a plant" and he intended to ask the reporter to retract the statement or say who made it.

The Mississippi Republican party already has named its delegates and alternates to the convention and all of them are white people. The white faction will ask the National convention to seat its delegation as the official Mississippi delegation.

The Black and Tan faction will hold its state convention in Jackson June 15 and name its delegates and alternates to San Francisco.

The Negro faction is led by Washington, D.C. attorney Perry Howard, who maintains a voting residence in Jackson.

Nominee Says Racial Stand Caused Defeat

Advertiser P.1
Wed. 5-23-56
Montgomery, Ala.

(Earlier Story on Page 12B)

A statement by a Montgomery Republican defending the national GOP policy on segregation was blamed for his failure to be selected yesterday as a national convention choice.

Eugene Munger Jr., nominated as a convention delegate at the Second District meeting of the Alabama Republican Party held at Greenville, failed to get a vote after expressing his views on segregation.

Munger and another nominee, Howard Foshee, Montgomery, were asked how they stand on segregation, prior to voting for the delegates to the San Francisco convention. The local businessman told them, "I feel the same way motion that a discussion be held to determine the segregation views of the national party feels."

Foshee and another nominee, the delegates to the district me Dick Bennett of Greenville, were ing. The motion, however, v elected delegates. Named as their ruled out of order by the distr alternates were Perry O. Hooper, chairman, William E. Brooks Montgomery, and John Huffman, of Brewton. Fairhope.

The election of the national convention delegates came after a

Speaker Says 2-Party System Best For State

Daily World P.1
Sat. 5-19-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Congressman Thomas Curtis of Missouri, Saturday called on members of the Georgia Republican party to "sell the party" and to recruit new members.

The Congressman was the keynote speaker for the two day meeting of the City Auditorium, said that Republicans could boast of two things. He set these out as, prosperity and peace and a returning of the country to free enterprise.

Mr. Curtis said that the Eisenhower Administration had accomplished many things along economic lines which had been of great benefit to the little man. Rep Curtis said that these benefits could be seen in the purchasing power of the dollar

The Missouri Congressman told the gathering that the development of the two-party system was in the interest of this state and the nation.

President Eisenhower was described as being dedicated to peace. The speaker said wars and inflation hurt most of the people and especially the "little man." He described the Republican party as being the party of the people.

NOT FACED UP

The Democratic party, he said, had failed to face up to the problems of a peace time economy

"This administration is facing pp to the problems," Rep. Curtis said.

He said that the Eisenhower administration had faced up in shifting from a war economy to a peacetime economy in the industrial areas —He said that farmers could depend upon the administration in the "shift from war time farmering to peace time production."

SELECT DELEGATES

The Republican part of Georgia was meeting to select delegates to the National Convention in August and to perfect a State wide organization for the next four years

Temporary officers were elected Saturday. They included Randolph Thrower, chairman, W. J Shaw, secretary; P D. Davis, Assistant Secretary. They all from Atlanta.

Other business included appointment of committees. The Committees and their membership includes: Creditentials, C A. Moye, Jack Bradley, Clyde P. Smith, C R Yates and Rev. R H Milner.

Rules: Gene Gilbmert. Cecil Hartness. Russell Kaliher, W. C Ervin, and L B Toomer.

Resolutions: Robert M. McFarland, James L. Sundv. Steve R. Owen. S G. Dent and Rev. W. M. Jackson

Permanent organization Carl Westmoreland, James Brophy, Roy Harrell, A C Touchstone and J. H. Calhoun

The central committee will meet again at 10 a. m., Saturday. Following a report of the creditial committee the regular business of the state organization will get underway Other than the election of delegates to the national convention and national committeeman and committeewoman four chairman and state secretary, treasurer and executive director.

Daily World P.5

Credentials from three contested delegates were presented to th committee. These were from three contested delegates were presented to the committee These were from Tattnall County, Bibb and Moscogee Counties.

Randolph Thrower in a statement to the Convention following the address of Rep. Curtis blasted the county unity system as un-American and undemocratic. He predicted the Republican party would exterminate the evil and that a two party system was in the foreseeable future for the South.

More than 750 Republicans representing the 10 congressional districts of Georgia were in attendance during the first day of the meet.

A large number of Negro citizens were among those in attendance at the opening session.

Today's session gets underway at ten this morning and it will hear reports of the various committees and complete its organization.

GOP Group Keeps Pierce As Attorney

Courier P.4
Sat. 6-2-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.

WASHINGTON—Samuel P. Pierce Jr. of New York has been retained as counsel by Republican members of the Anti-trust Subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee. The Republican Congressmen are Keating, Scott and McCullough.

Pierce, a Negro, is the first member of his race to be appointed on the Judiciary Committee. He was graduated from Cornell University in 1947, elected to Phi Beta Kappa in his junior year, and was a member of the varsity football and track teams.

He received All-American mention and led the team in scoring in 1941. He received a law degree from Cornell Law School, February of 1949; was president of the Cornell Law School Association, 1948-49, and received his master of laws in taxation from New York University Graduate School of Law in June, 1952.

During World War II he served

Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga. June 7-22-56 P.1

STATE GOP OFFICERS — W. J. Shaw (R), who at the time of this photo was acting Secretary of the Georgia Republican Convention is shown calling the roll during the state convention in Atlanta Saturday, while Randolph Thrower, acting convention chairman presides. Shaw was later elected Secretary to become the highest ranking Negro in the Georgia Republican Party. Thrower is GOP chairman in Fulton County. — (Perry's Photo)

Republicans 'Pilot-Test' Negro Vote In Harlem Now; Bias Curb Cited

Herald Tribune Thurs. 5-31-56
7 Day Wrl, N.Y.
P. 3

By David McConnell

New York State Republican leaders said yesterday the party is "pilot-testing" a drive for the Negro vote this year with emphasis on their party's accomplishments in desegregation in public schools and the action of President Eisenhower in ordering an end to discriminatory practices in Washington.

The sensitive test area for the present is the Harlem section of Manhattan. There task forces are being organized to emphasize that the first positive action desegregating public schools in the South has come under the President's administration and that, if the United States Senate remains Democratic, key committee chairmanships will be held firmly in the hands of "deep South" Democrats.

In Manhattan the program is being sponsored by Thomas J. Curran, chairman of the New York County Republican Committee, and Walter E. Bligh, secretary of the Republican State Committee.

Will Expand Program

The program will be expanded on the national level with emphasis on large Negro areas in such cities as Pittsburgh and Chicago as the campaign develops, it was learned from reliable Republican national sources yesterday.

Mr. Curran, noting that control of the Senate is at stake this year and that Sen. Herbert H. Lehman, D-Lib., N. Y., probably will seek re-election, declared that "a vote for Lehman is a vote for the Dixiecrats." Mr. Bligh said that "by heritage and tradition" the Negro vote should be with the Republican party.

Cites Accomplishments

Mr. Curran said that "the Negro voter in New York County is well aware that his only hope for the complete enjoyment of the civil rights which are his birthright depends upon the re-election of President Eisenhower and a Republican Congress." He said "newly enlisted enthusiasm" on the President "has done more to the part of a large number of advance civil rights than his young men and women of Har- Democratic predecessors did in lem for the Republican party.

twenty years." He referred to the late President Roosevelt and former President Truman.

On the local level, Mr. Curran and Mr. Bligh said there was a

34d 1956

THE NATIONAL SCENE

The President's Political Credo

Evening Star P-31 A

Official Washington, although preoccupied with grave international crises, gave some thought last week to matters of a strictly domestic and political nature.

President Eisenhower, now also the Republican President-elect) and his advisers and the men who will lead the Democratic-controlled 85th Congress when it meets in January were beginning to decide on the ways they propose to meet the needs—and demands—of the Nation. While diplomats wrestled with complex global problems, technicians in both the executive and legislative branches worked on recommendations and legislative proposals to be unveiled soon after the new year begins.

Washington

On Wednesday the President reaffirmed his wholehearted espousal of what he has called "modern Republicanism"—it also is known as "the new Republicanism" and "dynamic conservatism"—at his first press conference since his re-election to a second term.

He told the 258 reporters gathered in the rococo Indian Treaty Room of the old State Department Building that the overwhelming vote by which he defeated Adlai Stevenson a second time on November 6 amounted to a mandate for his program and his philosophy. But, he went on, the Democratic retention of congressional control in the midst of his landslide indicated to him that the people are not convinced that the Republican Party is committed also to "modern Republicanism."

Boston 11-18-56

Mr. Eisenhower offered this description of "modern Republicanism" as he sees it:

"It is a type of political philosophy that recognizes clearly the responsibility of the Federal Government to take the lead in making certain that the productivity of our great economic machine is distributed so that no one will suffer disaster, privation through no fault of his own.

"Now this covers the wide field of education and health, and so on; but we believe likewise in the free enterprise system. We believe that it is free enterprise that has brought these blessings to America."

The President indicated, without mentioning names, that it was time for extreme right-wing Republicans to recognize that the people should be assured about "modern Republicanism." He said, at the same time, he does not intend to pressure anyone on the subject but, rather, will try persuasion.

"I am not one of the desk-pounding type that likes to stick out his jaw and look like he is bossing the show," he explained. "I would rather get behind and, recognizing the frailties and the requirements of human nature, I would rather try to persuade a man to go along, because once I have persuaded him, he will stick. If I scare him, he will stay just as long as he is scared, and then he is gone."

Larson's Principles

A more detailed explanation of "new" or "modern" Republicanism is given by Arthur Larson, its acknowledged philosopher, in his book, "A Republican Looks at His Party." He lists eight basic principles:

1. "We begin by acknowledging reverently the existence of a God of order, justice and love."

2. "The individual person is the pre-eminent object of all our political arrangements."

3. "Government should be as local as possible."

4. "Whatever can be done privately should be done privately."

5. "The Government has a responsibility for prosperity which it discharges best by aiding and releasing, not by overruling, the forces of private enterprise."

6. "The Government has a responsibility for enabling working people to improve their lot through fair collective bargaining, which it discharges best by encouraging free trade unionism, guaranteeing the right of genuine representative collective bargaining, and then avoiding interference with these free negotiations."

7. "The Government has a responsibility for the general welfare of people, which it discharges best by initiating systems of income insurance, disaster relief, aid for education, health, safety and the like, with a maximum of private and local content and a minimum of centralized control."

8. "America has its own political philosophy, stemming not from the European left-wing, right-wing concept, but from the ideals of our Revolution and Constitution, and drawing its flexibility and vitality from the American tradition of willingly employing novel mechanisms in changing times to preserve our oldest ideals."

If to some, the President's version of Republicanism seems a far cry from the Republicanism of Herbert Hoover or even the late Senator Taft—if it seems to have overtones of Democratic thinking of recent years—the fact remains that it forms a basis for the program of the second Eisenhower administration. One question already taking shape was this: How much "modern Republicanism" will a predominantly middle-of-the-road Congress accept?

An allied question was: How much support can the President muster for his thinking among all elements of his own party?

Many observers of the national scene were wondering whether President Eisenhower contemplated important changes in the administration's high command to help achieve his goals. It appeared last week that the second term would begin with the cabinet intact. White House press secretary James Hagerty said on Friday that Mr. Eisenhower has accepted none of the cabinet-level resignations which were offered, as a formality, after his re-election.

It was considered probable, however, that some cabinet officers will be replaced later on. There have been recurring rumors that Secretary of State Dulles, now ill, would step aside; that Secretary of Defense Wilson and Postmaster General Summerfield do not expect to serve too much longer for personal reasons. One high administration adviser did resign within the week: Dr. Arthur F. Burns quit as chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers and was replaced by Raymond J. Saulnier, another member. No political significance was attached to the shift.

Task for the Democrats

The Democratic Party was still licking its wounds last week as a result of the shellacking it took in the presidential election as well as licking its chops over retention of control of Congress.

The gloom at Democratic national headquarters thickened in the clean-up after a hectic campaign when it was learned that the party faces a staggering deficit of $1 million. What to do about that, what to do about rebuilding the party organization, what to do about leadership are problems requiring early solution.

To tackle some of these problems, the 11-member Democratic National Executive Committee was called to a meeting to be held here November 26 and 27. First on the agenda will be the debt question.

Despite dissatisfaction among some elements of the party, Paul M. Butler is regarded as a safe bet to continue for a while as national chairman. For one thing, not many men would aspire to an office which has the immediate responsibility of reducing a million-dollar debt.

Mr. Butler, making clear he intends to stay at his post, has announced plans to stage hundreds of fund-raising dinners, selling tickets at about $5 each. In this way, he hopes to get at least 100,000 Democrats to celebrate the congressional victory and, at the same time, cut the party's debt. He also proposed economies in the publication of the Democratic Digest, which he praised but described as political luxury. The Digest, with a distribution of 70,000 copies monthly, has cost $200,000 net in less than two years.

Stevenson's Role

Democrats will be biding their time to see what role Mr. Stevenson now takes. Though apparently through as a presidential nominee, Mr. Stevenson remains the titular head of his party. His authoritative place cannot be seized by another unless a general revolt occurs within the organization ranks—a remote possibility.

After his defeat four years ago, Mr. Stevenson held public attention by taking a trip around the world. When he returned, he delivered an address that won national and international headlines. Then followed a series of appearances at Democratic benefit rallies throughout the country. Mr. Stevenson not only was seen and heard, but he was helping to raise many thousands of dollars for the party treasury. Thus he kept in the public eye until he announced as a candidate for the 1956 nomination.

There is no indication so far that he plans to follow this pattern again. But most Stevenson stalwarts will be surprised, indeed, if he is not available for further party service and leadership, even if a third nomination is out of consideration.

The Democrats strove, meanwhile, to assure party harmony in Congress. Senator George Smathers of Florida sparked a movement for the election of Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana as the new party "whip" in the Senate, filling a vacancy left by the defeat of Senator Earle C. Clements of Kentucky. This is a gesture to liberals of the North and West, for as "whip," Senator Mansfield would be assistant to conservative Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas. The nomination appeared headed for success when the Democrats caucus in January.

34d 1956

Nixon, Kefauver Gain in Power

Post + Times Herald P. 20-a

Thurs. 11-8-56

Washington, D.C.

By Lyle C. Wilson
United Press

Never before has an election left the winning and losing vice presidential candidates in such promising political spots.

Vice President Richard M. Nixon long ago was tagged by his Democratic opposition as a likely heir to the White House during the next four years if President Eisenhower won re-election.

In any case, they predicted he would become the Republican Party leader and the GOP's 1960 presidential nominee. Under the two-term amendment, Mr. Eisenhower cannot succeed himself even if so inclined at age 70.

Tennessee's Sen. Estes Kefauver, the loser, finds himself in a spot which logically could bring him the Democratic presidential nomination four years hence. Kefauver twice has gone to Democratic conventions with a bundle of delegate votes and a giant-killer record in the presidential primaries.

Two-Time Loser

Twice—in 1952 and again this year—the big-city bosses, organized labor and the conservative South have teamed up to prevent Kefauver's nomination for President.

Once a politician comes down with presidential fever, however, he rarely recovers. It is reasonable to believe that Kefauver will be campaigning again in the 1960 presidential primaries. He will be a formidable contender on the basis of past performance.

Kefauver attained new and more substantial national prominence in his recent campaign. The friends and experience accumulated in those long journeys will be a source of new strength for Kefauver if he seeks his party's top nomination in 1960.

Stevenson presumably must be counted out as a factor in 1960 Democratic presidential politics. He's a two-time loser, both times by big margins. It was Stevenson's bad luck to be born a few years too soon, just in time to oppose the best vote-getter the Republicans ever have had.

No Farm Strength

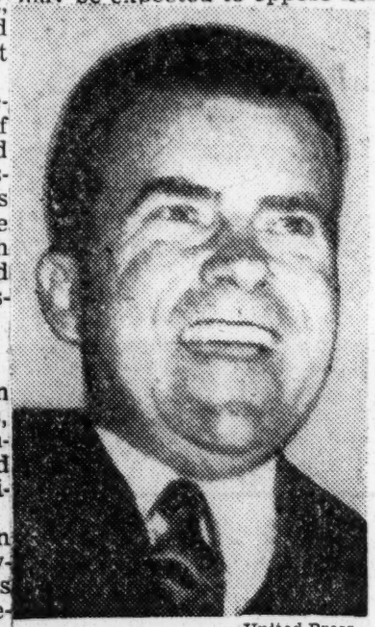
Kefauver apparently did not contribute the expected farm strength to the Democratic ticket. Although all the returns are not in, President Eisenhower seems to have won a majority of Tuesday's farm vote.

This does not seriously reflect on Kefauver, however. It is no cardinal political sin to fail to accomplish the impossible.

Kefauver is not a popular figure with Democratic leaders. Harry S. Truman is Kefauver's avowed political enemy and may be expected to oppose him in the future as in the past. But the Senator is a big party man in his own right now. He is beholden to no party bosses and is demonstrably popular among the party rank and file.

The Senator came to the 1952 Democratic National Convention with more pledged delegates than any other candidate. He led the first two presidential ballots only to falter in the stretch.

So, too, in the Republican Party does Nixon have solid support. They are able young men and one of them is quite likely to go to the top.



United Press

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON
. . . smiles after victory

WE'LL SEE DAY BIAS IS ENDED, NIXON PREDICTS

Holds Good Will, Not Laws, Will Do It

REPUBLICAN

Chicago Tribune 20

Thurs. 10-18-56

BY JOSEPH HEARST
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Oct. 18 — Vice President Nixon said tonight that "most of us here will live to see the day when American boys and girls shall sit side by side at any school—public or private—with no regard paid to the color of their skin."

"Segregation, discrimination, and prejudice have no place in America," he said. "And I can report to you tonight that men of good will in all sections of our land are working with complete devotion toward the day when the American ideal of equality of opportunity is a reality for all of our people."

Speech Nonpolitical

The Vice President chose the annual Alfred E. Smith memorial dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel to make a major "civil rights" speech.

The speech was labeled "nonpolitical," and at no time did Nixon mention the administration or the election campaign. He was introduced by Cardinal Spellman.

However, in a tribute to the late governor of New York and the Democratic Presidential candidate in 1928, the Vice President seemed to be calling to mind the Democrats' contention that they are the little man's friend. The Republican rebuttal has been that under the Eisenhower administration there are no little people, no class distinction.

Typifies American Dream

Nixon said Smith "was a magnificent example of the American dream." A poor boy with little in the way of formal education, "he typifies the truth of the statement that in America there is no forgotten man, no common man, no little man, no average man; there is only our fellow man."

The Vice President said the founding fathers spoke of man's rights as granted by the Creator and beyond the pale of government, and asserted that this revolutionary ideal of 1776 will not be complete until "the ideals of independence, equality, and freedom which kept men fighting at Valley Forge are a reality not only for American but for people thruout the world."

Nixon said the decision of the Supreme court on segregation in schools is but one step in a continuing process of giving substance and vitality to our Democracy.

Bias on Way Out

"State law and actions of the federal government are moving forward to eliminate bias in employment, discrimination in housing, and bigotry in any form that can be touched by law," he said.

"Race and religious hatred strike at the roots of that remarkable unity that is the achievement of our nation. For the survival of our highest ideals, we must eradicate them from the face of our society."

Those who hold federal office cannot accomplish this alone, for the most perfect law legislators can write is only as good as the will of the people, he said.

"And that will must come within us," he said. "It cannot be imposed from without. . . . This means that all of us have responsibility for implementing the American dream of equality. Our churches and schools, our labor unions, and employer associations, farm groups and city groups, and the countless associations and societies that we have formed, must work together toward our great objective.

"Can't Afford Prejudice"

"America cannot afford the moral, the economic, and the international cost of prejudice and discrimination."

Nixon contrasted the rights guaranteed Americans under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights with conditions in "the slave states of the present century." He said the communist regime established in Russia and the former nazi regime in Germany both denied the dignity of man and the sovereignty of God and His moral law.

Contrasts Russians' Lot

"The contrast between the lot of the citizen in their [Russian] society and ours is a contrast between darkness and light," he said. "It is not that we are without fault or that we have perfectly lived up to our ideals. We had slavery during the first 76 years of our nation's history. There has been discrimination based on race, religion, and national origin. Even today there is resistance to granting our Negro citizens their full rights under law."

But, he said, America has lived thru the anti-foreign riots of the Know-Nothing days and the hooded terror of the Ku Klux Klan.

"Each time we emerged a stronger nation," he said.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

250,000 Jam Loop to Cheer Nixon

[TRIBUNE Photo]

It's a happy laugh by Vice President Nixon, speaking in Park Forest yesterday, and there's good reason for it—the 10,000 persons confronting him in shopping center plaza.

Rally Told Civil Rights Issue Is Vital

BY ROBERT YOUNG

Vice President Nixon yesterday emphasized the civil rights question as a major issue of the election campaign, declaring in a speech climaxing a day of appearing before tens of thousands of voters in the Chicago area that those who really want progress toward "this great American ideal" of equal opportunity have only the single choice of voting for President Eisenhower and a Republican Congress.

Nixon, driving hard on his final campaign tour before the Nov. 6 election, made his civil rights speech after he had ridden in a motorcade along State st. thru cheering crowds densely packing both sides of the street and overflowing into the street.

Over Quarter of Million

The crowd was estimated at 250,000 to 300,000 and appeared to be the biggest turnout for a public figure since Gen. MacArthur's return from the far east in 1951.

The Vice President's motorcade, bringing up the rear of a parade of bands and floats, arranged by the Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon organization, was obliged to move at a crawl because of the milling throng. At State and Washington sts., Nixon's open topped convertible was unable to proceed until police cleared a path. He stood up and waved.

In a rally in the Trianon ballroom, which followed a wreath laying ceremony at a statue honoring Negro soldiers at 35th st. and South Park way, Nixon asserted that "It is time to lay the cards on the table on the issue of civil rights."

Record Is Cited

"There is no objective to which President Eisenhower has been more dedicated than the realization of the American dream of providing equal opportunity for all of our citizens, regardless of race, creed, or color," Nixon told a rally later in the Trianon ballroom.

Progress Cited

He added: "Any fair appraisal of the Eisenhower administration's record will show that more progress has been made toward this goal in the last four years than in any similar period since 1865.

"In a Stevenson administration, there would be the same old story that we had during the Truman administration—a lot of talk, a lot of promises, but no action."

Nixon said that in contrast to the Democratic party, divided between northern and southern wings on the civil rights issue, a reëlected Eisenhower administration would be able to keep the pledges made in the Republican party platform because the G. O. P is solidly united behind the President's civil rights program.

Party Divided

Nixon contended that in a Democratic administration headed by Adlai E. Stevenson, a "lot of talk, a lot of promises but not action" would be true not because anyone questions the Democratic Presidential candidate's devotion to the cause of equal opportunity for all, but because "approximately half of the party supports his position while the other half is dead set against it."

The Vice President declared that this situation of a split Democratic party is one of the strongest arguments for the election of a Republican senate and house. Nixon noted that the chairmen of powerful congressional committees in the present Democratic controled Congress represent southern states.

"As long as the Democrats who presently are chairmen of key committees in the house and senate hold their positions, civil rights legislation will never see the light of day," Nixon said. "Only by electing a Republican house and senate and putting the committee chairmenships in the hands of men who support President Eisenhower's position will America be able to make the progress that all of us want toward the goal of equality of opportunity."

Can't Fool People

Nixon said there is no question but that President Eisenhower will receive more Negro votes this election than he did in 1952. The reason for this forecast, Nixon said, is that with newspapers, radio and television, "it is no longer possible for the opposition to talk out of both sides of their mouth on the civil rights issue and fool the people."

Yesterday's tour of the Chicago area was Nixon's first visit to the city since he started campaigning Sept. 18. He arrived here Wednesday night to make a speech in Evanston after "whistle stopping" by train in downstate Illinois.

Gov. Stratton and Sen. Dirksen [R., Ill.] traveled with the Vice President on his motorcade swing thru the metropolitan area and introduced him at four gatherings. In all his Chicago talks, Nixon continued to pound away at what has developed on this current campaign tour to be his two dominant themes:

[1] Stevenson's unfitness to hold the office of President and, [2] failure to return the Eisenhower administration to office in the election would jeopardize the nation's domestic prosperity and security.

Nixon drove from the La Salle hotel, where he spent the night, to a rally in the Park Forest shopping center yesterday morning. He talked before a cheering crowd estimated at 5,000 to 6,000 persons.

Deserves Support of All

After urging voters to support Stratton, Dirksen, and Rep. McVey [R., Ill.] for reelection, Nixon said that the Eisenhower program "transcends party politics and deserves the support of Republicans, Democrats, and independents alike."

The Vice President made an indirect reference to the Hodge scandal when he said that Republican officials, when they find a breach of trust, "move vigorously on it and clean it up rather than cover up."

In Chicago Heights, Nixon spoke before a crowd estimated by Police Chief P. W. Howard at 10,000.

On the way to the Loop parade, Nixon's motorcade made an unscheduled stop at 111th st. and Wabash av. Nixon stood up in his car, greeted the crowd, and introduced his wife, Pat.

The Vice President's motorcade joined the parade at Wacker dr. and State st. He drove down State st. to Van Buren st., and back north in La Salle st. and over to the Covenant club, 10 N. Dearborn st., where Nixon gave a brief talk at a luncheon in his honor.

Nixon flew to Rockford last night to address a rally there, then returned to Chicago for the night. He will leave Chicago today to continue his campaigning in the far west, scheduling swings in Montana, Washington, Oregon, and California, his home state.

Next week, after two days of campaigning in California, Nixon, will speak in Detroit, then in New York City, Pennsylvania, and Ohio.

The Republican national committee announced in Chicago yesterday that Nixon will wrap up 38,000 miles of campaigning in 35 states on election eve, Nov. 5, with a speech before a G. O. P. rally in Boston. Later that evening, Nixon is expected to join President Eisenhower in a traditional nation-wide election eve program from Boston.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

Oppose Decision To Discipline Gotham For support Of GOP

NAACP Resents Plan Of Southerners To Undermine Power Of Noted Baptist Leader In 85th Congress; Rep. Diggs, Also Speaks Out Against Prejudiced Move Against Negro, While Saying Nothing Against Host Of Whites Who Were For Eisenhower

Colored Democrats have issued a warning to Speaker Sam Rayburn that they object to the Democrat party leaders resorting to the brutal plan to deprive Congressman Adam Clayton Powell being deprived of the patronage due him as the regularly-elected member of Congress from his district in New York.

They have jointed out the fact that no reprisals have been threatened against any white Democrats, whether those who supported Eisenhower or those who supported the States Right ticket on November 6.

The outspoken sentiments of these colored leaders is likely to furnish additional trouble for the Democrat leaders who will have the most to say about who are to get committee assignments in the new 85th Congress.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has taken the lead in mobilizing sentiment against the hasty decisions which Speaker Rayburn and other Southerners are said to have made and the colored Democrats begining with Congressman Charles Diggs, of Detroit, have rallied to the support of the NAACP.

The fact that Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota has already attributed the resounding defeat the Democrats sustained on November 6, to the influence which Southern reactionaries exerted at the Democrat National Convention in Chicago in September in the matter of platform prenuouncements, presages a knock-down and drag-out fight between the two factions of the Democrats. It will come off at the opening of the new Congress on January 3.

It is believed that Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, who engaged in a tirade against Congressman Powell for aiding in the election of Eisenhower and the defeat of Mayor Robert Wagnoner, Democrat, for U. S. Senator, presents a "diciplinary problem" for the Democrats. But the Northerners, who are already embarrassed by the reactionary leadership of Southerners, feel they must do something to recapture the colored deserters. They prefer to treat Mr. Powell no worse than they treat any other member of the party.

Congressman Charles C. Diggs of Detroit, spoke out in vigorous disagreement with the party leaders who intend to discipline Congressman Powell, at a giant rally held in New Orleans.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, released a hot protest against the plan to humiliate Powell, expressing the belief that an attack on Powell will be sure to weaken the Democrats Up North.

Congressman William Dawson of Chicago who gained higher standing with the Southern wing of the Democrats than has either Congressman Diggs or Powell, will likely be consulted with regard to what, if anything Mr. Powell will get under the Desperate Democrats, who will control congress because of the disfranchisement in Southern States and because of the "senitority" rule which favors the dominance of Southerners in congress.

Congressman Powell was accused of "misleading" his people by Mrs. Roosevelt, who did not at the same time accuse the host of Southerners who came out for Eisenhower of "misleading their people."

The action of Secretary Wilkins may or may not have any effect upon Mrs. Roosevelt, who is a member of the Board of Directors of the NAACP. I was stated in the press that she had previously had threatened to resign because of something favorable to Eisenhower that had been released to the press by Mr. Roy Wilkins, who quite accurately forecast, a big desertion of colored voters from the Democrat party in 1956.

Mrs. Roosevelt had never questioned the wisdom of her husband, the noted Franklin D., who once told the nation that he had not always voted the Democrat ticket, even in presidential elections. In the same speech he said that the Democrats did not have enough votes to elect a president; that they had to get the independents and many Republicans to "come over into Macedonia" and help Democrats win elections.

The release from the NAACP and Democrat Congressman Charles C. Diggs, who had said he was going to vote against seating any of the Democrat congressmen from Mississippi, but later took "cold feet" on the matter, are as follows:

Wilkins Urges Rayburn To Halt Party Action Against Powell

New York, Nov. 16.—To single out Rep. A Clayton Powell for party discipline while taking no action against other Democratic dissidents woud lead to the "inescapable" conclusion "that the Democratic party is taking such punitive action because of Mr. Powell's race, and also because of his efforts to secure passage of civil rights legislation." Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, has warned in a letter to Sam Rayburn (D., Tex.) Speaker of the House.

Mr. Wilkins wrote to the Democratic House leader on Nov. 15, following proposals by Democratic members of the House to deprive Mr. Powell of his seniority and committee assignments because the New York Democrat activly campaigned for the Republican candidate for President. At that time, Congressman Powell announced that he was remaining a Democrat although supporting President Eisenhower because he believed the President had a stronger civil rights program than the Democratic nominee.

"It is a matter of common knowledge," the NAACP leader reminded Speaker Rayburn, "that in 1948 many Democrats, including members of the House and Senate, bolted their party and its nominee and supported the so-called States Rights party and its nominee. Not one of these party members was disciplinel in the succeeding Congress." In 1952, Mr. Wilkins pointed out, many southern Democrats "worked actively and openly for the election of Mr. Eisenhower" without incurring any subsequent party discipline.

After the 1952 election, Mr. Wilkins continued, "Chairman Paul Butler made several trips to southern areas and held numerous conferences. He announced to the country that no purges were intended and to the insurgents, he said, in effect: 'Come back into the fold, all is forgiven.' Moreover, in the recently completed campaign, Congressman John Bell Williams of Mississippi announced as openly as did Congressman Powell that he was not supportng the Democratic nominee for President and that he would support another group and another set of nominees. There have been, to our knowledge, no statements or announcements or demands of any kind from any quarter to the effect that Congressman Williams shoulid be deprived of his committee assignments, seniority and other prerogatives because of his desertion of the Democratic nominees in the 1956 election."

Mr. Wilkins expressed the conviction that Speaker Rayborn "as one of the party's leaders of greatest influence would not want to lend (his) approval to a project which could but add to the burdens of the party at this less-than-serene juncture."

Speaking in New Orleans, Sunday, November 18, at a gigantic rally climaxing the Louisiana State Conference for Labor-Education, Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D.-Michigan) announced his intention to fight any attempts to take away the seniority of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D-New York) because the latter supported Eisenhower for re-election. "I vociferously disagreed with the judgment of Congressman Powell's decision not to support the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket and the Democratic Senatorial nominee from his own State, Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City. However, I do not believe the Democratic Party would be on sound ground in taking the unprecedented action of stripping him of his seniority. Congressman Powell is the third ranking member of the House Committee on Education and Labor and the eighth ranking Member on the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Although there are some who are bitter about his 'Republicrat activities' in the past campaign and feel he should be disciplined by the Party, there are also those who would seize any opportunity because of his strong Civil Rights' stand, to prevent him from eventually following the traditioinal Congressional course and assuming the Chairmanship of these important Committees.

If former Supreme Court Justice Byrnes of South Carolina, United States Senator Byrd of Virginia and others can support Republicans and independents and still be accepted as Democrats without being so penalized, and if Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, the most rabid-anti-labor-pro-segregationist in Congress, can not only refuse to support the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket but run as the Vice Presidential candidate of a splinter states' right party and still remain a high ranking Democrat on the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce and House District of Columbia Committee, the Democratic Party will find it extremely difficult to explain proposed action against Powell's seniority and refute charges of sheer discrimination. It is the immoral social philosophy of renegades like John Bell Williams which inflicts such severe damage to the reputation of the Democratic Pary and the prestige of America in the eyes of the world. What are those so interested in censorship and Party discipline going to do about them?"

Ike Says Adlai Is Right; G. O. P.'s Ideas Are 'Old'

BY LAURENCE BURD

[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

New York, Oct. 25 — President Eisenhower said tonight that his record as Chief Executive disproves Adlai Stevenson's "lament" that his administration is barren of new ideas.

In a speech prepared for delivery to a G. O. P. rally in Madison Square garden, where Stevenson spoke to the Democrats two nights ago, Mr. Eisenhower said his opponent has been singing "monotonous music" with "some curious discords."

"And its latest lament," the President said, "is that your present leadership has 'no new ideas.'"

Glad to Admit It

Mr. Eisenhower said caustically that he is glad to admit that the Republicans since 1953 have put into practice some "old ideas for whose energetic application the American people had waited all too long." It is undoubtedly an old idea to reduce taxes and federal spending and to cut unemployment to a record low, but this administration did it, the President said.

The President then asked with sarcasm what truth there is in the opposition's claim that it has a "monopoly on the invention of new ideas?"

Historic Strides Made

Was it "they or we," the President asked, who put thru the nation's biggest highway program in history, proposed the Atoms-for-Peace plan, conceived our "boldest" disarmament proposal—the open skies plan for mutual air inspection with Russia — and went to Panama last July for the first American chiefs of state meeting in history?

The President said the nation has made "historic strides forward since he last spoke in the same hall during his 1952 campaign.

At home, he said, price inflation has been virtually halted, integrity and dignity has been restored to government, and the cause of civil rights has been advanced with "less oratory and more action" than under the Democrats.

Abroad, he said, Americans are no longer fighting in Korea, and there is now "no chilling word of some new assault upon a free nation."

Instead, he said, we have news from Poland and Hungary that freedom-loving peoples are willing to die to free their lands from tyranny. He said America will never forget the oppressed peoples thruout eastern Europe, and will do "all within our peaceful power to help" the champions of liberty everywhere.

Plugs for Javits

The President's night speech wound up a one-day trip to Manhattan, where he bid for New York state's 45 electorial votes and campaigned for the state G. O. P. ticket. Mr. Eisenhower told New Yorkers he wants them to send Republican Jacob Javits to the senate to help him put over his own second term program for a stronger America.

Mr. Sisenhower planned to fly back to Washington right after his speech.

Javits, state attorney general, is pittde in a close fight against Robert Wagner Jr., New York City's Democratic mayor. They are battling for the seat left vacant by the retirement of Sen. Lehman [D.].

John Roosevelt Chairman

John Roosevelt, youngest son of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt and now an Eisenhower supporter, was chairman of tonight's rally staged by Republican organizations and the Citizens for Eisenhower and Nixon.

Mr. Eisenhower told the friendly audience that he has seen "true and telling signs" on his cross country campaign. Travels that America is daily gaining in prosperity and confidence. But, he said, partisan orators for the Democrats have been telling a "fantastically different" story to the voters.

Renws H-Bomb Blasts

The President said the Democrats have sought to belittle the nation's economic gains under the G. O. P. thru "confusing proposals to consider an end to the draft and a suspension of tH-Bomb tests.

"There is, I fear, nothing amusing," the President said, "when the opposition's political techniques are extended to discussion of world affairs."

Referring to the H-bomb controversy which he and Stevenson have waged for weeks, the President said:

"They [the Democrats] urged a vigorous and realistic policy towards the communist empire — and they suggest that we begin on our relations with the soviet union by trusting our national safety to agreements that have no effective safeguards and no controls."

He said the Democrats urge a "bold defense of American freedom" but say that to achieve this is to start planning an end to the draft. Such propositions he said, amount to declaring a "moratorium on common sense."

Mr. Eisenhower, accompanied by Mrs. Eisenhower and a dozen White House assistants, arrived at the Pennsylvania station at 11:15 a. m. Chicago time, shortly before his opponent, Adlai Stevenson, took off by plane for Springfield, Ill. Stevenson had spent two days campaigning thruout New York City.

Rides in Bubble Top Car

The President was met as he climbed off his private railroad car by a score of G. O. P. leaders, headed by Javits.

Riding in their familiar bubble top limousine under crisp sunny weather, the President and his wife were hailed by a crowd of 75,000 to 100,000 New Yorkers on the 23 block ride to the Commodore hotel, where Mr. Eisenhower had his 1952 campaign headquarters.

Mr. Eisenhower stood up waving to the crowds all the way thru the garment district up 8th av. and past Times square to the hotel entrance, which was decked out with a big sign "Welcome Back, Mr. President."

Goes Over His Speech

A crowd of 3,500 persons jammed the hotel lobby chanting "We Like Ike" as he grinned his way to the elevator which took him to the Presidential suite on the 22d floor.

Mr. Eisenhower spent the afternoon and early evening in his suite preparing his night speech and conferring with Republican state and local leaders.

Preëlection polls indicate that Mr. Eisenhower is leading Stevenson in the state by a wide margin, but that the senate race between Javits and Democrat Robert Wagner, mayor of New York, will be close.

The historically accurate New York Daily News poll indicates on the basis of returns so far that Mr. Eisenhower is favored by 60 per cent of the voters. In 1952 the President won the state's electoral vote, the biggest single bloc, with 56 per cent to 44 per cent for Stevenson out of more than 7 million ballots.

Integration Is Granddad "Ike's" Example For All

Washington, D. C.—The Calvin News Service, according to an article in the Detroit Tribune, reveals that President Dwight D. Eisenhower, is not as afraid of integration as the Mississippi "lily-whites." The article is as follows:

"President Eisenhower's grandchildren attend an integrated Sunday school, it was revealed here when South Carolina's Senator Eastland struck out: 'Ike's like all interracial politicians. He wants it for the other fellow.'

"He noted that two of Eisenhower's grandchildren were at a private school in Virginia.

"To this was revealed that the youngest child of Major Eisenhower, 4-year old Susan, was attending an interracial kindergarten at Fort Belvoir, Va., and that all the grandchildren attended an integrated Sunday school almost every week."

(The article, by mistake listed Eastland as a senator from South Carolina. Actually he is from Mississippi and just as unimportant in the general scheme of things as the state he represents. Ed. note.)

Hoover in 1928.

Each Southern voter in this survey was asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

IKE VS. STEVENSON
—SOUTH ONLY—

Eisenhower	56%
Stevenson	40
Undecided	4

The percentage division after eliminating the undecided vote would be 58 per cent for Eisenhower, 42 per cent for Stevenson.

In the 1952 presidential election, Eisenhower polled 48.9 per cent of the two-party vote in the South, compared to Stevenson's 51.1 per cent. Eisenhower carried five states — Virginia with 56.5 per cent, Oklahoma with 54.6 per cent, Florida with 54.5 per cent, Texas with 53.2 per cent, and Tennessee with 50.1 per cent.

Former President Hoover, in polling 52 per cent of the Southern vote to win over Alfred E. Smith in 1928, carried seven states.

In cracking the Solid South in 1952, President Eisenhower ran 28.5 percentage points ahead of his party. In the races for Congress in the South, GOP candidates polled 20.4 per cent of the vote.

The significance of today's trial heat race lies in a comparison with previous tests in the South involving two other Republican leaders — Vice President Richard Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Both of these men lost to Stevenson by a substantial margin in earlier Southern trial tests, as follows: (The undecided vote is included in the first column of the tables).

STEVENSON VS. NIXON
—SOUTH ONLY—

Stevenson	60%	65%
Nixon	33	35
Undecided	7	—

STEVENSON VS. WARREN
—SOUTH ONLY—

Stevenson	57%	59%
Warren	40	41
Undecided	3	—

Over the last half century, the GOP has polled, on the average, about 34 per cent of the vots in the South in presidential elections. Only once during that time has the Republican party been able to muster a majority vote — in 1928.

Here is the trend of the vote in the South in presidential elections since 1900:

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS
—SOUTH ONLY—

	Rep.	Dem.
1900	39%	61%
1904	35	65
1908	38	62
1912	19	64x
1916	31	69
1920	42	58
1924	35	60x
1928	52	48
1932	24	76
1936	24	76
1940	27	73
1944	31	69
1948	30	53x
1952	49	51

xIn 1912, Theodore Roosevelt received 17 per cent; in 1924, Robert LaFollette received 5 per cent, and in 1948, J. Strom Thurmond received 17 per cent. The vote in the South in 1948 for Henry A. Wallace was negligible.

This year the South will have 146 electoral votes.

The 13 Southern and border states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

Ike Strongly Favored Over Adlai in the South

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute Of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J.—President Eisenhower's drawing power in the South as a Republican presidential candidate is evidenced in a special "trial heat" which has just been completed in 13 Southern states.

GALLUP

Indications are that Eisenhower today would not only poll a larger vote against Adlai Stevenson than he did in the 1952 election, but that he also would surpass the all-time high GOP vote in the South polled by former President Herbert

Republican Party's Civil Rights Record To Be Aired

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — (SNS) — The Republican Party's record on civil rights under the Eisenhower administration is expected to be discussed by Val Washington of Washington, D. C., at the third annual banquet of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club set for Friday night, March 23 at the Smithfield Court auditorium.

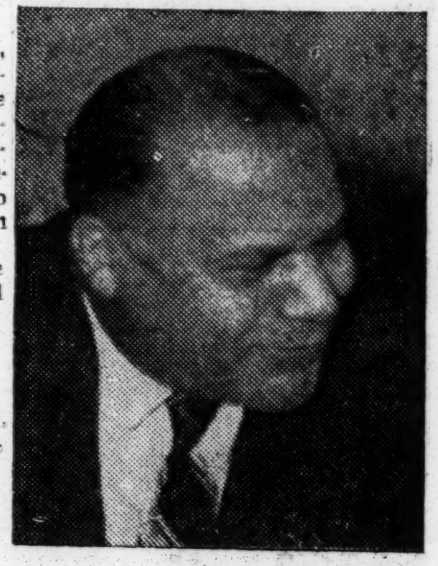


Photo by Cabell

VAL J. WASHINGTON

Mr. Washington is director of the Minorities Division of the National Republican Committee.

Attv. Oscar W. Adams, Jr., is president of the club.

Some 700 persons are expected to hear Mr. Washington relate the Republican record in the field of constitutional rights. The club has an estimated 150 members.

Dr. G. P. Parham, chairman of the banquet committee and also chairman of the executive board predicted this week that this would be the largest political banquet of its kind to be held here in recent years.

One of the top voices in the GOP Mr. Washington is also the Republican Party's chief orator on civil rights. He is a member of the National Association of Railroad Commissioners, of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity, and the A. M. E. Church.

He was graduated from the University of Indiana in 1924 with a double major in economics and journalism. He has worked in the insurance field, as a journalist, free lance writer and as general manager of a national weekly newspaper.

Perry Howard To Preside Over Black And Tan Republican Meet Here Friday

Large Delegation From Over State Expected To Attend

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 12. —(DSN)—Atty. Perry W. Howard, long time Washington resident, who is the National Republican Committeeman for the state of Mississippi, and the only Negro member of that body, left Washington by plane Tuesday for Mississippi where he will preside over the State Convention scheduled to be held in Jackson Friday at the new Masonic Temple building.

Barred from using the name of the Republican party by court order following the passage of a state law restricting the use of the name of a National party to only one group in the State Convention of the so-called Black and Tan Republicans of the state will assemble under the name of the "Grand Old Party of Mississippi."

The Black and Tan group is seen as being in a life and death struggle for power in the state with the so-called "Lily White" group now under the leadership of E. O. Spencer, a wealthy Jackson businessman who headed the Democrats for Eisenhower during the 1952 Presidential campaign.

Mr. Spencer was elected National Committeeman of the "Lily White" group to take the place of the aging ex-Governor George L. Sheldon of Nebraska, who had led the "Lily White" group since his coming to the state some 20 odd years ago.

Although there has been some talk of merging the two groups it is not expected to materialize at this time.

As a result of the bitter fight between the two groups strange things have been happening in Republican politics in the state where both groups were denied the patronage by the Eisenhower administration and a report that the patronage had been given to Senator James O. Eastland.

The leaders of the Black and Tan group are highly confident that they will again be seated at the National Convention where they have won over their "Lily White" opponents for the past 28 years.

According to reports a large delegation will attend the State Convention.

Believes South To Veto Eisenhower For Being Liberal

Globe Dec. 2-24-56
P. 1 Nashville, Tenn.

Local Commentators On Presidential Race Concede Republicans Have Uphill Battle But Unwilling To Concede Outlook For Victory Is Gloomy; See Peace And Prosperity And Popularity Of Eisenhower Victorious In 1956

While most of the better-informed colored citizens hereabouts have been mostly concerned lately about the "Alabama Situation" there are some who are thinking about the political situation and expressing opinions on whether it will be the Republicans or the Democrats who will triumph in the November presidential election.

One of the news items which has spurred the discussions of the politically-inclined, was published last week in the Pittsburgh Courier and was given more than ordinary consideration and credence. This was because it came from the typewriter of John C. Clark of the Courier staff. Mr. Clark proved to be a better forcaster of what would happen in the 1952 presidential election than some of the most widely publicized political polls of that year. Said Mr. Clark:

"Republicans are faced with a gloomy situation.

"They stand to lose nine states that shifted governors since 1952. Five Southern and border states because of the Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools and two where Democrats governors are determined to keep voters aligned with their party.

"These sixteen states represent 254 electoral votes, and with the addition of eighty nine from the nine states carried by Stevenson in 1952, the total reaches 348 electoral votes; seventy-seven more than the required majority of 266."

"Pressing need of GOP is hard work," is the kindly headline the editors of the Courier put over Clark's article.

Thus it is revealed by a competent commentator on the political situation, that Republicans, despite their overwhelming triumph in 1952, cannot count for a certainty that they will be equally as successful in

Nashville, Tenn.

Also, it doubtless is believed by Mr. Clark that Negro voters are not going to flock back to the Republicans in such a great number this year as one would expect, considering how notably the Eisenhower administration has courageously espoused the Negro's plea to be recognized as first class citizens.

But is it sound forecasting to say that all of the nine states Stevenson carrie din 1952, and the nine states that "shifted governors" since 1952? The more optimistic Republicans do not agree with Mr. Clark on his forecast, but concede the Courier really has something when it says the Republicans must get down to real hard work to win in 1956.

It is being pointed out that the Democrats will not have this year the vote-getting issues they had in 1952. That year they had the "ghost of Hoover days" with which to scare the voters and used it for all it was worth. They predicted another depression "if them Republicans get back in," while claiming that Democrats, only had the know-how for creating prosperity.

When confronted with the fact that Democrats have never shown any ability to create and maintain prosperity except by plunging the country into a foreign war, they have almost sanctioned war as a good thing, saying that wars are a good way to get rid of "surplus populations."

Under Eisenhower, this nation has had the greatest year of prosperity in the nation's history, and they have come without a single day of war since President "Ike" has been in the White House.

It is quite well known also, that the Democrats will not have the kind of "slush find" to distribute to their workers as they had in 1952. But even in '52, at the end of the campaign, the Democrats did not have enough money to pay off and had to tell many of their colored supporters to wait until money could be collected.

As quiet as it is kept, the chief reason why the Democrat bosses had to make common cause with the Southern stalwarts of their party was to get an abundance of the good Southern money the "oil millionaires" of the South had ready for Democrats if and when the party got rid of Trumanism, which specialized in flim-flamming the colored voters with promises of civil rights.

How can the Democrats shake off Mr. Truman when he will insist this year as he did in 1952, that the Truman policies must be endorsed regardless of who the candidate is to be.

If Trumanism is dominant in the Democrat National Convention this year, it is no certainty that Adlai Stevenson will be able to carry either Texas, Tennessee or Florida. And if the Republicans adopt a "work hard" formula, the Solid South will experience plenty trouble in carrying many Southern States, despite desegregation, which admittedly will be used for all it is worth by the Democrat politicians

Democrats could be over-optimistic about carrying many states. They probably are not counting upon what the Republicans will do in mobilizing women voters, colored and white, on the issue of "Eisenhower kept us out of war. That was the issue on which Woodrow Wilson won in 1916, although it was a false issue. Wilson was getting ready to plunge his nation into the war against Germany at the time his spellbinders were saying how cruel those Republicans were to be wanting to go to war and get a lot of our boys killed on foreign soil. Republicans hereabout who count upon carrying the state, expect the Old Guard Democrats to sidetrack Senator Estes Kefauver, the best man the party has for president. All over the country colored leaders are flocking to the standard of Tennessee's brilliant senior senator. It is believed many of these will be good and sore, if Kefauver is beaten in convention again by the machine bosses and their followers, whom the Hon Harry S. Truman controls.

Poll Ranks Eisenhower Highest Ever in South

Herald Tribune P. 8
Wed. 2-15-56

Gallup Finds He Not Only Leads Stevenson but Tops Hoover's Vote

New York, N.Y.

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 14.—President Eisenhower's drawing power in the South as a Republican Presidential candidate is evidenced in a special "trial heat" which has just been completed by the Institute in thirteen Southern states.

Indications are that Mr. Eisenhower today would not only poll a larger vote against Adlai Stevenson than he did in the 1952 election, but that he also would surpass the all-time high Republican vote in the South polled by former President Herbert Hoover in 1928.

Each Southern voter in this survey was asked:

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Mr. Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

Eisenhower vs. Stevenson

SOUTH ONLY

	Per Cent
Eisenhower	56
Stevenson	40
Undecided	4

The percentage division after eliminating the undecided vote would be 58 per cent for Mr. Eisenhower, 42 per cent for Mr. Stevenson.

In the 1952 Presidential election, Mr. Eisenhower polled 48.9 per cent of the two-party vote in the South, compared to Mr. Stevenson's 51.1 per cent. Mr. Eisenhower carried five states—Virginia with 56.5 per cent, Oklahoma with 54.6 per cent, Florida with 54.5 per cent, Texas with 53.2 per cent, and Tennessee with 50.1 per cent.

Former President Hoover, in polling 52 per cent of the Southern vote to win over Alfred E. Smith in 1928, carried seven states.

Ran Far Ahead of Party

In cracking the Solid South in 1952, President Eisenhower ran 28.5 percentage points ahead of his party. In the races for Congress in the South, Republican candidates polled 20.4 per cent of the vote.

The significance of today's trial heat race lies in a comparison with previous tests in the South involving two other Republican leaders—Vice-President Richard Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Both of these men lost to Mr. Stevenson by a substantial margin in earlier Southern trial tests, as follows: (The undecided vote is included in the first column of the tables)

Stevenson vs. Nixon

SOUTH ONLY

	P. C.	P. C.
Stevenson	60	65
Nixon	33	35
Undecided	7	—

Stevenson vs. Warren

SOUTH ONLY

	P. C.	P. C.
Stevenson	57	59
Warren	40	41
Undecided	3	—

Over the last half century, the Republicans have polled, on the average, about 34 per cent of the vote in the South in Presidential elections. Only once during that time has the Republican party been able to muster a majority vote—in 1928.

Here is the trend of the vote in the South in Presidential elections since 1900:

Presidential Elections

SOUTH ONLY

	Rep. P. C.	Dem. P. C.
1900	39	61
1904	35	65
1908	38	62
1912	19	64*
1916	31	69
1920	42	58
1924	35	60*
1928	52	48
1932	24	76
1936	24	76
1940	27	73
1944	31	69
1948	30	53*
1952	49	51

*In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt received 17 per cent; in 1924, Robert LaFollette received 5 per cent, and in 1948, J. Strom Thurmond received 17 per cent. The vote in the South in 1948 for Henry A. Wallace was negligible.

This year the South will have 146 electoral votes.

The thirteen Southern and border states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

SECRET SERVICE CHECKING

'Poisoned Drinks' On Ike's Train?

WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, W. Va., March 26 (AP)—The U. S. Secret Service launched an inquiry today to try to determine whether "poisoned" soft drinks were put aboard a private railroad car later used by President Eisenhower.

"We don't think there has been any plot aimed at the President," Secret Service Chief U. E. Baughman told a reporter. "But we do want to find out all there is to know about the situation."

Baughman ordered what he called a "routine investigation" a few hours after Eisenhower arrived here from Washington this morning for a conference with Mexican and Canadian leaders.

The President traveled aboard the same private car in which three persons reportedly were taken ill after having a bottled soft drink last Friday.

The Huntington, W. Va., Advertiser said today that at least two Huntington women and a man were made ill.

The railroad car stopped there Friday en route to Washington to pick up the President and his party. Eisenhower left Washington aboard the car last night and arrived here this morning.

The car belongs to Walter Tuohy, president of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad.

"We want to find out whether the soft drinks were poisoned or whether the folks affected may have gotten some poisoned or bad food before they ever came aboard the car," Baughman said.

He added that "it apparently was known" in Huntington last Friday that the railroad car was en route to Washington for use by Eisenhower.

Negro GOPs Quit Meetings In 2 Counties

Combined From Press Dispatches

Negro Republicans walked out on Georgia county conventions in Macon and Columbus Saturday in protest of a clean sweep of local GOP positions by white party members.

The meetings were two of simultaneous Republican county conventions held over the state to elect officers and delegates to district and state conventions. Results of the elections over the state will be reported to Atlanta headquarters during the coming week, officials said.

Republican committeeman from Mississippi last week.

He referred to bids by the the state's "lily white" faction tc take over the party's state organization. Mr Howard, an attorney, has been a state committeeman for 31 years.

Asked how he plans to counter the movement, he said:

* * *

"WE ARE just going ahead as we usually do." He said his group would call precinct conventions to elect delegates to a state convention.

Then the state convention would choose delegates to the national convention in San Francisco. The state conventions are held only "on call" from the national Republican committee.

"The call came to us," Mr. Howard said. They (the lily white group) had no authority from anyone."

simultaneous meetings over the state show the party is "stronger than ever before." He based his remarks on private conversations with district leaders.

Mr. Shartzer said he believed most counties held conventions with the exception of a few in the extreme south and southeast sections of the state.

Local officers and delegates to district and state conventions were elected at the meetings. The Republican State Convention will be held in Atlanta May 18-19.

Mr. Shartzer said the district and state credentials committees will have to certify officers and delegates to the conventions where the elections are disputed.

* * *

AT COLUMBUS, 40 angry Negroes stormed out of the Muscogee County Republican convention after their slate of six delegates to the district convention was voted down, 53 to 46.

W. M. Thomas stayed behind long enough to warn white Republicans that the Negro walkout will mean contests of the county convention vote at district, state and national levels.

In addition to selecting an all-white slate of delegates to the district and state conventions, white Republicans also named a slate of officers for the next four years that includes no Negroes. It was the first time — at least during recent years — that Negroes were excluded from all Republican posts. In 1952, Negroes got one-third of the posts in accordance with pre-convention agreements.

* * *

AFTER THE WALKOUT, retiring county chairman Walter Nichter accused Negroes of violating this one-third to two-third agreement by trying to "railroad" an extra Negro member on the county Republican executive committee.

James W. Jandrew was elected chairman of the Muscogee unit.

Negro Republicans walked out on the Bibb County GOP convention, charging white members with "steamroller" tantics in the election of officers and delegates.

The 31 Negroes later returned to the meeting room in Hotel Dempsey and elected their own officers and delegates to district and state conventions.

The walkout followed the election of an all-white slate of 13 delegates and 13 alternates over the loud protests of the Negroes.

* * *

WHITE REPUBLICANS resumed the session after the walkout and named Carl E. Westmoreland chairman, Durward B. Mercer vice chairman, J. Marvin Elliott secretary and N. Logan Lewis, treasurer.

After that meeting adjourned, the Negro group returned and opened a session which the Rev. J. T. Saxton, Macon Negro minister, termed the "legal meeting of the Bibb County unit of the Republican Party." He told a reporter the Negroes objected to the "steamroller" manner in which the white members were conducting the meeting.

The Negroes named Walter Johnson chairman, Saxton vice chairman, Ed C. Carver Sr. secretary and Paul DuVall Jr. assistant secretary.

'We intend to stay,' says Mississippi GOP head

WASHINGTON (ANP) — "We are still in — and intend to stay" said Perry W. Howard, national

W. B. SHARTZER of Atlanta, chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, said the election a heavy vote was cast by that party.

In the meantime, leaders are urging interest in the registration program to get new voters on the voting rolls.

State Republican chairman W. B. Shartzer, has stated all qualified voters who are willing to support the party are eligible to attend the county meetings.

Delegates to the national convention will be elected at the district and state conventions.

GEORGIA NEWS ROUNDUP

Floyd Republican Unit Elects Negro Treasurer

A retired Negro insurance agent was elected treasurer of the Floyd County Republican Central Committee at a county convention meeting.

The new treasurer is Louis W. Mason of Rome.

Mrs. Robbie J. Smith of Rome was chosen chairman, succeeding her husband Clyde Smith, who has been serving as both county and 7th District chairman. He will retain the latter post.

Other officers named included James I. Davis and J. W. Carten, vice chairmen, and Jack T. Farrer, secretary, all of Rome.

Delegates also were elected for the party's district and state conventions.

The meeting was one of many held by Republicans throughout Georgia under new rules of the national party.

Fulton Republicans To Select Delegates

Tomorrow a heavy turn-out is expected at the Fulton County Courthouse as Republicans of the county gather to elect county officers for the party and select delegates for the G. O. P. district and state conventions to be held later.

The meeting gets under way at noon. At the same hour other county conventions will gather at their respective courthouses throughout the state for the same purpose.

Negro and white members will be elected to all conventions. Delegates are elected on the basis of the number of votes cast for the party in the previous presidential election. Both the county and state as a whole cast the largest Republican vote in the history of the state for President Eisenhower in 1952. Fulton will have seventy one delegates to select at Saturday's meeting.

The county cast 35,197 votes for the Republican ticket three years ago. Also in the 1954 congressional election a heavy vote was cast by that party.

YOUNG REPUBLICANS of Atlanta and Fulton County as they greeted Val Washington, Director of Minorities, Republican National Committee as he passed through Atlanta Thursday night. (L. to R.) Philip Hood, Joseph Williams, Harold Turner, Val Washington, Archie Hill, Jr., and Mrs. Elise Gilham. — (Photo by Lowe)

HUDDLE AT THE SUMMIT

President Eisenhower, left, has a talk at the door of his quarters in White Sulphur Springs, W. Va., with Mexican President Adolfo Cortines, center, and Luis Padilla Nerva, Mexico's minister of foreign affairs.—AP Wirephoto

Negroes Protest, Quit Convention

COLUMBUS, Ga., March 25 (AP) —Forty angry Negroes stormed out of the Muscogee county Republican convention Saturday in protest of a clean sweep of local GOP positions by white party members.

Negro Republicans left the meeting in a body after their slate of six delegates to the district convention was voted down, 53 to 46.

W. M. Thomas stayed behind long enough to warn white Republicans that the Negro walkout will mean contests of the county convention vote at district, state and national levels.

In addition to selecting an all-white slate of delegates to the district and state conventions, white Republicans also named a slate of officers for the next four years that includes no Negroes. James W. Andrew was elected Republican chairman.

It was the first time at least during recent years — that Negroes were excluded from all Republican posts. In 1952, Negroes got one-third of the posts in accordance with preconvention agreements.

HARRIMON SCORES G.O.P. BIAS RECORD

He Asserts Leaders Do Not Want Real Progress in Ending Discrimination

Special to The New York Times.

ALBANY, May 2 — Governor Harriman asserted today that Republican leaders in the state and the nation did not want to see real progress in eliminating discrimination.

He told a press conference that Oswald D. Heck, Speaker of the Assembly, had demonstrated in a television interview on Sunday "the hypocricy of the Republican leadership on civil rights, both in Albany and in Washington."

Mr. Heck had declared that Charles Abrams, chairman of the State Commission Against Discrimination, was "unfit" to hold his job. The Speaker called the Harriman appointee a "zealot" who "isn't balanced in such a sensitive job." Today the Governor said:

"Mr. Heck, with his usual open naïveté, let the cat out of the bag in his comments on Charles Abrams."

Proposal Failed in Legislature

Mr. Harriman declared that the power he had sought unsuccessfully for the commission to start its own investigations in the field of discrimination was held by similar commissions in seven of the nine states that have an anti-bias agency. The four Republican members of the five-man commission approved the chance unanimously, he said. The change failed to clear the Legislature.

As for Mr. Abrams' qualifications to head the commission, the Governor said he was "a man of distinction," a successful lawyer and "did a fine job as rent administrator."

In a statement issued soon after the press conference, L. Judson Morhouse, the Republican State Chairman, said Mr. Harriman "is trying to steal credit for the great Republican record of action against discrimination, especially in New York State."

"The Democrats controlled the state administration for twenty years," Mr. Morhouse added, "and did nothing about discrimination."

"If he's sincere in his support of civil rights," he continued, "Mr. Harriman should be denouncing his own party's Congressional leadership and he should give credit to the Republican Administrations that have brought about such great progress in this field."

RACIAL GROUPS SPLIT G. O. P. IN MISSISSIPPI

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss, May 5 — H. O. Spencer, Republican national committeeman, asserted this week that Mississippi's delegation to the Republican National Convention in August would include neither a Negro delegate nor a Negro alternate.

A Washington story in The New York Times of April 19 said that the delegation would include at least one Negro delegate and an alternate.

Mr. Spencer heads the white faction of the state Republican party. The other group, composed of Negroes, has for years been recognized by national party headquarters as the official party in the state. This year, however, the white faction is making a strong bid for full recognition. It has been recognized by the National Committee but not by the convention.

Mr. Spencer said his group had elected its fifteen delegates at a meeting in Jackson in March and there were no Negroes on the list.

The opposing group, headed by Perry W. Howard, will hold its state convention in Jackson on June 15.

A battle between the two groups on credentials may come up when the convention opens in San Francisco.

34d 1956 REPUBLICAN

Ike's Popularity Higher Than in '53, Poll Shows

Herald Tribune, Fla. P. 20A
Fri. 3-2-56

By GEORGE GALLUP

PRINCETON, N. J. — The consistently high level of President Eisenhower's personal popularity through his days in office is dramatized by an "anniversary audit" just completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

In the initial check, conducted in February, 1953, after his first month in office, the President's popularity rating stood at 68 per cent. That's the percentage of voters who approved of the way he was handling his job as Chief Executive.

GALLUP

Today, three years after the first poll, the President draws a nod of approval from 76 per cent, as follows:

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way Eisenhower is handling his job as President?"

The year-by-year trend:

EISENHOWER POPULARITY

	Ap-prove	Disap-prove	No Opin.
Feb. '53	68%	7%	25%
Feb. '54	71	19	10
Mar. '55	71	16	13
Feb. '56	76	14	10

A continuing feature of the Gallup Poll since 1935, the presidential popularity index has been conducted at periodic intervals during the administrations of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower.

By way of comparison, the highest and lowest approval vote obtained for each of the three Presidents is as follows:

EISENHOWER: High of 79 per cent, in August, 1955, following the Summit Meeting at Geneva; Low of 57 per cent, in November, 1954 — for a range of 22 percentage points.

TRUMAN: High of 87 per cent, in July, 1945, three months after he had taken over the reins of government: Low of 23 per cent, in November, 1951—for a range of 64 percentage points.

ROOSEVELT: High of 84 per cent, in January, 1942, following Pearl Harbor; Low of 50 per cent, in November, 1935—for a range of 34 percentage points.

Eisenhower today receives an overwhelming vote of confidence from members of his own party. More than nine out of every 10 GOP voters (93 per cent) say they approve of the way he is handling his White House duties.

Even among rank-and-file Democrats, six out of every 10 approve.

The important political fact is that among independents — the shift voters who swing one way or the other, depending on the issues and candidates—eight out of every 10 approve, as follows:

	Rep.	Dem.	Ind.
Approve	93%	60%	81%
Disapprove	2	27	8
No opinion	5	13	11

Figures reporting the popularity of the President should be interpreted as a vote of general confidence or approval in his handling of state affairs. Obviously, the figure does not represent the number who would actually vote for him in a presidential election, because of straight party voting.

In many ways, Eisenhower is a strange political phenomenon. His popularity, which extends beyond the limits of his own party, can be explained in several ways. Probably best is his lack of strong identification with either party.

In the years before Ike tossed his hat into the ring, there was much discussion as to whether he was a Democrat or a Republican.

(As late as August of last year, an institue survey showed that Ike is thought by the average voter to be, at heart, neither a Republican nor a Democrat — but "somewhere in between" the two in his personal political philosophy.)

What is perhaps even more amazing is that both parties thought of him as a possible candidate on their ticket for the presidency. In June, 1951, Eisenhower actually led the list of preferred candidates among the rank-and-file of both parties in polls taken at the time.

The fact is that Eisenhower could have won the presidency on either ticket. Had he not cast his lot with the GOP, and instead headed the Democratic ticket, his most likely opponent would have been Sen. Robert A. Taft.

In a "trial heat," in which a representative sample of voters was given a choice between Eisenhower as the Democratic candidate and Taft as the Republican candidate, the voters chose Eisenhower by a 2-to-1 margin.

Another fact is that, since he took office, the President has steered a middle-of-the-road course. His sustained high popularity is evidence that he has alienated few of his original followers and also that center groups dominate the American political scene today.

NEGRO UPSWING FOR GOP LOOMS

Times-Picayune
New Orleans, La.
Wed. 3-14-56

Israel Action Also Factor in New York Vote Fight

By JAMES DEVLIN

NEW YORK, March 13 (AP)—The Israeli and segregation questions may be potent factors in the fight for New York's 45 electoral votes.

A sampling of public opinion by this reporter indicated these issues may bring some voting switches.

A Negro upswing in the Republican voting column appears a possibility.

Democrats contend they will make gains among Israel's supporters here.

Harlem Warning to GOP

The survey, following President Eisenhower's announcement for a second term, covered roughly a 150-mile area. It included New York city and Albany, both ordinarily Democratic, and the usually Republican Hudson River Valley and Westchester county.

Harlem, populous Negro center regarded as Democratic since New Deal days, is smarting over racial incidents in Democratic Southern states.

Some of its residents say the Republicans are doing more for the Negro than the Democrats and that there will be an increase in the Harlem Republican vote.

'Blame Cabinet, Not Ike'

On Israel, Democrats voice belief the Republicans have lost ground.

They say there is dissatisfaction among Israeli's friends over administration policy in the Middle East. They cite the sending of tanks to the Arabs when Israel is asking arms.

"The trouble is," commented one Democrat, "whenever the administration does anything that causes criticism, the average person blames the cabinet officer involved and not Ike."

While not commenting on the Israel or segregation issues, Republican state chairman L. Judson Morhouse and his Democratic counterpart, Michael Prendergast, both saw victory ahead in the November election.

Says People Still Like Ike

Morhouse said Eisenhower's popularity is such he may exceed his 1952 plurality of 850,000. He said more young Republicans than ever will be working for Eisenhower's election.

Prendergast retorts that Democrat Averell Harriman wiped out this big majority and was elected governor by about 12,000 votes in 1954. He contends the Democrats can win again this year.

The President's announcement he will seek a second term quickly divided his followers and opponents on sharp lines on the possible influence of his heart attack.

"There isn't a person," said a New York city Republican worker, "who doesn't know of somebody who had a heart attack and lived to be 92 years old. Sure, Ike could get a heart attack during a second term, but so could anybody else holding the office of president. The health issue won't hurt Ike."

'Health Bound to Be Issue'

"Ike was pressured into it," said an Albany Democrat. "He's foolish to run—and I'd say that whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. Look at what happened to Roosevelt. Health is bound to be an issue in this campaign."

Democrats generally believe Vice-President Nixon—their sharp critic—will make a good target if he is Eisenhower's running mate again.

But the rank and file supporting Eisenhower appear perplexed at the controversy that intermittently boils about Nixon—and particularly at reports some Republicans in upper echelons want to drop him.

"I don't know what all the fuss is about," said a Republican in traditionally GOP Westchester county, well-to-do residential section outside New York city. "It seems to me he has worked loyally for Eisenhower and has done a good job.'

Says Negroes Going Republican

In Albany, where Thomas E. Dewey served as governor, several Democrats registered belief Dewey would supplant Nixon on the Eisenhower ticket. But a Republican expressed doubt, saying such a line-up would provoke Taft elements in the party.

A Negro porter in Grand Central Terminal said "all you hear" in Harlem are pledges to vote Republican. Others with him nodded assent.

The Republicans, he said, are doing more than the Democrats toward desegregation.

A man waiting for a bus in Albany gave this as his reason for opposing Eisenhower:

"I just don't like a soldier as president. A soldier is too accustomed to taking orders."

'Such Nice People'

A restaurant hostess said she was sorry Eisenhower didn't feel he should retire to his Gettysburg farm, but declared "I wish he could be president for 20 years. He and Mamie are such nice people."

Along the Hudson River valley, traditionally Republican, a farmer said he believed Eisenhower would get a heavy "sympathy" vote—ballots in admiration of his decision to stick to the job despite his heart attack.

Some Democrats say privately they believe Eisenhower's personal popularity is as great as it was in 1952.

But they believe they have one advantage they didn't have before. In 1952, it was a matter of campaigning against a national war hero with no political background. Now, he has a presidential record, which the Democrats can attack as vigorously as the Republicans can praise.

AMONG REPUBLICANS at a recent fund raising campaign dinner at Brooklyn's St. George Hotel, were, left to right: TOP ROW—Dr. Geraldine Mowbry, Carmel Carrington, Mary Lexecutive assistant to UN Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge; Mrs. Beatrice Summersille, Cumberland Hospital personnel supervisor; Mrs. Besshunter Jackson, community relations advisor, Board of Education; BOTTOM ROW—Dr. Lawrence C. Arnett, Richard Simons, member, State Republican Committee; Larry J. Foster, national Republican Party leader; Henry Jackson, postal service official.

President Takes Rural Vote Over Adlai Stevenson

By GENE SCHROEDER

CHICAGO — (INS) — President Eisenhower outpolled Adlai E. Stevenson in Tuesday's Illinois Presidential preference primary and the big factor was a preponderance of Republican ballots in the downstate farming areas.

Nearly complete returns gave Mr. Eisenhower 723,309 votes on the GOP ballot. Stevenson, running unopposed in the Democratic voting had 704,075. The former Illinois governor was much stronger in predominantly-Democratic Cook County, including Chicago.

In 102 downstate agricultural counties, the returns showed Mr. Eisenhower captured 78, Stevenson nine, while 15 remained doubtful.

Stevenson supporters said they were pleased with the outcome and pointed out that their candidate gained percentagewise over Mr. Eisenhower in comparison with the 1952 statewide presidential returns.

The Stevenson camp also claimed a moral victory over Sen. Estes Kefauver, who got a write-in vote of about four per cent of Stevenson's total. In pre-election statements, both sides said they expected the Tennessee Senator to capture about 10 per cent.

But Republicans also found an encouraging note. The downstate returns served to quiet talk of a farm-belt revolt against the administration, since the GOP gained over its 1952 showing in that area.

In both the Minnesota and Wisconsin primaries there were signs of discontent over the Eisenhower farm policies.

Kefauver congratulated Stevenson on his victory and said the results added to the "evidence that this will be a Democratic year."

In a statement issued in Washington the Tennessean also said:

"I was not entered in the Illinois primary and I made no effort to secure write-ins, although I understand some local people sought write-ins on my behalf."

In Florida, where Stevenson is campaigning for votes in that state's May 29th primary, the 1952 party standard-bearer said he was "very much pleased and delighted" with the results.

Despite an organized write-in campaign for Kefauver, he said, "I have been overwhelmingly endorsed by the voters of my home state."

The two leading contenders for the Democratic nomination also will clash in the California primary and both have announced they will seek write-in votes in Oregon, where no one is listed on the Democratic ballot.

Belittle Attempt To Gain Control Of Mississippi

WASHINGTON—(A N P)—Perry W. Howard, national Republican committeeman from Mississippi, said last week that he's not too worried by the "lily white" faction's latest bid to take ove he party's state organization."

"They've been trying to do that since 1920, Howard said, "but we are still in—and intend to stay."

Howard, a Negro attorney who has been a Mississippi committeeman for 31 years, made the statement in reference to a new drive launched by a group of white Mississippi Republicans to win recognition from the Republican National Convention as the state's official representative

The group, called "lily white" by the Howard forces, agreed on the move at a recent meeting in Jackson. It nominated its leader, E O. Spencer, state chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower Committee to replace Howard as committeeman if the national convention approves.

Asked how he plans to counter the new faction, Howard said:

"We are just going ahead as we usually do. First, we'll issue a call for county and precinct conventions to elect delegates to a state convention. Then we'll call a state convention and pick delegates to the national convention in San Francisco."

State coventions, he said, are held "on call" from the national committee, acting on behalf of the previous national convention

"The call came to us," Howard said. "They (the "lily whites)") had no authority from anyone."

SPEAKER—Val J. Washington, director of minorities, Republican National Committee, will address the Plymouth Forum at 6 p.m. tomorrow in Plymouth Congregational Church, Seventeenth and P streets N.W. Mr. Washington will talk on "The Eisenhower Program and Negro Rights."

Back GOP, Resolution Asks Negro

By ADON TAFT
Herald Religion Editor

A resolution urging Negroes—especially those in the North—to support Republican candidates for Congress will be introduced today or Saturday by Southern delegates at the quadrennial conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church meeting in Dinner Key Auditorium.

The resolution will not say that in so many words, but it is the implied meaning of the request by delegates from Florida, Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana that AME members in the North support by the ballot the civil rights fight of Southern Negroes.

Informed sources say the purpose in electing a Republican Congress is to remove Southern Democrats from key positions on committees which could act to improve the civil rights status of Negroes.

Thursday, the nearly 10,000 persons attending the conference heard the annual address from the bishops which disclosed a critical shortage of Negro ministerial students. A crisis within 10 or 15 years was predicted unless more young men enter the seminaries.

Bishop A. J. Allen of Cleveland gave the address which also recommended opposition to any merger proposals with the parent Methodist Church until that body abolishes discrimination in its administrative setup.

In addition, the bishops urged support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, condemned communism, and commended the ecumenical church movement with its goal of the brotherhood of man.

They also recommended reorganization of the AME church's 17 districts into 18 areas.

A spokesman for the council of bishops praised the hospitality of Miami in receiving the Negro delegates and their families despite objections raised by some local politicians to housing Negroes in Miami Beach hotels for the first time.

At Thursday night's session, 82 foreign delegates from Africa, South and Central America, the West Indies and Canada were introduced. Many of them spoke of the church work in their countries.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

Chart Own Course Ike Tells Nixon

Daily World
wed. 3-14-56
Atlanta Ga.

By JAMES LEE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — President Eisenhower's intimates disclosed Saturday that the Chief Executive has told Vice-President Richard M. Nixon to "chart his own course" so he can be in a position to seek the Presidency in 1960.

P. 1

Close presidential advisers said that if Nixon believes this aim can best be served by a second term as vice president, he will have Mr Eisenhower's full blessing.

IN 1960

But, according to topmost Gop strategists, if Nixon decides his chances to become president in 1960 would be improved by relinquishing the vice presidency and serving in a post of high executive responsibility that course also would have enthusiastic sanction from Mr. Eisenhower.

Associates of the Chief Executive said the President's interest in the 43-yead old Californian is "deeply paternal" and that the chief executive is convinced Nixon can be the man to take over leadership of the Republican party and the nation four years hence.

HIGHEST OFFICE

These councilors of the President declared that far from entertaining any idea of "dumping" Nixon, the president has pointed out the alternative paths he can pursue towards the highest office in the land

An extraordinarily well-informed Republican said: "Ike really loves Nixon as a son. He is thinking of Dick's future."

Daily world.

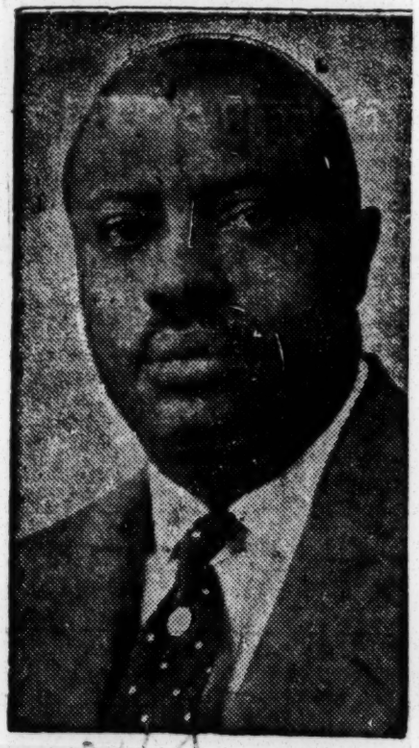
This GOP leader added: "He doubts, or he questions, whether Nixon can serve as Vice President for eight years and go on to be president. No man has ever done that in all our history.

P4

"He fears something might happen to Dick in a second term as Vice President and that would keep him forever from the White House. That is why he said publicly that he had left Dick's future up to Dick himself."

A top republican said Mr. Eisenhower sought to express that feeling when the old news conference last Wednesday: "I have no criticism of Vice President Nixon to make, either as a man, an associate, or as my running mate on the ticket."

First Negro Chaplain Of Republican Party



REV. W. M. JACKSON

Dr. W. M. Jackson, able pastor of the Bethlehem Baptist Church for 21 years, has been signally honored by the Republican Party, having been named its first chaplain in Georgia, alternate delegate to the National Republican Convention, which meets in San Francisco, California August 20.

Daily World
5-29-56
Atlanta, Ga.

He is a member of the State Central Committee of the Republican Party in Georgia and has been a Republican from young manhood.

Georgia GOPS To Wage Drive For Eisenhower

Daily World - Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 5-20-56

By MARION E. JACKSON

Overwhelming support of the reelection bid of Pres. Dwight D. Eisenhower, a plea for GOP-sponsored candidates in city, county and State elections and rejection of an attempt to add four members from each district to the State Central Committee featured the meeting of Georgia Republicans Saturday at the Municipal Auditorium.

P. 1

The GOP State Convention voted down a motion by Roy Foster, Jr., of Wadley, to enlarge the committee by a margin of 204-110. This motion provided live discussion in meeting

W. B. SHARTZER

Shartzer Re-Elected State Chairman; Asks GOP Candidates

which was characterized by harmony throughout the two day session.

W. C. Erwin, Augusta and R. N. Milner of Atlanta spoke against the motion. Mr. Erwin labeled the proposal as letting "the tail wag the dog." He asked no special consideration of races and groups.

State Republicans reelected W. B. Shartzer as chairman. He was named to the post three years ago by the Georgia Republican Central Committee when Elbert Tuttle resigned to accept a federal judgeship. His election had been viewed as a foregone conclusion.

Observers viewed the attempt to enlarge the State Central Committee as a test of the Foster faction strength in support of an opposing candidate for Shartzer. Delegates shouted "No" in defeating the motion. Then Mr. Foster asked for a role call.

Rudolph Thrower chairman of the convention viewed this as a time consuming device, but agreed to a standing vote which saw the delegates refusing to support the motion for a second time.

The convention seated three contested delegations early Saturday Charles A. Moyer, Jr. Decatur, chairman of the credentials committee recommended the seating of a three man delegation and alternates from Tatnall County, a delegation for 17 delegates and alternates from Muscogee County and a delegation of 13 from Bibb County. The groups were seated on a unanimous vote and on the first ballot. The Muscogee delegation was drawn up by the credentials committee in a compromise action. No agreement could be reached between the Bibb factions and the slate chosen at the district meet was seated.

Robert R. Snodgrass and Mrs. Marvin Elliott were elected national committeeman and national committee women, respectively.

Mr. Shartzer, W. J. Shaw, Atlanta; Mr. Snodgrass, Atlanta; and Reid Mull Blue Ridge were elected delegates from the state at large to the Republican National Convention in San Francisco. Alternates chosen were Harbin King, C. R. Yates, O. B. Johnson and J. M. Kent.

FIRST NEGRO SEC'Y ELECTED SINCE 1928

W. J. SHAW

the State Central Committee. Other officers elected W. J. Shaw, Atlanta, secretary; A. M. Carter, Augusta, assistant secretary; R. R. Snodgrass Atlanta, treasurer; Ed Barham, Valdosta general counsel and Reid Mull, Blue Ridge, executive director and Miss Margaret Twiggs, Augusta, vice-chairwoman and vice-chairmen; William J. Schloth, Columbus, Third District; Russell E. Kaliher, Second District and C. R. Yates, Atlanta, Fifth District. Mr. Shaw is the first Negro secretary since 1928. He previously has served as acting secretary of the committee.

Daily World

Gene Gilbert made the report of the rules committee which asked for a permanent committee to act for the Republican Party in Georgia. It shall meet following adjournment of the Republican National Convention, and at least once each calendar year between state conventions. The committee shall meet immediately preceding the next Republican State Convention for the purpose of hearing such contests as might arise in selection of delegates to state conventions and for the purpose of cer-

...ying a temporary role of delegates to the state conventions."

REPORT ON RULES LISTS GOP STATE

The report asked for a committee to be "composed of a chairman, vice chairman, a secretary and assistant secretary, an executive director, and two members of the Republican National committee."

"The rules committee report said" In the event of the death, resignation or other extended failure of a member to act (which may be determined by a two-thirds majority of the committee) the committee shall fill by a two-third majority any such vacancy. If the membership of a white member shall become vacant, the serving white members shall nominate and the committee shall elect the person so nominated. If the membership of a colored member become vacant the surviving colored members shall nominate the colored vacancy and the committee shall elect the person so nominated.

Mr. Shartzer in his speech taking over the helm of Georgia Republicans asked delegates to encourage young people in taking an active part in the Republican affairs of this state; go back home and get with county committees and put a candidate up for poublic office; and candidate up for public ofice and active part in political affairs.

INSTANT REACTION TO SHARTZER'S PLEA

There was instant reaction from delegates to Chairman Shartzer's plea for GOP candidates. Off-the-record comment was that Republicans should try and put a forth-right candidate in the senate race against Herman E. Talmadge although most conceded it would be a difficult and expensive task.

He asked young Republicans to go to work and add converts to the GOP cause. He cited Dodge and Muscogee counties as examples of effective work in the GOP cause.

Mr. Shartzer said" Four years ago only 300 people voted for Dwight D Eisenhower in Dodge County. Now more than 400 persons attended the recent county convention."

"In Muscogee County two Republicans were elected to the county commission and one today is the chairman."

RESIGNED REGISTRAR ON HAND FOR MEETING

Louis D. Toomer, former registrar of the Treasury of the United States, who recently resigned to take an active part in the national campaign, was one of the interested participants in the state meet.

Chairman Shartzer showered praise on W. J. Shaw and hailed him as "the best secretary Georgia Republicans ever had."

Robert McFarland made the report of the resolutions committee which commended President for his leadership and pledged support of his nomination at the San Francisco convention. The report pledged to give the President the largest margin of victory in the history of Georgia."

W. J. Schloth, Columbus, told the convention that Steve Knight, now chairman of the Muscogee County Convention, would make the race for the U. S. House of Representatives. He praised Knight as having instituted the soundest fiscal policies in the history of the county.

The convention was one of the most harmonious sessions in years Despite predictions of discord over contested delegations from several counties. It failed to materialize.

Among the delegates were D. R. Flanagan, Lumpkin; W. C. Erwin, J. P. Bohler, S. M. Jenkins, Augusta; Dr. Rembert T. Johnson, Elberton; J. A. Seace, McDonough; Ed Lemon, Locust Grove; A. C. Touchstone, O. A. Stinson, Griffin, M. C. Smith, Sandersville; E. G. Jenkins, J. C. Connally, Columbus; J. W. Howard, Swainsboro; Walter Johnson, Macon; S. A. Adams, S. G. Dent J. P. Atkinson, Brunswick.

WHITE GOP FACTION SEEKS RECOGNITION

Mississippians Ask Seat At Convention

JACKSON, Miss., May 18.—(AP)—E. O. Spencer, Mississippi's Republican National Committeeman, was confident Friday the national convention would seat his all-white faction.

Mr. Spencer's group won a race with the recognized Black and Tan Grand Old Party when state law was changed in 1948 and became the official Mississippi Republican Party.

But the national convention has yet to recognize any Mississippi group other than the Black and Tans, led by Negro attorney Perry Howard of Washington. The Black and Tans have been seated at the national conventions for the past 32 years.

The United States Supreme Court upheld the state Supreme Court decision that the white group had replaced the Black and Tans as the official Mississippi Republican Party.

"Armed with every legal right," Mr. Spencer said, "we believe the credentials committee will recognize us."

Wirt Yerger Jr., Republican state chairman, said recent talks with other party members in Washington convinced him "everybody we talked to up there wants to get rid of Howard."

Mr. Spencer said his delegation to the national convention would include no Negroes.

S. W. Miller, state chairman of the hopeful Black and Tans, said his delegation would include about 15 whites.

BIRACIAL UNIT TO GO TO TALKS

Black, Tan to Send Mixed Convention Delegation

JACKSON, Miss., May 14 (AP)—The state chairman of the Negro Republican faction said Monday he expects his delegation to the San Francisco convention to include at least 15 white persons among its 30 delegates and alternates.

S. W. Miller, state chairman of the Black and Tan Grand Old Party, said a bi-racial delegation will be elected at the group's state convention in Jackson June 15.

"Black and Tan, that's our name," Miller said. "The black means Negroes and the tan means white folks."

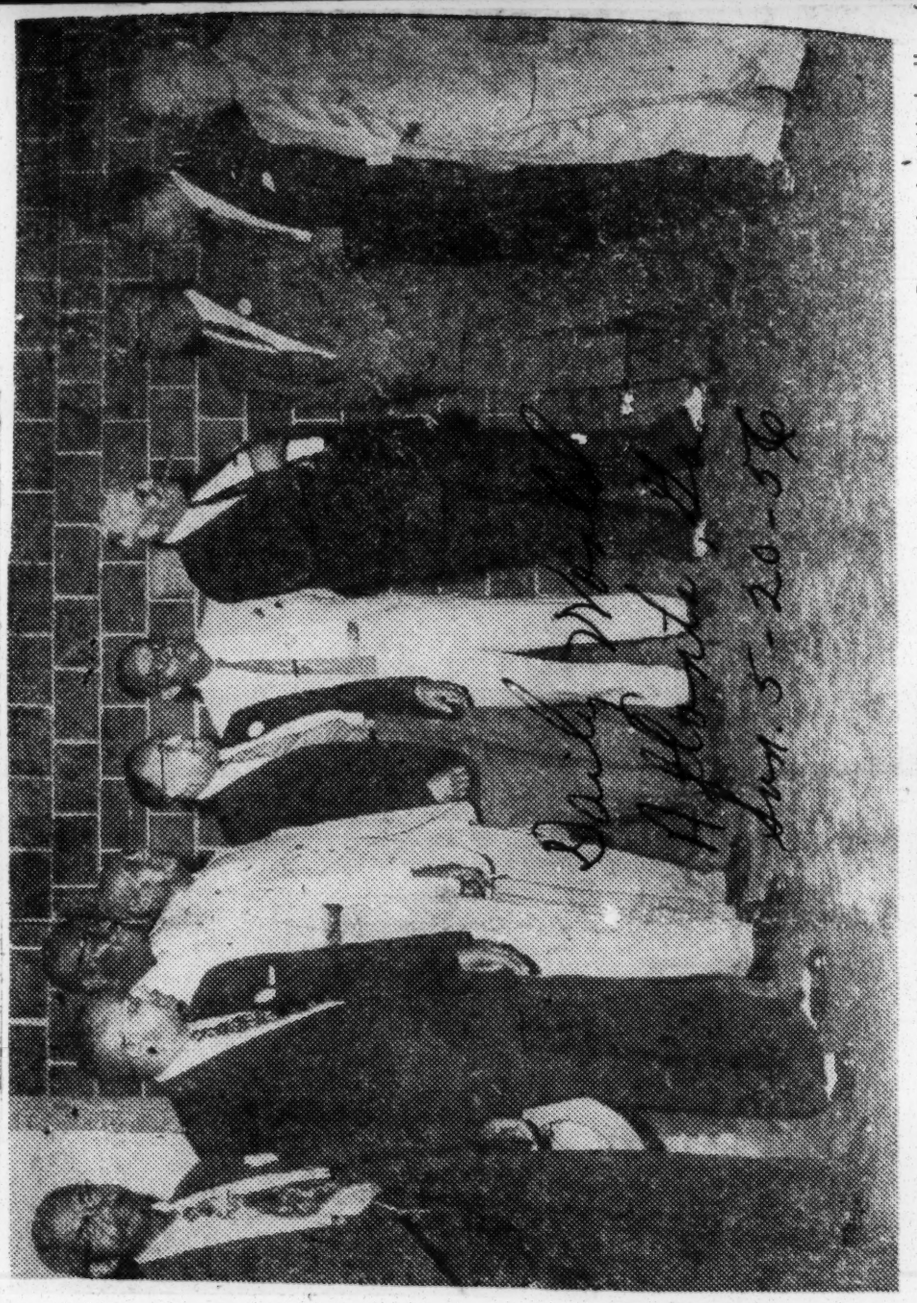
He said he expects no compromise with the all-white Mississippi Republican party that is fighting the Black and Tan group for national party recognition.

"A compromise would be nice," Miller said, "but folks on the white side don't even want to get near a Negro so that's no way to compromise. The truth is we're in and always have been in. They're out and if they want in they ought to be trying to come in through us. You can't just come in and take something."

He said the seating of the Black and Tan group at the national convention "will influence Negro voters toward the Republican party all over the country."

The white group led by Jackson hotel executive E. O. Spencer, former chairman of the Citizens for Eisenhower committee in Mississippi, will send a contesting delegation to San Francisco seeking to be seated for the first time.

The party has traditionally recognized the Negro group but Spencer and the Mississippi Republican party express confidence they will take over GOP machinery in Mississippi "to build it into a real two-party state."



GROUP CHATS WITH G.O.P. FEDERAL OFFICIAL — Between sessions of the State Republican Convention, meeting in Atlanta Friday and Saturday, a group of political leaders had a chat with L. H. Toomer, of Savannah, who until recently was register of the Treasury. He resigned to campaign for the re-election of President Eisenhower. Left to right are shown, Rev. J. L. Mitchell, of Atlanta, M. C. Smith, Sandersville, J. H. Calhoun, John Wesley Dobbs, and Prof. Kemper Harreld, of Atlanta; Benjamin S. Adams, Savannah, Mr. Toomer, W. C. Irvin, Augusta, C. A. Scott and C. R. Yates, both of Atlanta. — (Perry's Photo)

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

A Frontier Open For Settlement

Congressman Frank Boykin's invitation to President Eisenhower to visit his South Alabama game preserve, which no doubt is a standing invitation, is representative of a kind of geographical fellowship that ought to put ideas in the GOP leadership's head.

Not the most ardent Republican, comparing Ike's extraordinary victory with the party's singular loss of Congress, has any doubt that something needs to be done. Certainly that need is much on the mind of Ike, who wishes to leave the legacy of a dominant Republican Party as the instrument of enlightened conservatism.

The differing fortunes of Ike and his party at the polls is not always stated as clearly as it might be. Ike is obviously stronger than the GOP, but what they forget to add is that Ike is also stronger than the Democratic Party, having crushed it in all but seven states. The Democrats could not even hold the Solid South.

It is furthermore true that if you subtract the Southern congressional results and take only those of the North, the Republicans did quite well. Republicans are on sound ground making that lost point. Also, it is true that despite the Democratic congressional victory, the division between the parties is quite close.

But when all this had been considered, the essential point remains that the loss of Congress by a victorious President is unprecedented in this century and that at other times, and in the middle of Truman's second term, the Republicans have won Congress. This year, then, represents a Republican failure.

In looking for the means of restoring Republican strength, it would be fantastic if the GOP neglected to work the Southern vineyard. The election of some GOP congressmen in the South and Ike's extraordinary gains in the Deep South proclaim that the South is progressing towards the status of normal two-party battleground. Whether this movement is to be glacial or relatively rapid depends greatly on Republican exertions and imagination.

The GOP did little to exploit its opportunities after 1952. For one thing—certainly in Alabama—it left its patronage in the hands of certain Republican regulars who like to make enough GOP gain to impress national headquarters but are pale and ill at the thought of a strong party in which they would have to compete with able and forceful ex-Democrats for leadership and patronage.

In all fairness it must be emphatically acknowledged that these uneasy post office Republicans have strong claims on the GOP because they were the faithful caretakers through all the wilderness days when Alabamians thought GOP spelled pox. These post office boys are also sensible to argue that the organization must continue in their hands because their rivals, while hot stuff with checkbook and ward-heeling when Ike is running, are, between presidential elections, up to their ears in Democratic primary activity.

That is a tough problem for National Chairman Leonard Hall. All the same, it is perfectly plain that the Republican Party in Alabama and other Southern states *has no future whatsoever except as it recruits ex-Democrats into its ranks.*

Furthermore, the GOP will never be a national party wher a fourth of the country is automatically off-limits to it. The South remains the base of the Democratic Party. If the GOP could give the South something of what it wants, it could undermine the base of the Democratic Party.

Such things, in the absence of an incendiary issue like slavery, cannot be accomplished quickly. People are slow to change their party affiliations as they are slow to change their church affiliations. You cannot dish up a short order of strong GOP candidates for state and local office—indeed, there is a growing shortage even of good Democratic candidates. But now, in this second Eisenhower term, is the time for the President to act with vigor and long-range design. A frontier begs for settlement.

GOP Bids Boldly For Negro Vote

By Thomas L. Stokes

WASHINGTON — For many years the powerful conservative coalition in the House of Representatives comprised of Republicans and Southern Democrats has been symbolized in the bipartisan pair of leaders who directed it from the pinnacle of the House Rules Committee.

They are the veteran Virginia Democrat who looks like something out of "Pickwick Papers," Howard W. Smith, the committee chairman now serving his 23rd year in the House, and his Republican partner from Illinois short and energetic Leo E. Allen, serving his 21st year in the House and ranking Republican on the committee.

This team was broken up for the first time when Allen deserted his old sidekick and joined two other Republicans and five Democrats this week to blast the Civil Rights Bill out of the Rules Committee, where it had been bottled up after being approved by the House Judiciary Committee. Chairman Smith found himself in the minority, holding the bag with two other Southern Democrats.

It was the breakup of the Smith-Allen team on the Civil Rights Bill, generally overlooked, which gives the real meaning of the break-up of the old conservative coalition in the House which, though perhaps temporary, is significant in this presidential election year and denotes the political currents at work.

Allen's literally revolutionary act in deserting his Democratic teammate for the first time measures the determination of the Republican leadership, headed by the party's floor leader, Representative Joe Martin (Mass.), to put through the Civil Rights Bill as a bold bid for the Negro vote in key Northern States—a vote which for many years has been preponderantly Democratic—and simultaneously to reveal in dramatic fashion the North-South split in the Democratic Party on civil rights.

Allen stood by Chairman Smith last week in the showdown when the school construction bill, which had been held up for months in the Rules Committee, was forced out, 8 to 3, in the rebellion of a new coalition of Northern Republicans and non-South Democrats on the committee. Sparking the rebellion was a Democrat, Representative Richard Bolling, of Missouri.

But Allen finally parted company with his Virginia Democratic friend on the Civil Rights Bill, wh ch is supported by the administration and by Northern Democrats.

This measure creates a new civil rights section in the Justice Department as well as setting up a bipartisan commission to investigate violation of civil rights. It also strengthens present laws to permit direct federal prosecution of civil rights violation of all kinds, including attempts to prevent Negroes from voting.

The new coalition of Northern Democrats and Republicans revealed its strength in the Rules Committee coup to get before the House both the school construction and vicil rights measures.

The old conservative coalition, which now fades into at least temporary obscurity, has frequently operated on behalf of conservative interests to impede and obstruct, and occasionally kill, New Deal and Fair Deal measures.

It has an interesting history. It was put together after the 1938 congressional election, halfway through the Roosevelt era, and largely was the handiwork of two Southern Democratic leaders—then VIce President John N. Garner and Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina.

Their aim was to try to check further expansion of the New Deal philosophy. The opportunity came when, in the 1938 elections, Republicans increased their strength sufficiently in both House and Senate—they jumped from 88 to 168 in the House—so that a combination with Southern Democrats would bring about a majority on some issues.

Other circumstances favored such a combination. The core of the Republican conservative element was in the Middle West, the Republican Party's stronghold.

Midwestern Republicans were assured generally of long tenure in Congress. Thus, through operation of the seniority rule, they always occupied a number of key posts in House and Senate and so exercised a dominant influence on party policy in Congress, just as Southern Democrats do in the Democratic Party, and because of their long tenure fostered by a one-party system. Between them, they always held the lion's share of power, which made the coalition especially effective.

Though operating chiefly against New Deal-Fair Deal type of economic and social reform measures, of which federal aid to school construction is typical, Midwest Republicans often gave a lift to Southern Democrats to block civil rights measures.

Allen held to the Coalition's conservative tradition in opposing federal aid for school construction. But he broke with tradition when he deserted Representative Smith on civil rights—and, it might be said, disappointed the Virginian no end.

State GOP poll—

Mississippi's black and fans are opposed

BY LEROY SIMMS
Associated Press Alabama correspondent

Two-thirds of the Alabama Republican National Convention delegates replying to questions submitted by The Associated Press favor a change in neighboring Mississippi's representation at that convention.

However, only nine of the state's 21 delegates replied to the written questions mailed to them June 19.

The Mississippi representation has been in dispute for many years, with the credentials committee having to decide which of two groups is actually seated.

At San Francisco this year a delegation headed by Perry Howard of Washington and Jackson, Miss., will be opposed by an all-white delegation headed by E. O. Spencer of Jackson.

Led fight for Ike

SPENCER LEAD the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign in Mississippi in 1952.

Howard, the only Negro Republican national committeeman, termed the Spencer group "interlopers and hijackers" at his faction's state convention June 15. The Howard delegation includes six white men and nine Negroes. Howard's faction has been seated in past GOP conventions.

The Alabama delegates, numbering 21 this time because of the large vote for Eisenhower in 1952, would get a chance to cast individual votes on seating of the Mississippi delegates only if there is an appeal to the floor from whatever decision the credentials committee makes.

Spencer favored

ALABAMA delegates saying they favored seating the Spencer delegates were:

Claude O. Vardaman, chairman of the state committee, whose reply was "yes (for Spencer), but not on racial grounds; O. P. Drake, Haleyville; J. R. Bennett, Greenville; Powell J. Darnell, Vincent; Howard Foshee, Montgomery, and Tom Abernethy, Talladega.

No answer, or non-commital answers, came from Homer A. Jackson, Birmingham; Cicero Davis, Gadsden, and Milton H. Lanier, Huntsville. They indicated they thought the matter was one for the credentials committee to decide.

On another question, as to whether Republican delegates would oppose any GOP platform plank advocating acceptance of the U. S. Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in schools, the vote was similar.

Platform plank

DAVIS SAID he would not vote against such a plank.

Abernethy, Darnell, Bennett, Fsohee and Lanier said they would oppose it. Lanier added that he anticipated no such plank in the platform, but he would oppose it if one is included.

Vardaman answered he would "have to wait and see how the platform is worded," as did Drake and Jackson.

As to whether they would support Vice President Nixon for another nomination to that office, four said they expected to and five said they would "go along with Eisenhower" in a nominee for vice president.

Ike's Brother 'Has the Brains'

(Related Story on Page 1)

By Eve Edstrom
Staff Reporter

President Eisenhower often has said his brother Milton "has the brains in the family."

So it certainly could not have surprised the President that Johns Hopkins University selected Dr. Milton Eisenhower as its eighth president.

Personally, politically and advisorily, 56-year-old Milton is the closest man to President Eisenhower. Even now, he is with the President in Panama. If his name had not been Eisenhower, he most certainly would have been in the Cabinet.

Although the President unburdens himself to Milton, the latter is said to have a "passion for anonymity" as far as the President is concerned. He never has been wheedled into revealing the President's confidences.

Long before the name of General Eisenhower became familiar to Washington politics, Milton Eisenhower was a trouble shooter for President Eisenhower in a variety of jobs. He had held Federal positions for 17 years before fame came to his older brother.

Faraway Places

In 1924, Milton had a yen for faraway places. Although he had seen no farther from his Abilene, Kan., home than Kansas City, he took an examination for United States Foreign Service and wound up as a Vice Consul in Edinburg, Scotland.

When he returned home, William M. Jardine, his old college president, was President Coolidge's Secretary of Agriculture. Milton joined him as an administrative assistant in the information office.

He advanced to Director of Information under Herbert Hoover and although he was a voting Republican, he continued to move upward with the New Deal. Agricultural Secretary Henry A. Wallace made him czar over a score or more bureaus that were "running wild."

It was this association with Wallace that caused some critics, including Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy (R-Wis.), to label Milton a "left-winger." But those who knew Milton best in those days say he was a "right-wing New Dealer."

In fact, many friends say that Milton's political philosophy is the same as that of President Eisenhower who once described himself as a liberal on human relations, a canservative on financial policies.

Milton was practically running the Agriculture Depa ning the Agriculture Depertment when Claude R. Wickard took over in 1940. Then, Pearl Harbor cased Milton to take on a variety of White House assignments.

Organized Evacuation

He organized the evacuation of Japanese from California, set up the Office of War Information, went to North Africa to struggle with the European refugee problem.

Milton resigned from Government service July 1, 1943, to become president of Kansas State, where he lifted the ban on campus smoking and conducted undergraduate polls to rate the efficiency of faculty members.

In February, 1946, he was offered the post of Assistant Secretary General of the United Nations but declined. Seven months later, the State Department "borrowed" the college prexy and made him a member of the United States Commission for UNESCO.

By 1948, Milton could have had either the Republican or Democratic nomination for United States Senator from Kansas. He declined and continued at Kansas State until 1950 when he became president of Pennsylvania State College.

While at Pennsylvania, Milton handled several assignments for President Eisenhower. His most outstanding, early in 1953, was a fact-finding tour of 10 Latin-American countries. Improved relations with Peron's Argentina were traceable to the tour.

When Milton resigned as Pennsylvania's prexy last month, there was considerable talk about the political implications of this move. But yesterday's announcement from Johns Hopkins proves President Eisenhower's former statements concerning brother Milton's lack of political ambitions.

Two Selected From Calif., N. Y.

Republicans Appoint Women to Key Roles

NEW YORK—A pair of prominent Negro women have been added to the ranks of Republican campaigners and figure to play key roles in the 1956 Presidential election year.

In New York City, Mrs. Crystal Byrd Fauset of Philadelphia has been named to the women's division executive staff of the National Citizens for Eisenhower. In her new role, Mrs. Fauset will serve as special assistant to the national co-chairman, Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton.

In San Francisco, Calif., Mrs. Charles H. (Sara) Blagburn has been named to membership on the Republican State Central Committee.

MRS. C. B. FAUSET
. . . for the East
a special assistant

MRS. C. H. BLAGBURN
. . . for the West, a key role

MRS. FAUSET'S career in politics began in 1936 when she served as director of the Democratic party's national committee on campaign activities for Negro women.

She also served in this post during the 1940 and 1944 campaigns, and, in 1938 was elected to the Pennsylvania State Assembly as a Democratic party representative.

In 1944, she bolted Democratic ranks and joined the GOP campaign in behalf of New York's Gov. Thomas E. Dewey who was the Republican party's presidential hopeful.

■

MRS. BLAGBURN is founder and president of the Western Republican Club, the largest and foremost Republican organization among the Negro populace of Northern California.

She served as chairman of the Goodwin Knight for Governor campaign in the western section of the state and is the first Negro to be chosen for this organization.

Milton Eisenhower

Johns Hopkins Names Ike's Brother as Head

BALTIMORE, July 23 (AP)—Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower, brother of the President, today was elected eighth president of Johns Hopkins University.

Carlyle Barton, president of the Hopkins Board of Trustees, said Dr. Eisenhower's acceptance of the invitation was received following a special meeting of the trustees this afternoon.

Eisenhower, former president of Pennsylvania State University, will take office this fall. He succeeds Dr. Lowell J. Reed, retiring as president after serving on the faculty and administration for 38 years.

Barton said when Dr. Eisenhower was reached by telephone in Panama late today, he accepted and said, "I shall come with enthusiasm. I look forward to close cooperation with the Johns Hopkins faculties, alumni, students and friends of the University."

He indicated he would assume his new duties as soon as he could complete his responsibilities at Penn State. He resigned as president there last month after serving from July 1, 1950.

Dr. Eisenhower also served as president of his alma mater, Kansas State College, for seven years beginning July 1, 1943.

Dr. Reed said: "The selection of Dr. Eisenhower as president of the Johns Hopkins University gives assurance that the University will continue to develop as an institution devoted to scholarly training and basic research."

MILTON EISENHOWER
. . . heads Johns Hopkins

At San Francisco

Dixie Republicans Fight Civil Rights

Special to Journal and Guide

SAN FRANCISCO — Southern Democrats had nothing in Chicago on the Southern Republicans in their opposition to the civil rights plank in their party's platform.

The southerners said today (Monday) that if the platform committee turned them down, they would take the fight to the convention floor.

A LEADER IN the fight against Negro citizenship is Lester S. Parsons, Sr., Norfolk lawyer and politician and vice-chairman of the Virginia State Central Committee.

The Southerners have succeeded in persuading the platform committee to place consideration of civil rights at the end of the platform discussions. They hope by that truce to persuade the committee that the Southern Democrats will vote Republican this fall if the GOP turns its back on the aspirations of Negroes to have the benefit of equal citizenship rights.

* * *

THE SOUTHERN Republican Party has been "lily white" since 1918 and "lily whiteism" had its birth in Virginia.

Southern GOP'ers are defiant of the Supreme Court on school desegregation. Parsons, whose son is a U. S. district attorney for the Eastern Virginia, is the leader of this opposition.

Parsons plans to submit a minority report embodying a substitute plan that will be meaningless and that will not offend Southern Democrats.

Seconded Nixon

J. Ernest Wilkins, U. S. Undersecretary of Labor, seconded the nomination of Richard Nixon for the Vice-Presidency at the Republican National Convention in San Francisco, Wednesday.

Mr. Wilkins, who was appointed by Pres. Eisenhower, is the only Negro holding a sub-Cabinet post.

Mississippi GOP Vote to Fall-Howard

By DORRIS BROWN

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20 (AP)—Perry W. Howard, Negro attorney and Republicans national committeeman for Mississippi, doesn't concede his party much chance of carrying Mississippi in November.

It probably won't come as near as it did in 1952 when the Eisenhower ticket got about 40 per cent of the vote in the state, he said Monday.

Howard said that even though Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn.) isn't at all popular in Mississippi, the state just doesn't elect Republicans.

In 1952, he said, the Republicans and an independent Eisenhower slate rolled up a big vote for President Eisenhower.

One of the big guns campaigning for Eisenhower four years ago, he said, was Walter Sillers, Democrat and speaker of the state House of Representatives.

"He helped a lot," Howard said, "but this year he has announced he will not support the Eisenhower slate."

After the Democratic Convention in Chicago nominated Kefauver for vice-president Sillers said he might "go fishing" in November.

Expect Decision To Come Sometime Late In March

Daily World
Sun. 1-8-56 R1

BY WILLIAM K. HUTCHINSON
Chief, Washington Bureau, International News Service

WASHINGTON — (INS) — President Eisenhower has told intimate friends that if he runs for re-election, he wants Vice President Richard M. Nixon as his running-mate.

Atlanta Ga.

His friends insist today the president's disclosure cannot be interpreted as a final decision to run again But they emphasize that he is still holding the door wide open to seek a second term.

SAME TICKET

His intimates say there are any number of eventualities which might persuade him to retire. They assert his request only means that if he does run, he wants the same ticket that won in 1952, despite widespread democratic attacks on Nixon in recent months.

White House circles predict he will not announce his decision on whether he will seek re-election until late in March or possibly after Easter Sunday (April 1.) They point out that Senate Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson was not pronounced fit for his duties until 26 weeks after his attack. If Ike's doctors take the same time to determine whether he can stand the physical pressure of another term, their decision will be delayed until March 19.

LIKES NIXON

..The President's choice of Nixon as a running-mate, if he seeks re-election, surprise no one in the Republican Party. Ike thinks highly of Dick and has.. shown it. The president has trusted him with very important assignments, greater by far than any ever given any other vice president in history. ....

At the very moment of his heart attack, Ike had arranged for Nixon to visit the middle East, with tours of Israel and the Arab nations. He apparently felt Nixon might solve the Israeli-Arab difficulties.

His choice of Nixon for a second term places the California high on the list of possibilities for the top spot if Ike does not run again. His intimates stress that Ike has a tremendous sense of loyalty to men who have been loyal to him. But even so, many of Ike's closest friends are uncertain what affection for Nixon means he would perfer the Californian to any other Republican as his successor in the White House.

GOP Decries Integration 'Duplicity'

Post + Times Herald
Mon. 2-16-56

Associated Press

An attack on what was termed "Democrat duplicity" on the segregation issue and predictions of a Republican election victory next November highlighted an expanded GOP publication issued yesterday.

The articles appeared in "Straight From the Shoulder," official organ of the Republican National Committee. Party officials said the publication, a 15-page pamphlet, would be issued monthly henceforth. They claim 30,000 circulation. Heretofore the publication has been much smaller and has appeared irregularly.

Val J. Washington, head of the National Committee's minorities division, made the "duplicity" charge against the Democrats.

Washington, D.C.

Double Talk Charged

In an article praising the GOP civil rights record, Washington, a Negro, said "When Democratic politicians go before white audiences in the South they blame the ending of segregation upon the Republicans."

"But when these same Democrats go before Negro audiences in the North," he added, "they claim credit for the ending of segregation."

"If they continue this kind of double talk—in these days of the wire service, radio and television—it is going to take some expert handling," Washington said.

Optimism over the Republican outlook was expressed in articles by Sen. William F. Knowland (Calif.), Senate GOP Leader; Sen. Barry M. Goldwater (Ariz.), chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, and Rep. Richard M. Simpson (Pa.), chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee.

Knowland reviewed Republican accomplishments under President Eisenhower and said:

"Even though Administration accomplishments have declined under a Democrat-controlled Congress, I am sure that the Republicans will be able to go to the polls in 1956 with a substantial record of progress and achievement that will justify the continued confidence of the American people."

'Socialism' Defeat Seen

Goldwater said: "Republicans enter this campaign with a proven record of peace, prosperity and progress ... surely, our countrymen will respond to this fulfillment of the program in which they placed their confidence in 1952 ... under Republican guidance, this Nation has come a long way in a short time from the perilous socialistic road along

Eisenhower Leads Poll Over Stevenson 5 to 3

Herald Tribune Sun. 2-12-56
P. 26

Gallup Finds Margin Largest In Year; Rise Tied to Independents

New York, N. Y.

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., Feb. 11.—President Eisenhower today runs ahead of Adlai Stevenson by the widest margin he has held at any time during the last year, largely because of the President's gain in popularity among independent voters.

In the Institute's latest "trial heat" election race, Mr. Eisenhower holds a 5-to-3 edge over Mr. Stevenson.

Among rank-and-file Democrats, Mr. Stevenson is the winner by a comfortable margin. With Republicans, Mr. Eisenhower comes out far ahead.

It is the independent voters—the "in-betweeners"—who throw the over-all balance in favor of Mr. Eisenhower by picking him over former Gov. Stevenson by about 3 to 1.

Each voter in the survey was asked:

"Suppose the Presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Adlai Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

EISENHOWER-STEVENSON

	P.C.
Eisenhower	61
Stevenson	35
Undecided	4

A previous trial heat, reported in December, showed Mr. Eisenhower with 58 per cent, Mr. Stevenson with 39 per cent and 3 per cent undecided.

In the first of the Eisenhower-Stevenson trial heat series, reported just one year ago, the figures showed Mr. Eisenhower with 57 per cent, Mr. Stevenson with 40 per cent and 3 per cent undecided.

In today's survey, sentiment among independent voters divides almost 3 to 1 in favor of Mr. Eisenhower, as follows:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS (Today)

	P.C.
Eisenhower	69
Stevenson	24
Undecided	7

In December, Mr. Eisenhower's margin over Mr. Stevenson among independents was as follows:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS (December)

	P.C.
Eisenhower	65
Stevenson	29
Undecided	6

Among persons who classify themselves as Democrats, Mr. Stevenson is favored over Mr. Eisenhower today by about 5 to 2, as follows:

DEMOCRATS ONLY (Today)

	P.C.
Stevenson	68
Eisenhower	28
Undecided	4

Here are the figures for December:

DEMOCRATS ONLY (December)

	P.C.
Stevenson	70
Eisenhower	26
Undecided	4

Among Republican voters, Mr. Eisenhower's strength is proportionately greater than Mr. Stevenson's is among Democrats and has shown no change since the December survey. Here are the figures in today's survey as compared with December:

REPUBLICANS ONLY TODAY

	P.C.
Eisenhower	96
Stevenson	3
Undecided	1

REPUBLICANS ONLY (December)

	P.C.
Eisenhower	96
Stevenson	3
Undecided	1

An Institute survey reported Friday showed President Eisenhower's personal popularity index is now at the second highest point during the three years that he has been in office, with 77 per cent approving of the way he is handling his White House duties.

The survey also showed that 61 per cent of the nation's voters say they would like to see Mr. Eisenhower run again.

Reed Accuses State GOP of Biased Stand

World-Telegram + Sun P. 7
Fri. 1-27-56

A long smoldering battle within Republican ranks over a U.S. district judgeship in western New York has erupted with a charge of "racial discrimination and bigotry" leveled at the GOP state leadership.

Rep. Daniel A. Reed, veteran Republican Congressman of Dunkirk, N. Y., hurled the charge after the White House sent to the Senate the nomination of Assemblyman Justin C. Morgan of Kenmore for the judgeship.

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Reed had sought to have his Chautauqua County GOP chairman, Joseph Rubenstein of Dunkirk, named.

Reed's Statement.

In a statement issued in Washington yesterday, Mr. Reed said:

"I consider the failure to appoint the best man for the district judgeship in New York a miscarriage of justice based on racial discrimination and bigotry for which the Republican state leadership is solely responsible."

Republican State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse responded in a statement issued at a news conference in Albany. He said:

"Mr. Reed's disappointment over his failure to have his county chairman appointed to the federal bench must be very great indeed to provoke such an intemperate outburst.

"This shockingly false charge is completely unfair not only to Mr. Morgan but to Mr. Rubenstein as well.

"The question of racial origin was raised in this matter only by Mr. Reed. It is most unfortunate that a man with his long and distinguished public service would voice such an

ugly and false comment."

Last-Minute Switch.

Mr. Rubenstein was all set a couple of years ago to get a U.S. boundary commissionership at $15,000 a year, and was ready to go to Washington for swearing in on the promise of the then GOP state chairman, William Pfeiffer.

At the last minute the job was handed to a Chicago man.

Meanwhile, the 80-year-old House member sought to have his friend, Mr. Rubenstein, appointed.

But last Wednesday, the White House nominated Mr. Morgan for the judgeship, a lifetime post paying $22,500 a year.

Nothing was heard from Mr. Reed on the subject until yesterday afternoon, when he issued his charge.

THE GALLUP POLL

Ike Gains In South Over Stevenson

President's Margin 58 Pct. to 42, But Adlai Leads Nixon, Warren

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

Princeton, N. J., Feb. 14.—President Eisenhower's drawing power in the South as a Republican presidential candidate is evidenced in a special "trial heat" just completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion in 13 Southern states.

Indications are that Eisenhower today would not only poll a larger vote against Adlai Stevenson than he did in the 1952 election, but that he also would surpass the all-time high G.O.P. vote in the South polled by former President Herbert Hoover in 1928.

Each Southern voter in this survey was asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

IKE vs. STEVENSON

Eisenhower	56%
Stevenson	40
Undecided	4

The percentage division after eliminating the undecided vote would be 58 per cent for Eisenhower, 42 per cent for Stevenson.

In the 1952 presidential election, Eisenhower polled 48.9 per cent of the two-party vote in the South, compared to Stevenson's 51.1 per cent.

Eisenhower carried five states —Virginia with 56.5 per cent, Oklahoma with 54.6 per cent, Florida with 54.5 per cent, Texas with 53.2 per cent, and Tennessee with 50.1 per cent.

Hoover Polled 52 Pct.

Former President Hoover, in polling 52 per cent of the Southern vote to win over Alfred E. Smith in 1928, carried seven states.

In cracking the Solid South in 1952, President Eisenhower ran 28.5 percentage points ahead of his party. In the races for Congress in the South, G.O.P. candidates polled 20.4 per cent of the vote.

The significance of today's trial-heat race lies in a comparison with previous tests in the South involving two other Republican leaders—Vice-President Richard Nixon and Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Stevenson Runs Ahead

Both of these men lost to Stevenson by a substantial margin in earlier Southern trial tests, as follows: (The undecided vote is included in the first column of the tables)

STEVENSON vs. NIXON

Stevenson	60%	65%
Nixon	33	35
Undecided	7	—

STEVENSON vs. WARREN

Stevenson	57%	59%
Warren	40	41
Undecided	3	—

Over the last half century, the G.O.P. has polled, on the average, about 34 per cent of the vote in the South in presidential elections.

Only once during that time—in 1928—has the Republican Party been able to muster a majority vote.

This year the South will have 146 electoral votes.

The 13 Southern and border states are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas.

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Gallup Poll—

Popularity Of 'Ike' In South At New High, Survey Shows

'Trial Heat' Records Wider Margin Over Stevenson And That, If Election Were Held Today, President Would Top GOP Record For Section

By GEORGE GALLUP
American Institute of Public Opinion

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Each Southern voter in this survey was asked:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower decides to run and were the Republican candidate and Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

Ike vs. Stevenson
—SOUTH ONLY—

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STEVENSON	40
UNDECIDED	4

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WARREN	40
UNDECIDED	3

Over the last half century, the GOP has polled, on the average, about 34 per cent of the vote in the South in presidential elections. Only once during that time has the Republican Party been able to muster a majority vote—in 1928.

Here is the trend of the vote in the South in presidential elections since 1900:

Presidential Elections
—SOUTH ONLY—

	Rep.	Dem.
1900	39%	61%
1904	35	65
1908	38	62
1912*	19	64
1916	31	69
1920	42	58
1924*	35	60
1928	52	48
1932	24	76
1936	24	76
1940	27	73
1944	31	69
1948*	30	53
1952	49	51

*In 1912, Theodore Roosevelt received 17 per cent; in 1924, Robert LaFollette received five per cent, and in 1948, J. Strom Thurmond received 17 per cent. The vote in the South in 1948 for Henry A. Wallace was negligible.

This year the South will have 146 electoral votes.

The 13 Southern and border states are: Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

Ike holds tight reins—

GOP civil rights plank is 'strongly moderate'

BY JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 22—All political platforms are boring, and the civil rights plank of a Republican platform is usually the dullest piece of lumber in the whole dull structure. This one is strikingly interesting, however, first for what it does not say, and second, because it is the result of the personal intervention of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

The plank itself has been well described by the chairman of the platform committee, Sen. Prescott Bush, as "strongly moderate." It goes a bit further than the Democratic plank on civil rights, but not very much further. Yet it was satisfactory to most of the Southerners on the platform committee.

In other words, the plank is conspicuously not an all-out attempt to capture the great blocs of Negro votes that now hold the balance of power in an actual majority of the big Northern states. The Supreme Court's desegregation decision, handed down by a "Great Republican Chief Justice," as Vice President Nixon noted, ideally set the stage for a Republican attempt of this kind.

The movement of the Negroes into the whole New Deal period, might now have been dramatically reversed. But this glittering temptation has been resisted. Why?

THE KEY to the puzzle lies squarely in the president's own character and his view of his office. Furthermore, the convention's civil rights plank is no more than a re-affirmation of a big decision that the president made as long ago as the beginning of the last session of Congress.

At that time, a powerful faction in the Eisenhower cabinet, supported by more than one of the president's most influential political advisers, positively longed to launch a major raid into the rich Democratic preserves of Negro voters. Against the background of the court's decision, they wanted the president to ask Congress, and to ask insistently, for the strongest sort of civil rights legislation.

In the cabinet, Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell and Secretary of Labor James Mitchell were the most important advocates of this strategy—which would have caused something very like a mass attack of nervous collapse throughout the Northern Democratic organizations.

The cabinet's business man members were unenthusiastic, being instinctively opposed to extreme action of any kind. Also opposed was Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall, who is working hard to build real Republican organizations in the South.

AS IS HIS HABIT, the president heard out both sides when the matter was discussed in the cabinet. Then, when he gave his decision, he lifted the debate to an entirely new plane. He admitted that asking the Congress for an ultra-strong civil rights program would probably be good politics. It had been good politics for Truman. It would be even better for the Republicans, who stood to gain even more lavishly.

But he added that he could not judge the matter politically. The legislation would not pass. It might be good politics, but it would also be immensely devisive. It would inflame the already dangerous situation in the South.

It would produce all sorts of other unpleasant side effects. He had the duty to act "as president of all he people" he concluded; so he was not going to seek Negro votes when the national cost would be so high.

In line with this decision, the administration's civil rights program was offered to the Congress very late and was never seriously pressed for by the president. As a result, the Democratic congressional leaders were able to avoid the civil rights fight that they so desperately feared. And this set the stage for the successful compromise of the civil rights issue at the Democratic convention.

AT THIS REPUBLICAN convention, in turn, the Democratic compromise looked like a golden opportunity to such Northern Republicans as Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois. In the platform committee, Dirksen and the others like him tried very hard for a civil rights plank sufficiently extreme to make the Democrats look cheap and timid in Negro eyes.

Dirksen and company might well have won, too. Any Republican can see that the electoral vote of New York and Illinois, Pennsylvania and Michigan and California are worth more than the slim chance of Republican gains in the South.

Even from the South, from Kentucky Senate-aspirant John Sherman Cooper, came a demand for a really strong plank. But once again, Dwight D. Eisenhower put his foot down. The word came from the White House that the president would not stand for anything too extreme. And so the "strongly moderate" plank was adopted. —(c).

Perry Howard stays on

PERRY HOWARD, the Mississippi Negro who's been GOP national committeeman longer than anyone in history, was continued in office in San Francisco despite a battle against him.

The battle was waged by E. O. Spencer, Jackson, Miss., hotelkeeper and head of the white supremacy faction in Mississippi. Spencer is a friend of Atty. Gen. Brownell and has long retained Brownell's law firm to represent the American Hotel Owners Association.

With Brownell's help, Spencer has been trying to build a new Republican Party in Mississippi, of which one move was the ousting of Perry Howard, the Negro committeeman who spends most of his time in the District of Columbia.

However, Howard had too much support in Republican circles. Though the Eisenhower administration has dispensed its Mississippi patronage not through him but through Sen. Eastland, Democrat, and Spencer, an ex-Democrat, Perry Howard will continue his now 32nd year as national committeeman from Mississippi.—(c.)

Gerald L. K. Smith Is Behind Nixon, Riding Piggy Back, Red Smith Says

By Red Smith
N. Y. Herald Tribune News Service

SAN FRANCISCO — Batting in the cleanup spot in the Republicans' oratorical lineup, Gov. Arthur B. Langlie of Washington was strictly Three-Eye League compared to the Democrats' Frank Clement, but in fairness it must be reported that Arthur was playing in fast company. Even as he recited the keynote speech in the Cow Palace, enunciating with such exquisite care that he pronounced both "n's" in "annual," the animal cries of Gerald L. K. Smith were ricocheting off San Francisco's hilltops.

"Gerald L. K. Smith!" a man said reading an announcement that the high priest of the "America Firsters" would hold a press conference, "I thought he was dead."

"He is," another said, "but so's this whole convention."

In his repulsive way, Gerry livened it up. The "press conference" was conducted halfway up the grand staircase of the Fairmont Hotel. At the speaker's left stood his Missus, matronly and expressionless. She wore a fuzzy toadstool of fire-engine red on her white hair, two great strands of multicolored glass about her neck with matching chandeliers swinging from her ears.

"Let it be recorded," her spouse cried, "as we assemble on the landing of this staircase, that this is the only free speech to be delivered during this convention."

Even at those prices, it was a bad buy. Dick Nixon wouldn't have bought it, and Gerald L. K. is bucking for Nixon. Up to this point, the Republicans' No. 2 boy has been cooking with gas but now he's got Gerald behind him, riding piggy-back.

Dump Everybody

"Let it also be recorded," the cornbelt Gantry hollered, "that this hotel refuses even to rent a room to me for a press conference."

He stood on the landing where the broad stairs double back on themselves. Reporters packed the steps above and below but they needn't have crowded. The voice rang through the elegant lobby and frightened gulls to flight over the bay.

"If a person is conscientiously opposed to integration of the races, mongrelization of the white race, destruction of our Anglo-Saxon traditions, he would not be permitted or would be too cowardly to speak out in the Cow Palace. . . . Sen. Joseph McCarthy, the fearless statesman who had the courage to put the finger on treason and has since been liquidated. . . . California's Gov. 'Goody' Knight, perhaps the brassiest opportunist that ever lived. . . . The villainous Harold Stassen, a man right out of the White House, with the knowledge of the President, sabotaging the leadership of the Vice President. . . ."

He was leading up to a charge that Stassen's "dump Nixon" movement was supported by Arthur J. Goldsmith, New York business man, along with the President's brother, Milton Eisenhower; Gen. Lucius Clay; Sidney Weinberg, financier, and other members of "an appeasement clique supported in the background by those who have never forgiven Nixon for putting the finger on Alger Hiss." Gold Smith has denied backing Stassen.

Portrait of a Crusader

In the lobby, movement had ceased and faces were upturned, curious, amused, disgusted. The man who now calls himself national director of the "Christian Nationalist Crusade" sawed the air with both hands. He has a tremendous hawk-nose and a thinning mane. He speaks with his strong teeth clenched in a frozen grimace.

"He looks leonine at the start," a girl said, "and winds up looking like a hyena."

"Do you consider Nixon and McCarthy of the same stripe?" he was asked.

"They are not the same stripe, but Nixon is closer to McCarthy than he is to Stassen."

Max Lerner, the columnist, asked a question. "Mr. Lerner," said the Christian crusader, "wants to put it in the New York Post and tell the Jews of New York——"

"Why do you say the Jews of New York?" Lerner snapped. "Spell it out, Mr. Smith," Mr. Smith launched into a diatribe against "political Zionism." From up the stairs, George Hamilton Combs, of television, urged him to answer a question he was brushing off. The reply was that Combs, son of "one of the greatest of Campbellite preachers," should be ashamed of himself "for being such a left-winger." Combs laughed then, but his face darkened at a second mention of his father.

"Smith!" he shouted, leaning over the bannister. "You leave my father's name out of any discussion you have! A fine, Christian man!"

Up the crowded steps wriggled a delectable little dish in brief white satin with a sample tray hung from her neck. She planted herself in front of the orator.

"Bufferin?" she offered sweetly.

On the television screen below stairs, Gov. Langlie was slogging along, speaking well of Republicans and the Lord, pausing for applause at studied intervals.

"Very yawn-making," a girl said.

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Say Republican Party Leaders Sidetracked Drive To Recapture Negro Vote In Decision On Contest Of Rival Mississippi Groups

Perry Howard Still The National Committeeman As Votes Are Divided Between Lily-Whites And Black And Tans

San Francisco, Cal., Aug. 20.—(DSN)—Republican party leaders here are now being charged with having sidetracked the drive to recapture the nation's Negro vote, as evidence in the decision made in the contest between the Black and Tans and Lily-Whites, the two rival groups from the State of Mississippi, claiming the right to represent the state in the Republican National Convention which opened here Monday.

The Black and Tan group, recently barred from using the party name in the state, because of a newly enacted state law, now officially designated as the "Grand Old Party of Mississippi," is under the leadership of Perry W. Howard, Negro lawyer, longtime resident of Washington, D. C., and for the past 30 years the only Negro member of the Republican National Committee. The National Committeewoman for the group, also a Negro, is Mrs. A. M. Redmond-Lovelace, of Jackson, Miss. The Black and Tan group has been known for many years as such because the organization is composed of both Negro and white people.

The Lily-White group is headed by E. O. Spencer, prominent businessman of Jackson, Miss., and gets its name from the fact that the group has for years sought to develop an organization in the state under the exclusive leadership of white people. The Lily-White group for many years until recently was headed by former Governor George L. Shelden of Nebraska who moved to Mississippi and subsequently sought to take over the leadership of the Republican party in the state.

In rendering the decision in the contest between the two groups, the contest committee divided the 15 votes allotted to Mississippi between the two groups with eight votes for the Black and Tans and seven votes for the Lily-Whites.

In addition to the division of the votes, basing its action on the charge that both groups were irregular in holding their state convention the committee named Wirt Yerger, Jr. of Jackson, a member of the Lily-White group, state chairman to replace S. W. Miller, of Jackson, veteran Negro leader of the Black and Tan group.

The decision left unchanged the position of Perry W. Howard, and Mrs. A. M. Redmond-Lovelace, as National Committeeman and Committeewoman for the state.

The decision of the committee marked the first time since the 1924 convention that the Lily-White group has been able to make any headway against the Black and Tans who have repeatedly won the recognition of the National Convention, and the consensus here is that the decision marks the beginning of significant changes in the Republican leadership in the state.

HER POSITION UNCHANGED: The position of Mrs. A. M. Redmond-Lovelace, Republican National Committeewoman for Mississippi remained unchanged as a result of the merger of the rival Black and Tan and Lily-White groups at the Frisco Convention.

Nixon Calls On GOP To Work Hard

Wants Prosperity Benefits Spread

By ANTHONY LEVIERO

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 23 — Vice President Richard M. Nixon tonight warned fellow Republicans against complacency and exhorted them to work hard for a Republican victory.

Nixon pledged he will carry the record of the Eisenhower administration to every corner of the country and thus assure an even greater victory than in 1952. He also predicted that the Republicans will wrest control of the House and the Senate in this election.

The vice president recalled that he and Mrs. Nixon have toured four times around the world on goodwill missions and the most important thing he had learned on these travels is that "to millions of people President Eisenhower is the living symbol of peace and freedom."

AMERICA'S QUALITIES

He said that no man could be more greatly honored than to be selected as the running mate of such a leader, adding that it is in this spirit that he accepted the renomination.

"I would hope," said Nixon, "that in this campaign we could express to the people of the world the qualities that have made America respected throughout the world.

"We Americans are never content even with the remarkable achievements of the past. Good enough is not good enough for us."

Nixon declared the Eisenhower administration could rest on its laurels "but there is more to be done and it will eagerly accept the opportunity" to make further progress. He listed three areas in which the administration would strive for greater prosperity and well-being:

1. He said that not all Americans shared equally in the prosperity of the country. He added that pockets of depression should be rooted out by new industries so that no person willing or able will be without a job.

GRAPPLE FARM PROBLEMS

2. He said that farm prices were rising but that farmers still were not getting a fair share of the nation's wealth. The farm problem is not solved yet, he continued, "but we are determined to solve it and we believe we have the answer."

3. Nixon said "our prosperity must be more fully shared by the country's 17,000,000 Negroes. He called for equal opportunity, medical care and education for Negroes, and opportunities for jobs for them according to their ability.

He returned from his sick father's bedside to deliver his speech accepting renomination as President Eisenhower's running mate.

AT FATHER'S BEDSIDE

The vice president had made a hurried trip yesterday to the home of his father, Francis A. Nixon, who was stricken in his home at La Habra, Calif., with bleeding of the major artery in the abdomen.

For a time there was doubt whether Nixon would be able to return. But by this morning his 77-year-old father was holding his own and the vice president and Mrs. Nixon returned here at midday.

The trip delayed work on the acceptance speech. All through the night the vice president had worked on it. He finished it just before his appearance.

The vice president and Mrs. Nixon, she carrying a large bouquet of roses, walked onto the platform to the accompaniment of a thunderous ovation. It was a mingling of shouts, music from the pealing organ and bells, while the delegates waved their state standards and hundreds of Ike and Nixon signs.

Cheer-leading college boys led the convention into a chant of "We want Dick! We want Dick!"

AND 'JOE SMITH'

The crowd for the Nixon demonstration exceeded the Cow Palace's seating capacity. The aisles were jammed by hundreds of young Republicans who soon were dominating the pandemonium with shouts of "We want Dick! and "Ike and Dick."

The vice president's greeting included "and last, but by no means, least, Mr. Smith." Laughingly, Nixon referred to the mythical Joe Smith that a Nebraska delegate, Terry Carpenter, wanted to put into nomination for the vice presidency at yesterday's session.

Chairman Joseph A. Martin extolled Nixon as "a fitting coworker of the President of the United States" when he introduced him to the convention.

Nixon, he said, had been "the hardest working and most effective vice president in the history of the United States."

NEGRO WOMAN SECONDS IKE'S NOMINATION

Among the six persons who made speeches to second the nomination of President Eisenhower here Wednesday night at the fourth session of the Republican National Convention was Dr. Helen G. Edmonds, professor of History at North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.

Dr. Edmonds, who is active in the national affairs of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, is also author of a book, "The Negro And Fusion Politics In North Carolina," published in 1951.

Eisenhower's Four Years

A Study of Administration Progress In Fulfillment of Civil Rights Pledges

This is the twelfth in a series of articles analyzing the record of the Eisenhower Administration at the start of the Presidential election campaign.

By LUTHER A. HUSTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 1—The civil rights issue has been a tender spot in the body politic for two decades. It still is. The Eisenhower Administration has had a full share of trouble over civil rights. Racial antagonisms flared anew after the Supreme Court's decision against segregation in the schools.

Mounting pressures from interested groups created problems that could affect the Administration's chances in the coming Presidential election.

The question of whether the Republican party has fulfilled its 1952 pledges in the field of civil rights will be a lively issue in the 1956 campaign. Republicans, with justification, will cite progress achieved by administrative actions.

Democrats already are branding Republican assertions as a sham. From a Democratic point of view, the Republicans have made only feeble advances along pathways charted by the Democrats in the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations.

Since there is an element of truth in both positions, an examination of the situation before and since the Eisenhower Administration came into power is in order.

Let's go back to 1944. In that campaign the brief civil rights planks in the Democratic platform declared that racial and religious minorities were entitled to share in the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and that Congress should exert its full powers to protect those rights.

The Republicans were more outspoken. They condemned the injection into American life of appeals to racial or religious prejudice. They favored establishment of a Fair Employment Practice Commission, a Constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a condition of voting, and the enactment of anti-lynching legislation.

They also pledged a Congressional investigation into discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces.

Democrats Split in 1948

The Democrats won the 1944 election but did relatively little to change the civil rights situation. This did not please the party's liberals and led to a rift in 1948 that nurtured the first third party since 1912 and cost President Truman 39 electoral votes.

The 1948 convention rejected a "moderate" civil rights plank offered by its platform committee and adopted a substitute proposed by an aggressively liberal group.

This pledged the Democratic party to continued efforts to eradicate all racial, religious and economic discrimination. It asked Congress to enact laws that would protect the right to vote, the right to equal opportunity of employment, the right of security of person and the right of equal treatment in the armed services.

Some Southern Democrats refused to accept so liberal a program and formed the Dixiecrat party. The Dixiecrats carried Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina, with 38 electoral votes, and picked up a 39th vote in Tennessee.

The Republicans contented themselves in 1948 with repeating, in effect, their 1944 pledges. President Truman's stand on civil rights was a factor in his victory, despite the Dixiecrat revolt.

In 1952, with General Eisenhower the Republican nominee and Adlai E. Stevenson the choice of the Democrats, the civil rights planks of both parties read more like the mouthings of campaign orators.

The Democrats "pointed with pride" to progress in obtaining equality in the armed services and civil service. The Republicans "condemned bigots" and deplored "the duplicity and insincerity of the party in power."

Each party reiterated previous stands favoring, in effect, elimination of the poll tax, enactment of anti-lynching legislation, and abolition of discriminatory employment practices.

For the first time, however, the field of public education was brought into the picture. The Democrats cited progress in enforcing the right of Negroes to enroll in publicly supported institutions. Several court decisions had ordered the admission to state universities of Negroes, whose opportunities to pursue higher education were restricted by the inadequate facilities of institutions, provided for Negro students.

In any appraisal of the civil rights record of the Eisenhower Administration or of previous Democratic regimes, it is necessary to point out that the Federal judiciary is not a part of any administration. The courts are a separate and independent branch of the Government.

None the less, decisions of the courts have a firm impact upon administrative policies and procedures. Judicial decisions often become the football of politics, whether or not they should.

Thus, the Supreme Court's epic ruling in 1954 that racial segregation in the public schools was unconstitutional was the outstanding civil rights action occurring during the three and one-half years of the Eisenhower Administration that have elapsed. And it has become a sharp political issue.

The Republican platform of 1952 contained no reference to segregation in the public schools.

The Eisenhower Administration took the position in arguments before the Supreme Court, however, that separation of the races in publicity supported educational institutions deprived Negroes of rights guaranteed by the Constitution. In its decrees to implement the Constitutional decision, the court adopted the formula of gradualism advocated by the Administration.

Seven Democrats and two Republicans comprised the court that handed down the Constitutional ruling on school segregation. The only member of the court at that time who was an Eisenhower appointee was Chief Justice Earl Warren.

A year later, however, when the implementing decrees were promulgated, Justice Robert H. Jackson had died and had been replaced by John M. Harlan, a Republican appointed by President Eisenhowr. Justice Harold H. Burton, the other Republican on the court, was a Truman appointee.

No Partisan Triumphs

Thus the court cannot, and should not, be called either Republican or Democratic. It would not be appropriate for either party to say that the school decisions were political triumphs for its side.

But politicians cannot change their spots and it will be a bipartisan miracle if campaign workers of both parties in 1956 do not, at times and places where they think it will do the most good, point out that, for good or evil, the school rulings were handed down while the Republicans were in control of the Executive Branch of the Government.

Certainly, the progress that has been made in the field of civil rights by the Eisenhower Administration has been accomplished by executive actions or by judicial rulings. There have been no assists from Congress.

The Republicans can make political hay out of that. They can point out that Democratic controlled Congresses defeated the civil rights programs of President Truman, as well as that of President Eisenhower.

In fact they make use, during the campaign, of the record that shows that in three-quarters of a century Congress has passed no new legislation specifically implementing the civil rights amendments to the Constitution.

The laws that the administrative branch of the Government must use to protect the civil rights of citizens or to punish violators have remained unchanged since about 1875.

It was the idea that this machinery needed some oiling and some new parts that led the Eisenhower Administration to submit to Congress last April a civil rights program. It met virtually the same fate that befell President Truman's program, submitted on Feb. 2, 1948. The Democrats in the Senate scuttled it.

There was a marked similarity between the major points of President Eisenhower's program and the proposals of President Truman.

President Eisenhower proposed a six-man bipartisan commission on civil rights that would have power to investigate denials of the right to vote or "unwarranted economic pressure" for race, color, religion or national origin.

President Truman suggested a permanent commission on civil rights and a joint Congressional committee on civil rights.

Each President proposed the creation of a civil rights division in the Department of Justice, with an assistant attorney general at the head of it.

President Truman contented himself with asking Congress to strengthen existing civil rights statutes. The Eisenhower program spelled this out.

It asked laws that would allow Federal prosecution of private persons, as well as of state and local officials, for intimidating voters in a Federal election; permit private citizens direct access to Federal courts when civil rights were infringed, instead of going through state courts as at present; and allow the Department of Justice to bring civil suits against civil rights violators, instead of limiting it to criminal prosecutions as at present.

President Truman specifically asked for antilynching laws and a Fair Employment Practice Commission. President Eisenhower did not include these proposals in his program, although they were in the 1952 and previous Republican platform.

Administration officials explained that the current thinking was that punishment for lynchings was a state matter and a constitutional amendment would be necessary to bring it under Federal authority.

Furthermore, they said, the matter was passé because of the virtual elimination of lynchings through more effective enforcement of state laws and changes in the methods used by terrorists to "liquidate" Negroes.

On the question of an F. E. P. C., it was pointed out that President Eisenhower always had looked with disfavor upon laws that would impose upon employers arbitrary rules as to whom they must or must not employ.

Celler's Bill Passed

Emanuel Celler, a Brooklyn Democrat, introduced in the House a bill embodying the major elements of the Eisenhower program. The House passed it by a vote of 297 to 126.

Efforts to get the bill to the Senate floor, however, were met with threats of a filibuster by Southern Democrats. To avoid delays that would block "must" legislation, the Senate leaders allowed the measure to die in the Judiciary Committee in the closing hours of the Eighty-Fourth Congress.

Democrats already have accused President Eisenhower of "leap-year liberalism" on civil rights. They charge that his civil rights proposals were sent up in an election year and that they paralleled measures introduced in 1955 by Democrats.

Overlooking the fact that President Truman's program also went up in an election year, there is merit in the Democratic charges to the extent that no specific legislation in the field of civil rights was proposed by the Eisenhower Administration until 1956.

Administration officials answer that it would have been foolhardy for President Eisenhower to propose such highly controversial legislation at the start of his Administration. It would have run into the same roadblocks that killed it at the end of the session, they say, and would have thwarted passage of much more vital Administration measures.

It was decided early in the Eisenhower Administration that as far as civil rights were concerned, the procedure would be to do all that could be done administratively, without Congress. Not until they had gone as far as they could administratively did the Republican leaders decide that they "had to have a bill."

Accordingly, the civil rights legislative program was drafted in conferences and sent to Congress by Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. The Republicans knew it would be controversial so, as one leader expressed it, they "made it as reasonable as possible," in the hope that it might get through.

The vote in the House indicates that the strategy might have worked but for the "hard core" of Southern Democrats in the Senate. This group has wrecked every civil rights program sent to Congress in recent years.

The Republicans do not deny that some of the reforms they have carried forward, such as the elimination of segregation in the armed forces, were begun by the Democrats. They contend, nonetheless, that they have advanced these programs by administrative actions far beyond the stages they inherited when they took over from the Democrats in January, 1953. There is merit to this contention.

One of the pledges of the 1952 platform was to "end segregation in the District of Columbia." The Republicans did not start that program but they have just about finished it.

A "fact sheet" on civil rights accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration, put out by the Republican National Committee, asks credit for doing these things in the District of Columbia:

¶Ending racial discrimination in motion picture theatres and other places of amusement and in hotels.

¶Integrating the District of Columbia fire department.

¶Inducing the Capital Transit

Company to employ Negroes on buses and trolley cars.

¶Opening all White House social functions to Negroes for the first time.

¶Carrying out the successful integration of the school system in the nation's capital. This is the greatest of all.

Progress in Capital

The Republicans contend that these actions have made the capital the model for integration of the races in fulfillment of President Eisenhower's promises.

But the Republicans want credit for other accomplishments in the field of civil rights. Among them are these:

¶"Most of the credit" for eliminating segregation in the Army, Air Force, Navy and Marines. The Defense Department said this week that there "is nothing left on post that is segregated" in any branch of the armed forces.

¶Ending segregation in veterans' hospitals.

¶Ending school segregation on all but two installations on Federal property.

¶Improved operation of the Committee on Government Employment Policy, resulting in the upgrading of thousands of employes in 1955 so as to afford better opportunities for Negroes. Three hundred Negroes were made supervisors in the Post Office. At one atomic energy installation in the South Negro employes increased from eighty-four to more than 800.

¶Setting up a new Government contract committee in 1953, headed by Vice President Richard M. Nixon. This has made white collar jobs available to Negroes in packing houses, public utilities, the Federal Reserve System, and other industries.

¶The ruling of the Interstate Commerce Commission that racial segregation on transportation facilities operating in interstate commerce was illegal.

One of the 1952 campaign pledges was to appoint "qualified persons without distinction of race, religion or national origin to responsible positions in Government."

As of this week, 316 Negroes had obtained new jobs in Government at salaries above $6,000.

The Democrats assert, however, that they pioneered in the field of setting up policy-making appointments regardless of race. They charge that the Republicans have dismissed Democratic Negro job-holders to put in G. O. P. appointees.

The Republicans answer that in most instances where Negro Democrats have been ousted, Negro Republicans have got the jobs, so the racial balance has been maintained.

Administratively, the Eisenhower Administration has made substantial progress in eliminating race discrimination in fields susceptible to Government control or influence. Whether the President has given national leadership to efforts to solve problems created by the school decision may be debatable.

General Eisenhower has declined, for instance, to call a White House conference to work for a solution of problems arising out of the Supreme Court's segregation edicts.

The official Administration position is that nothing would be accomplished by such a conference. One G. O. P. leader in the civil rights field remarked that "the only possible participants whose attitude could be changed would be the Governors and attorneys general" of the unreconciled Southern states.

These officials' attitudes were fixed "before they were born," he said, and are not to be changed by sitting around a table with representatives of forces and organizations they regard as mortal enemies of their cause.

As far as the school situation is concerned, the Administration thus far has gone along with the idea that gradual adjustment to the Supreme Court's decrees will result from evolutionary changes in individual and community attitudes. But a situation is building up that may jolt that doctrine.

Just about the time the political campaign gets going, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People may start proceedings to call school boards throughout the South into court for failure to comply with the Supreme Court's orders to integrate their schools "with all deliberate speed."

When that happens, on a scale either large or small, it will become a law enforcement problem. Law enforcement is the function of the Executive Branch.

Whether the Administration could maintain a "let-time-solve-the-problem" attitude under those circumstances remains to be seen.

If such a situation developed, it could be a political and administrative headache for the Republicans, and for the Democrats as well, if they should win the election.

Tomorrow: A summary of the Administration's record and a look forward.

Mrs. Fauset Joins Women's Division

Baltimore Sun 8-23
Des Moines, Iowa,

New York, N. Y.—Mrs. Crystal Bird Fauset of Philadelphia, Pa., a former official of the Democratic National Committee and the first Negro woman in the United States elected to a state legislature, has joined the women's division executive staff of National Citizens for Eisenhower.

Herald Trib. 7-5-56

She will serve as Special Assistant to the National Co-Chairman, Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, who announced the appointment at Citizens For Eisenhower national headquarters, 45 East 47th Street, New York City.

Political 'First'

Mrs. Faucet, now a registered Republican, began her long affiliation with the Democratic party in 1936 as Director of the Democratic National Committee's campaign activities for Negro women, a post to which she was reappointed in 1940 and again in 1944.

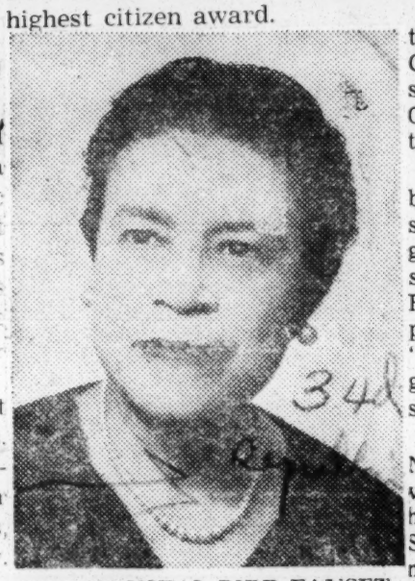
In 1938, Mrs. Fauset was elected to the Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania as a Democratic Representative from Philadelphia—a political "first" since it was the highest elective office ever held by a woman of her race.

In the fall of 1944, the combined pleas of Republican Negro leaders together with the liberal record of Gov. Thomas Dewey's New York State administration toward minorities impelled Mrs. Fauset to become a Republican. Consequently she was named Adviser to the Republican National Committee's Nego Women's campaign activities division.

Broad Experience

The new aide to Mrs. Houghton is a graduate of the Boston (Mass.) public schools and Teachers College, Columbia University. With a wide background of service to her adopted state of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Fauset is a past vice-president of the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia and in 1950 visited India as a guest of the New Delhi government.

Two years later, the University of Pennsylvania sent her on an educational mission to Nigeria, West Africa. In 1955, Mrs. Fauset was awarded Pennsylvania's Meritorious Service Medal—the Commonwealth's highest citizen award.



MRS. CRYSTAL BIRD FAUSET, former Democratic National Committee official and the first Negro woman ever elected to a State Legislature, appointed Special Assistant to Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton, Co-Chairman of National Citizens for Eisenhower.

LOUISIANA BLOC ACCEPTS PLANK

Times Picayune
New Orleans La.

No Minority Report After Civil Rights Softening

Tues. 8-21-56

By PAUL WOOTON
(Times-Picayune Staff Correspondent)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20 — Louisiana's members of the platform committee will not oppose the civil rights plank as adopted by the committee. Charles T. Beaird, of New Orleans and Mrs. James W. Ruel of Lake Charles explained the position they took at a caucus of the Louisiana delegation Monday morning. Southern delegates will not file a minority report.

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Beaird explained to the caucus that the plank was not what he and Mrs. Ruel wanted, but said "we are no more unhappy about it than are those who wanted a more drastic plank." The language that would have been more offensive to the South was taken out.

Stagg Principal Witness

A motion was approved by the caucus unanimously complimenting Beaird and Mrs. Ruel for their work. Thomas E. Stagg Jr., of Shreveport, who was the principal Southern witness to appear before the platform committee, also was thanked in the resolution. The motion was made by Calhoun Allen of Shreveport and seconded by John Wisdom of New Orleans. The three also were extended a rising vote of thanks.

Beaird, who led the floor fight before the platform committee said every opportunity had been given Southern members to present their points of view. "The Republican party no longer is provincial," he told the caucus. "For the first time southern delegates have been accorded the consideration that is their due."

Roy Wilkins, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said he "would have had some rest in San Francisco if Mr. Stagg had not testified."

Gives Credit to Saltonstall

Mrs. Ruel gave special credit to Sen. Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts for the support he gave the Southern point of view.

Beaird also was able to get a modification in the natural resources plank which he believes will be helpful in getting the gas bill through the next Congress.

E. C. Upton of New Orleans expressed the opinion that the South has no place in Democratic party of today. He says the Republican party now is sponsoring the traditional principles for which the South always has stood. He predicted that this convention will be handled with more dignity and in a more orderly manner than was the conclave in Chicago.

N. Bryant James of Farmerville presided at the Monday caucus. Not only was the press admitted but the individual Louisiana newsmen were introduced personally.

MISSISSIPPI GOP SEATS TOGETHER

Times Picayune
New Orleans, La.

Yerger Absent, Reported 'Somewhere in Hall'

Tues. 8-21-56

By GORDON BROWN

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20 (AP)—Opening of the Republican convention Monday found Mississippi's split delegation occupying one block of seats—together.

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Two Republicans factions sent delegations to the convention—a Black and Tan group headed by Perry W. Howard, Negro attorney and Mississippi GOP committeemen since 1924; and a Lily White group headed by Wirt Yerger Jr., of Jackson.

The GOP national committee resolved the contest by giving Howard's group eight votes and the Yerger group seven.

As the convention opened Monday Howard's group occupied the first row of the area assigned to Mississippi, with the Yerger group seated in the row behind. Not all the Yerger seats were occupied.

Yerger said Sunday he did not plan to sit with the Howard group but would have a seat elsewhere or would roam the floor.

Yerger was not with the group Monday. L. B. Jones, Minter City, one of the Yerger group, said he thought Yerger was somewhere in the hall.

Howard said "we are proud of our delegation—it is a group of good men."

He said that as chairman of the delegation he would cast Mississippi's 15 votes if the occasion arises but that under the circumstances there may not be any roll call votes. He said he would consult with the Yerger group on the balloting but added that technically the delegation is under the unit rule.

Howard said he expects no difficulty over a Civil Rights plank.

Jones, who was on the platform committee, said the important thing is to have "harmony so that we can elect President Eisenhower."

34d 1956 REPUBLICAN

Text of President's Speech

Text of the President's "report to the people of the Nation on developments in Eastern Europe and the Middle East," delivered from the White House last night.

Tonight I report to you as your President.

We all realize that the full and free debate of a political campaign today surrounds us. But the events and the issues I wish to place before you this evening have no connection whatsoever with matters of partisanship. They are concerns of every American—his present and his future.

I wish, therefore, to give you a report of essential facts so that you—whether belonging to either one of our two great parties, or to neither—may give thoughtful and informed consideration to this swiftly changing world scene.

The changes of which I speak have come in two areas of the world—Eastern Europe and the Middle East.

I.

In Eastern Europe there seems to appear the dawn of a new day. It has not been short or easy in coming.

After World War II, the Soviet Union used military force to impose on the nations of Eastern Europe, governments of Soviet choice—servants of Moscow.

It has been consistent United States policy—without regard to political party—to seek to end this situation, and to fulfill the wartime pledge of the United Nations that these countries, over-run by wartime armies, would once again know sovereignty and self government.

We could not, of course, carry out this policy by resort to force. Such force would have been contrary both to the best interests of the Eastern European peoples and to the abiding principles of the United Nations. But we did help to keep alive the hope of these peoples for freedom.

Will for Independence

Beyond this, they needed from us no education in the worth of national independence and personal liberty—for, at the time of the American Revolution, it was many of them who came to our land to aid our cause. Recently the pressure of the will of these peoples for national independence has become more and more insistent.

A few days ago, the people of Poland—with their proud and deathless devotion to freedom—moved to secure a peaceful transition to a new government. And this government, it seems, will strive genuinely to serve the Polish people.

And all the world has been watching dramatic events in Hungary where this brave people, as so often in the past, have offered their very lives for independence from foreign masters. Today, it appears, a new Hungary is rising from this struggle, a Hungary which we hope from our hearts will know full and free nationhood.

We have rejoined in these historic events.

Review of Soviet Policies

Only yesterday the Soviet Union issued an important statement on its relations with all the countries of Eastern Europe. This statement recognized the need for review of Soviet policies, and the amendment of these policies to meet the demands of the people for greater national independence and personal freedom. The Soviet Union declared its readiness to consider the withdrawal of Soviet "advisers"—who have been the effective ruling force in Soviet occupied countries—and also to consider withdrawal of Soviet troops from such countries as Poland and Hungary.

We cannot yet know if these avowed purposes will be truly carried out.

But two things are clear.

First, the fervor and the sacrifice of the peoples of these countries, in the name of freedom, have themselves brought real promise that the light of liberty soon will shine again in this darkness.

And second, if the Soviet Union indeed faithfully acts upon its announced intention, the world will witness the greatest forward stride toward justice, trust and understanding among nations in our generation.

Response by United States

These are the facts. How has your Government responded to them?

The United States has made clear its readiness to assist economically the new and independent governments of these countries. We have already—some days since—been in contact with the new Government of Poland on this matter. We have also publicly declared that we do not demand of these governments their adoption of any particular form of society as a condition upon our economic assistance. Our one concern is that they be free—for their sake, and for freedom's safe.

We have also—with respect to the Soviet Union—sought clearly to remove any false fears that we would look upon new governments in these Western European countries as potential military allies. We have no such ulterior purpose. We see these peoples as friends, and we wish simply that they be friends who are free.

II.

I now turn to that other part of the world where, at this moment, the situation is somber. It is not a situation that calls for extravagant fear or hysteria. It invites our most serious concern.

I speak, of course, of the Middle East. This ancient crossroads of the world was, as we all know, an area long subject to colonial rule. This rule ended after World War II, when all countries there won full independence. Out of the Palestinian mandated territory was born the new State of Israel.

These historic changes could not, however, instantly banish animosities born of the ages. Israel and her Arab neighbors soon found themselves at war with one another. And the Arab nations showed continuing anger toward their former colonial rulers, notably Great Britain and France.

U. S. Has Sought Peace

The United States—through all the years since the close of World War II—has labored tirelessly to bring peace and stability to this area.

We have considered it a basic matter of United States policy to support the new State of Israel and—at the same time—to strengthen our bonds both with Israel and with the Arab countries. But, unfortunately, through all these years, passion in the area threatened to prevail over peaceful purpose, and, in one form or another, there has been almost continuous fighting.

This situation recently was aggravated needlessly by an Egyptian policy including rearmament with Communist weapons. We, for our part, felt this to be a misguided policy on the part of the Government of Egypt. The State of Israel, for its part, felt increasing anxiety for its safety. And Great Britain and France feared more and more that Egyptian policies threatened what they regard as their "life line" of the Suez Canal.

Seizure of Suez Canal

These matters came to a crisis on July 26 of this year, when the Egyptian Government seized the Universal Suez Canal Company. For ninety years—ever since the inauguration of the Canal—that company had operated the Canal, largely under British and French technical supervision.

There were some among our allies who urged an immediate reaction to this event by use of force. We insistently urged otherwise, and our wish prevailed—through a long succession of conferences and negotiations for weeks and months, with participation by the United Nations. And there, only a short while ago, on the basis of agreed principles, it seemed that an acceptable accord was within our reach.

But the direct relations of Egypt with both Israel and France kept worsening to a point at which Israel — then France — and Great Britain also—determined that, in their judgment, there could be no protection of their vital interests without resort to force.

Events Followed Swiftly

Upon this decision, events followed swiftly. On Sunday the Israeli government ordered total mobilization. On Monday their armed forces penetrated deeply into Egypt and to the vicinity of the Suez Canal, nearly 100 miles away. And on Tuesday, the British and French governments delivered a 12-hour ultimatum to Israel and Egypt—now followed up by armed attack against Egypt.

The United States was not consulted in any way about any phase of these actions. Nor were we informed of them in advance.

As it is the manifest right of any of these nations to take such decisions and actions, it is likewise our right — if our judgment so dictates — to dissent. We believe these actions to have been taken in error. For we do not accept the use of force as a wise or proper instrument for the settlement of international disputes.

Friendship Is Retained

To say this—in this particular instance—is in no way to minimize our friendship with these nations—nor our determination to retain and to strengthen the bonds among us.

And we are fully aware of the grave anxieties of Israel, of Britain and of France. We know that they have been subjected to grave and repeated provocations.

The present fact, nonetheless, seems clear: the actions taken can scarcely be reconciled with the principles and purposes of the United Nations to which we have all subscribed. And, beyond this, we are forced to doubt even if resort to war will for long serve the permanent interests of the attacking nations.

Look to the Future

Now—we must look to the future.

In the circumstances I have described, there will be no United States involvment in these present hostilities. I therefore have no plan to call the Congress in Special Session. Of course, we shall continue to keep in contact with Congressional leaders of both parties.

At the same time it is—and it will remain—the dedicated purpose of your government to do all in its power to localize the fighting and to end the conflict.

We took our first measure in this action yesterday. We went to the United Nations Security Council with a request that the forces of Israel return to their own land and that hostilities in the area be brought to a close. This proposal was not adopted —because it was vetoed by Great Britain and France.

The processes of the United Nations, however, are not exhausted. It is our hope and intent that this matter will be brought before the United Nations General Assembly. There —with no veto operating—the opinion of the world can be brought to bear in our quest for a just end to this tormenting problem. In the past the United Nations has proved able to find a way to end bloodshed. We believe it can and will do so again.

Strengthen United Nations

My fellow citizens, as I review the march of world events in recent years, I am ever more deeply convinced that the processes of the United Nations need further to be developed and strengthened. I speak particularly of increasing its ability to secure justice under international law.

In all the recent troubles in the Middle East, there have indeed been injustices suffered by all nations involved. But I do not believe that another instrument of injustice—war—is the remedy for these wrongs.

There can be no peace—without law. And there can be no law—if we were to invoke one code of international conduct for those who oppose us—and another for our friends.

The society of nations has been slow in developing means to apply this truth.

But the passionate longing for peace—on the part of all peoples of the earth—compels us to speed our search for new and more effective instruments of justice.

The peace we seek and need means much more than mere absence of war. It means the acceptance of law, and the fostering of justice, in all the world.

To our principles guiding us in this quest we must stand fast. In so doing we can honor the hopes of all men for a world in which peace will truly and justly reign.

NIXON SAYS G. O. P. AIDS CIVIL RIGHTS

Progress Under Eisenhower Is Greatest Since 1863, He Tells Harlem Rally

By LEO EGAN

Vice President Richard M. Nixon told a Harlem audience last night that more progress

had been made in the field of civil rights under President Eisenhower than at any time since the Emancipation Proclamation.

At the same time he told Negroes that they could not look to Adlai E. Stevenson for further progress because the Democratic party was hopelessly divided on the subject:

Half of the Democratic party supports and talks equality and the other half is dead set against it, Mr. Nixon declared in a prepared speech.

The Vice President's Harlem appearance constituted an important part of the Republican drive to win a sizable section of the Negro vote not only in New York, but in other states where it is an important political factor.

Since the election of 1936, Negroes in Harlem and in many other Northern cities have been voting Democratic by margins of 3 and 4 to 1. This year, Republicans have hopes of winning back a large part of the Negro support they enjoyed before 1932. About 400,000 Negroes are expected to vote in New York this year. This is about 6 per cent of the expected vote in the state.

Mr. Nixon's appearance in Harlem was one of three he made in New York yesterday as part of the Republican campaign to keep the state and its pivotal forty-five electoral votes in the G. O. P. column on Election Day.

Speaks in Queens and Nassau

From Harlem, the Vice President went to Queens, where he addressed a Republican rally in Lost Battalion Hall, Elmhurst, and then to Levittown, L. I., where he was the main speaker at a Nassau County Republican committee rally. In 1952, the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket carried both Queens and Nassau by top-heavy margins. The Republicans hope it will repeat this performance next Tuesday.

Mr. Nixon was scheduled to leave New York late last night by train for two days of further campaigning in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Pennsylvania has been reported wavering in its Republican allegiance this year.

The Harlem rally had been scheduled as an outdoor affair to be held in front of the Theresa Hotel, Seventh Avenue and 125th Street, but was moved into the hotel's ballroom because of the rain. It marked the first time in recent years that a Republican candidate for national office had made a direct appeal for Harlem votes.

Mr. Nixon pitched his plea for Negro support of President Eisenhower and himself primarily on what has been accomplished during the last three and a half years to improve the economic, social and political status of the Negro in American life.

In listing progress that has been made, Mr. Nixon cited the decision of the United States Supreme Court outlawing racial segregation in public schools. He did not contend that the decision itself was a Republican achievement but emphasized it had been handed down, "after a strong and forthright stand by the Administration in the Supreme Court."

Stresses Civil Rights

Declaring that no single issue will be more important in the next four years than civil rights, he went on:

"Both parties in the campaign say they stand for progress in the field of civil rights. How do you know which party you should support? In our daily lives we have learned to judge people not on what they say but on what they do.

"Tonight I ask you to judge the record of this Administration on that same basis. If you do know you will give President Eisenhower your solid support because there has been more progress—more real achievement—in eliminating discrimination, in ending segregation and in providing equal opportunity for work than during any similar period since the Emancipation Proclamation.

"That's the plain truth and people are beginning to get the word. As a result, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell [of Harlem], Michigan's State Senator Cora Brown, Mrs. Walter White, beloved champion of civil rights, the late Walter White, and many Democrats all over the country have turned to President Eisenhower this year and are giving him their full support.

"Under the leadership of the President there has been a major break-through of the sound barrier which for so many years blocked any action. As you know, half of the party to which Mr. Stevenson belongs supports and talks equality and the other half is dead set against it.

"Over the years a loud noise developed when half talked, orated and demagogued about civil rights. But the other half blocked, stalled and side-tracked any action on civil rights so that a huge sound barrier was erected against any action for minority groups and prevented any forward progress."

Paraphrases Lincoln

Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, Mr. Nixon told his Harlem listeners that "a political party at the national level cannot long endure or merit support when it's half for and half against equality of treatment for Negroes."

The Democratic Platform declaration on civil rights was ridiculed by Mr. Nixon as a "jumble of words" and a "document of deceit."

"Instead of getting a lot of talk, President Eisenhower has given you action," he said, "I don't have to tell you all the things that have been done, because you know them — more jobs at better pay; the end of segregation in the armed forces; the hauling down of Jim Crow signs on interstate transportation; and the legal end of segregation in public schools after a strong and forthright stand by the Administration and the Supreme Court of the United States and many more.

"A vote for President Eisenhower means: better education for all of our people, more jobs at better pay in better positions, better and cheaper housing, the end of Jim Crow laws in interstate transportation and, most important of all, a recognition of the dignity of man."

Copies of the Vice President's speech issued in advance of its delivery included an appeal for the election of a Republican Senate and House of Representatives. The appeal for a Republican House occasioned some surprise since the speech was delivered in Representative Powell's home district.

For the last several weeks Mr. Powell, a Democrat, has been visiting Negro sections of other cities, appealing for President Eisenhower's re-election. He is a candidate for re-election to the House on the Democratic ticket this year.

Associated Press Wirephoto

MOTORCADE IN DETROIT: Vice President Richard M. Nixon waving from car yesterday. With him are his wife and Mayor Albert E. Cobo, candidate for Governor of Michigan.

We Endorse President Eisenhower

THE 1956 ELECTION of a President of the United States will be the most important since the election of ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Now, as then, the main issues revolve around human freedom, national unity, and the rights of man.

These are important issues, not only in the United States but throughout the world. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has demonstrated those qualities of mind and spirit which best qualify men to deal with these issues.

As he has come to grips with problems created by these issues he has succeeded in his quiet, sincere way in establishing order where disorder was imminent; in establishing justice where injustice prevailed.

He has not been afraid to do the thing that was becoming to our democratic American way of life. He has done these things openly and frankly because he believed they were the right things to do. Although he took the risk he has not lost his personal popularity, nor his appeal to the moral conscience of America.

Millions of people in Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and South America are interested in PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S zeal for freedom — for the rights of man. Like most Americans, they want freedom with peace. Unlike a minority of Americans represented largely by leaders of the Democrat Party, they want freedom for *all* men. They believe PRESIDENT EISENHOWER will be able to advance the cause of freedom while preserving the peace.

* * *

MR. STEVENSON is a well qualified man, of unquestioned intellectual stature. But the controlling elements of MR. STEVENSON'S party do not believe in the basic freedoms for an American minority numbering 16,000,000 citizens. They do not believe that these millions of Americans who are required to bear arms in time of war, and who pay taxes according to the formula applied to all other Americans, should vote, or should be an integral part of the American economy, and are working to isolate them. They are working now, as MR. STEVENSON campaigns, to undermine the Supreme Court and to nullify the 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.

If MR. STEVENSON should be elected he would be surrounded by persons to whom he would be obligated, who do not believe that America's largest minority should have any civil rights at all. This has been demonstrated recently in all of the states that are traditionally and consistently found in the Democrat column in state elections. It has been demonstrated in Congress where the leaders of the Democrat Party are in control.

This deplorable affliction upon the Democrat Party and its leaders has weakened and almost destroyed confidence in the United States' domestic and foreign policies. In case an aggressor should strike under a Democrat regime we would not have a friend in countries which contain 63 per cent of the population of the world. In addition they are the sources of much of the minerals and raw materials we would need for our defense.

Because these things are true the JOURNAL AND GUIDE believes that it is in the best interest of the United States as a whole and of the future peace of the world to re-elect PRESIDENT DWIGHT DAVID EISENHOWER on November 6.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

IKE'S VOTE MARGIN GREATEST ENDORSEMENT IN 20 YEARS

President Given A Demo Congress

World Bihom, Ala. P.1

Sat. 11-10-56

By BOB CONSIDINE

NEW YORK — (INS) — An almost unprecedented wave of vote-splitting and the collapse of many traditional voting patterns gave President Eisenhower Wednesday an overwhelming reelection victory — and a Democratic House and Senate.

As final returns filtered in from small towns and the far West, Mr. Eisenhower was building toward the greatest popular and electoral vote margins in 20 years.

10 MILLION MARGIN

Unofficial returns gave the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket a popular vote margin of nearly 10 million. The Republican majority four years ago was some six and a half million.

The President collected the electoral votes of 41 states — two more than he had in '52 — for a grand total of 457.

Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver won 74 electoral votes from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Mr. Eisenhower accepted the tremendous popular endorsement of his administration with the solemn pledge to continue to work for all Americans at home "and for peace in the world."

MIDDLE EAST

He immediately plunged into conferences with his top diplomatic and defense leaders to consider the crisises in the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

On the morning after leedars of both parties agreed these crises had contributed immeasurably to the President's massive popular vote majority.

Sat. 11-10-56

10 VOTE MAJORITY

The Democrats were certain of at least a 10 vote majority in the House. And while three Senate races were still undecided, it looked like a 50-46 split favoring the Democrats.

It was the first time in 108 years that voters had elected a President of one party and given him a Congress from the opposition.

Adding to the President's possible troubles with Congress in the next four years was the fact that he is the first Chief Executive to be affected by the Constitutional amendment limiting a president to two terms. As 1960 approaches, there will be considerable jockeying for position — at both the Republican and Democratic conventions.

FUTURE PLANS

Mr. Eisenhower was expected to bring new and younger men into his administration, to prepare the party for its post-Eisenhower days.

Stevenson, Kefauver, former president Harry S. Truman and other leading democrats took similar themes in their public comments: The majority had spoken; good democrats will — in Stevenson's words — "give the administration all responsible support in the troubled times ahead."

Mr. Eisenhower found the results proof that "modern Republicanism has now proved itself." But in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Kansas, Washington and Oregon to name only a few, the voters gave their strong support to the President, while deserting GOP candidates for Senator or Governor who had the President's stamp of approval.

Mr. Eisenhower, however, could take consolation from the fact that he made further strides in breaking up the coalition of forces across the country which had produced 20 years of democratic rule in Washington.

That coalition consisted of "the Solid South," the big city vote in industrial centers, the Negro and foreign-born vote in the north and some of the farm states.

But the President broke off five states from the South — Virginia, Texas, Florida, Tennessee and Louisiana. He won the first four in '52, but Louisiana hadn't gone Republican since Hayes beat Tilden in 1870.

In traditionally Democratic New York City, Stevenson racked up a majority of only 62,904 as the President carried the State by more than 1,570,000.

Mr. Eisenhower picked up an aggregate over 1952's results of some 84,000 votes in used-to-be Democratic Jersey City as he won all of New Jersey's 21 counties for the first time in modern political history.

Although the Negro wards in such cities as New York and Philadelphia did not go Republican, the Democratic margins were cut — hard. It was the same story in such labor strongholds as the steel wards of Lorain, Ohio, and in the so-called "Polish" districts of Buffalo, N. Y.

West Virginia, where depression memories lingered on through 1952, went Republican for the first time since 1928. The President carried former Sen. Chapman Revercomb back to a seat in that chamber.

European political figures and the press generally hailed Mr. Eisenhower's victory. Sir Winston Churchill, a comrade in war and peace, cabled his congratulations. The contents of the message were not revealed.

Other good wishes came from West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and former French Premier Edgar Faure.

President Leads In 35 Of States

President Eisenhower swept toward an apparent landslide election victory last night, piling up a lead of almost two million popular votes over Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson.

The former General and 1952 victor was ahead of Stevenson in 35 states with a total of 376 electoral votes on the basis of incomplete and unofficial returns.

Stevenson was leading in only nine states with a total of 105 electoral votes.

Mr. Eisenhower at this point had a total of 7,295,655 popular votes to Stevenson's 5,359,948 — with virtually no returns in from populous California and the other West Coast states.

Ike carried all six New England states with a total of 40 electoral votes. He swept New Jersey, seemed sure to capture normally Democratic Florida as he did in 1952 and was leading in four southern states, Texas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Virginia.

The President was beating Stevenson on his home ground of Illinois and was ahead in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio.

But GOP Senatorial candidates in each of these states — all crucial contests for winning control of the Senate — were trailing Democratic opponents by slim margins. It remained to be seen whether the Ike strength could pull them through.

In the house races, results of which were being delayed by the counting of Presidential votes, Republicans picked up a few seats at the outset but control of that body was uncertain.

Wed 11-7-56

Ike was leading in Arizona, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming.

The Nation Spoke – In Confidence

Daily World Pg 6
Wed. 11-7-56 Atlanta Ga.

A HIGH SALUTE TO PRES. EISENHOWER AND VICE PRES. NIXON

As was expected, the people of this nation turned out on election Tuesday and posted again high across the lintels of this America, that magic name and that towering person, Dwight David Eisenhower, as the one who will guide the destinies of this nation for another four years. Thusly we come into the assurance of an extension of the wholesome policies by which the nation has prospered and led the world on toward a lasting peace.

Fate from the beginning was kind to the President. It so happened that he was able to lay aside his uniform at a time when his work was on the way to completion on foreign fields. His robust health and his keen outlook on international affairs were live assets to what the country needed most at home.

With his hands literally down, he was called into the equation for the presidency of the United States. While he felt that his ardious tasks abroad and the rigors of battle thro' which he had passed well commended him for a rest, he reluctantly consented the use of his name for the high office as the nation's chief executive.

He was able to unseat the Democratic regime after it had weathered a twenty year reign, almost unmolested.

When he took the oath of office that same day he placed his trust in God and joined the church of the faith of his fathers. Thusly, the nation was to move beneath the warmth of the spirit of Almighty God at the hands of a strong God-fearing General.

It would hardly be fitting here to narrate the many accomplishments of this memorable administration.

At the international peace level, this administration has strengthened the peace policy of the world. It has carefully channeled the aims and ends of warring nations into the great stream making for a world peace. So well has this been accomplished the administration has had no shooting wars.

The most menacing problem before us as a nation striving to uphold the arms of a peace was the poor relationship and its sequences of violence and intolerance here at home.

The President easily saw from abroad how this menace was slowly but surely undermining the influences and efforts of the United States in its reach for a world peace.

He was quick to address himself to the program of Civil Rights and from this arena and in this theatre he wrought to the ends of the elimination of segregation in the nation's capital and armed forces.

He hammered away at the root of the basic evil extending in one way or another all across this area of a reunited country.

With Civil Rights on the march and segregation on its way out, the President receives at the hands of the nation a vote of confidence. He will seize this mandate and continue the long hard struggle set before him.

God has brought him through his illness and infirmities in robust style; he has the strong spirit of the general, and by this token will be establish across the land that long fancied ideal — (imbedded in the preamble of that sermon on the mount that exhorted the new world to imbibe the pure ale of the robust life) "Fourscore and seven years ago, our forefathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation — CONCEIVED IN LIBERTY and dedicated to the proposition — ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

Responsible For Turn Of Tide To Republicans

Daily World Pg 1
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 11-14-56

CHICAGO — (ANP) — There was a substantial shift of Negro vote to the Republican Party in Negro wards across the nation last week's election, a survey of revealed.

In Atlanta New York, Richmond Chicago, Memphis, Philadelphia, Birmingham and Mound Bayou, Miss. — the all-Negro town — Negroes in sizable numbers switched their vote from the Democratic Party to the GOP.

In many cities and states both border and Deep South, the Negro vote was directly responsible for the turn of the tide to the Republicans.

Although Atlanta and Georgia gave the Democratic candidates a majority, Negro voters in Atlanta gave 85 percent of their votes in support of Republican candidates.

Results from nine of the Atlanta precincts which represent entirely our largely Negro voters, gave President Eisenhower 9,565 votes to Democratic presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson's 1,640.

In the Georgia Fifth Congressional district contest the same precincts gave Republican candidate Atty. Randolph Thrower 10,328 votes, while his Democratic opponent, incumbent Congressman James C. Davis received only 1,112.

One of the most surprising results of the election was in Tennessee where Negroes helped Eisenhower carry the state by over 9,000 more than he did in 1952.

In Shelby County, where Memphis is the largest city, 73 percent of 53,000 registered Negro voters went to the polls and voted overwhelmingly for Republican candidates.

The large turnout was aided by the presence on the ballot of three Negroes running on the Republican ticket for the state legislature. Although the candidates lost, the votes for them helped Eisenhower in those districts.

The shift was also evident in Harlem, where the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket won handily. However, the decrease in Negro support of the Democratic candidates ranged from 8 and one half percent in each of the community's four predominantly Negro assembly districts.

In Richmond, Va., nine of the 10 major Negro precincts went heavily for Stevenson in 1952. This year, the Negro vote was not as large as four years ago, but Stevenson received only 10,765 to Ike's 16,602.

In Baltimore, the 17th Ward — where Stevenson routed Eisenhower in 1952 by a vote of 2,560 to 1,003 — the Democratic standard bearer was able to muster only 122 votes to his opponent's 1,665 in Tuesday's election.

Benson Sees Farmers Voting for Eisenhower

Herald Tribune Thurs. 11-1-56
New York

By Walter Lister Jr.

CHICAGO, Oct. 31.—Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson predicted today that the farm states he was visited this month will vote for President Eisenhower by margins approaching the 1952 Republican landslide.

Mr. Benson said he was highly gratified at what he saw during his tour of fifteen states in the last two and a half weeks. Speaking at a press conference, Mr. Benson reported:

"There is no farm revolt. Our agriculture is basically sound. Surpluses are declining. Markets are expanding. Farm income is up 8 per cent over a year ago. And were moving in the direction of greater freedom for the American farmer.

Farmers "Optimistic"

"Farmers are, generally speaking, going to fare very well this year, and they are optimistic for the future."

He said he felt President Eisenhower's veto of "that hodge-podge farm bill" last spring was a turning point in farmers' attitudes, and that the swing to the Republican ticket was "most significant in the last three or four weeks."

Mr. Benson, asked to comment on a charge by Sen. Estes Kefauver, Democratic nominee for Vice-President, that the Agriculture Department was trying to "buy" farm votes through its new pork purchasing program, retorted that the Tennessee Senator was "entirely off base."

"Doing It for Years"

Congress, Mr. Benson noted, provides funds with which his department may strengthen markets for perishable products. The purchases of pork products announced yesterday, he insisted, were in no sense politically inspired. "We've been doing it for years," he explained.

Asked whether he expects to remain in the Cabinet, assuming an Eisenhower victory, Mr. Benson said he "never worried about tenure" in his job. "The President knows that I'll be greatly relieved when he's through with me."

The only farm state not visited during the Secretary's current campaign tour is Minnesota, and he plans to go there this week end, after appearances in West Virginia tomorrow.

IKE ACCLAIMS NIXON, BUT IS MUM ON NOD

Times-Picayune Thurs 1-26-56

Hints He Wouldn't Press Warren If He Bows Out

New Orleans La.

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

WASHINGTON, Jan. 25 (AP) — President Eisenhower picked and chuckled his way through a maze of political questions today with praise for Vice President Nixon and an admonition against mixing the Supreme Court and politics.

Both Nixon and Chief Justice Warren have been mentioned as potential Republican presidential nominees in the event Eisenhower foregoes a bid for reelection. Some GOP leaders have talked of pressuring Warren to run if Eisenhower doesn't.

One possible meaning to the President's news conference remarks about the Supreme Court and politics — and there were others — was that there would be no such pressure from him. He didn't say so directly, however.

Ike Ducks Question

Nor was he saying, at this point, whether he might give the nod to Nixon for the presidential nomination, or for second place on the ticket once more if the President does go for a second term.

In fact, Eisenhower ducked entirely a question as to whether he would try to pick his successor if the decision is against seeking four more years in the White House.

As usual, the chief executive deftly avoided tipping his intentions toward a second term at a conference that nudged up to the issue along all sorts of devious routes — between discussions of such topics as taxes, foreign policy, the farm problem and school construction legislation.

Eisenhower sparred past all the political inquiries with chuckles, outright laughter and apparent relish. He brought out factors that might speak for a second term and others that wouldn't.

Says Family Doesn't Object

No, he said, nobody in the family objects to his running again. There have been published reports that Mrs. Eisenhower, in particular, is against it.

He almost snorted at the idea he "was bored to death at Gettysburg" during his weeks of convalescence from his heart attack at his Pennsylvania estate. Again, there have been reports in print he was so bored there that he probably would try for term No. 2.

Eisenhower said he has piled up stacks of books he never has had a chance to read, he daubs with paints, he likes to roam around the farm.

"I love animals," he said. "I like to go out and see them. I have got a thousand things to do in this world, so I don't think I would be bored, no matter what it was."

Recalls He 'Had Attack'

Four months and a day since his heart attack, the President dwelt on the "energy, the intensity," on the "zip and zest" a president has to take into conferences to "get something done for the good of the United States."

"Now, this morning maybe I may feel very zestful," he went on with a broad grin, "but I do know I have had an attack."

When he does make his announcement on another term, Eisenhower said, "I suppose it will be just as dramatic as I can make it."

He said his next complete medical checkup will take place probably between Feb. 10 and 15 — he has another trip south in mind. When a reporter wanted to know whether it was "safe to assume" there would be no announcement until after the examination, the President brought on an outburst of laughter with word that:

"I don't think there is anything safe to assume about any of my impulses."

'Respect, Affection for Nixon'

He said that "no matter what my own decision is," he will confer with Nixon on it. He spoke of "my admiration, respect, and deep affection for Mr. Nixon." Never, he said "has there been a vice president so well-versed in the activities of the government."

But as to whether he would favor Nixon for a running mate again if he decides to seek reelection, he said that "I have never talked to him under any circumstances as to what his future is to be or what he wants it to be." He added that "I wouldn't possibly move on anything that affected his future until I knew his desires, and I don't."

Eisenhower was asked his view, with special application to Warren, on whether it is "bad policy under our form of government for the chief justice to return to active politics."

Times-Picayune

Two Interpretations on Warren

There were at least two interpretations of the President's reply: (1) that he won't try to draft Warren; (2) that a justice should not get involved in politics while on the bench but that it might be all right for him to do so if he quit the court.

The news conference brought out 224 reporters — 66 fewer than last week's. The questions kept bouncing back to politics, with breaks along the way to consider such subjects as:

Taxes — Once more Eisenhower made it clear he is against a tax cut at the moment, although "goodness knows, I want to cut them." But he said he felt that "until we start to accomplish some reduction on our great debt burden that we really haven't got our financial house in order."

Schools— Eisenhower recognized the possibility that the House may attach an antisegregation amendment to a school construction bill and that it might run into a consequent filibuster in the Senate. His position, he said, is that "the need of the American children for schools is right now, immediately, today" so that there should be nothing that is put on this thing that delays the construction."

Virginia's GOP

Journal & Guide

AT A MEETING of the Republican State Central Committee in Richmond a member offered a resolution endorsing what the General Assembly had done about interposition. It failed of passage, being ruled out of order, by the Chairman, SENATOR LANDRETH, (Rep.) who voted for it in the Senate. Norfolk members of the committee prevented its passage.

MR. ERSKINE B. VAN HOUTEN, JR., of Richmond, offered the resolution, and told the GOP meeting that "the people of Virginia feel it is time for the Republican party to stand for something."

Sat. 2-11-56

If the Republicans stand for the same things that the Democrats do how are they going to build a two-party system? Does the Party want to be an appendage of the Democratic Party?

We venture to suggest a few things the Virginia Republican party might stand for:

Norfolk, Va.

1. Repeal of the Poll Tax;
2. Repeal of the Absentee Voters Law;
3. Advocate taking Virginia "out of the forties" in education, care for the mentally ill; care for handicapped children; prison camp reform, care for the aged;
4. Develop Virginia's natural resources in order that one-third of the State's income from salaries and wages will not come from Government. "Government is Virginia's biggest industry." Virginia depends on this source of income more than any other State in the Union. Maryland is next with 24 per cent. (See Virginia Economic Review, Jan. 1956.)
5. Do something to develop Virginia's agriculture. Only 6 per cent of Virginia's personal income springs from farm sources, and Virginia is supposed to be an "agricultural State." North Carolina gets 13 per cent of its income from farm sources.
   next with 24 per cent.
6. Raise unemployment compensation allowances. Virginia's maximum $24 is the lowest of any of the States.
7. Restore the 15 per cent slash in welfare appropriations.
8. Raise the pay of public school teachers, especially those in rural schools, in order to establish State uniformity.

Those are only a few things for which the Republican party could stand in Virginia, with profit to the Party, and the State.

MR. VAN HOUTEN said that endorsing interposition would help carry Virginia again for MR. EISENHOWER. It might also cause MR. EISENHOWER to lose Indiana, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey, and other States which he needs more than he does Virginia, if Virginia Republicans joined the Democrats in its present revolt.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

Daily Tribune

Sen. Knowland of California, explaining his entry into the Presidential primaries in Illinois and Alaska, says that he does not believe that the Republican party need be made over into the image of Mr. Eisenhower. The senator observes that there was a Republican party before Mr. Eisenhower became President, and there will be one after he has ceased to be President.

Thurs. 1-26-56

Historically, the Republican party has had an existence of a century. It once was a majority party with a clearly defined body of principle. But in the last 23 years the electorate does not seem to have been capable of sustaining an interest in principles and political ideas. It buys emotional jags at elections. It does not seem to be concerned about hangovers.

Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Roosevelt was popularly accepted as a charmer with a beautiful radio delivery. He could kick the economy all over the lot, set the classes upon one another, run the White House like a bucket shop for family profit, maneuver the nation into disastrous and worse than futile war, snowball spending and

debt on Keynesian principles, condition the country to arrogance in high office and to a subbasement level of public morals, and still get elected four times.

Mr. Landon, in 1936, was the last Republican candidate to talk remotely like a Republican. He got lost somewhere along the line. In 1940 the party adopted the tactic of trying to oppose Roosevelt with a medicine man of his own. Mr. Willkie, onetime Socialist, onetime Democrat, was the curious hybrid fetched forward. He was as phony as Roosevelt, but not as effective.

We then had the two Dewey interludes, in which the Republican party abandoned its pretense to possessing a distinctive identity and espoused the New Deal. Dewey was unable to persuade the electorate in sufficient numbers that he could manage the New Deal better than those who invented it. Even Truman managed to lick him.

Thru these years the Republicans had one heavyweight in the person of Sen. Taft. He was the last of the breed. Inasmuch as the party itself had no surviving body of doctrine, Republicanism was wherever Taft took his own position. His integrity and intellectual ascendancy in an age of political pygmies won him a vast and almost reverent following. He was recognized as a danger by the people who manipulated the party and were bent on reducing it to a pale reflection of the New Deal.

The trustees of Columbia university, archetypes of the new class of party wire pullers, installed Mr. Eisenhower as president of this venerable seat of learning as part of the buildup for the Presidency. Eisenhower was used to head off Taft, thus making Republican New Dealism secure and insuring that domestic concerns would continue to remain appendages to an aleatory expedition in the management of the world.

Mr. Eisenhower was possessed of an authentic personal charm and radiant smile which Mr. Willkie and Mr. Dewey had conspicuously lacked. Political commentators soberly suggested that Americans were able to find in him a "father figure," as if the citizenry now was so lacking in self-reliance as to depend on a vicarious paternal guidance in all its affairs.

The Republican party these days apparently is whatever Mr. Eisenhower thinks, or is counseled, that it is. In effect, the voting public has the choice between two forms of the New Deal, as Vice President Nixon explicitly stated in his Chicago speech a week ago. "The choice," said he, "is not between the Eisenhower program and something more conservative, but between the Eisenhower program and something far more radical."

If you don't like it, you are expected to lump it. The only mystery is what the Republican party becomes should Mr. Eisenhower depart the scene. It will need the services of a psychiatrist to discover its own identity.

GOP Woman Official Speaks Here Monday

Daily World P. 1
Jan. 2-12-56

Mrs. Thalia D. Thomas, assistant to Director of Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, will be main speaker Monday night at a Lincoln-Douglas Republican Box Supper to be held at the Butler Street YMCA.

The festive box supper will begin at 8p. m., with Gilbert E. DeLorme serving as toastmaster and will honor two of the Republican Party's most revered statesmen, Abraham Lincoln and Frederick Douglass, abolitionist.

Atlanta, Ga.

Others to be featured on the program include Rev. W. M. Jackson, Wesley Boyd, Robert R. Snodgrass, Timothy Gilham, L. D. Milton, W. J. Shaw, Mrs. J. B. Harris and J. W. Dobbs. Music will be furnished by Francil Long and the Morehouse by Francis Long and the Morehouse College Barber Shop Quartette.

The box supper, which is open to the general public, is sponsored by Metropolitan Atlanta Republican Clubs, Fulton County Young Men's Republican Club and the Gate City Young Republican Club. Mr. Shaw, assistant state secretary of the party, said Republican officials, locally and statewide, have been invited to attend the celebration. Among these officials are Robert Snodgrass, state finance chairman, Mr. Dobbs, assistant state chairman, William Shartzer, state chairman and Mr. Shaw.

Mrs. Thomas will make other speeches earlier in the day over WERD at 1 p. m., and over WAOK at 9 a. m. She will appear in chapel at Clark College at 10 a. m., Monday.

A native of Washington, D. C., but a resident of Maryland since she was four-years-old, Mrs. Thomas taught physical education and was acting registrar at Maryland State Teachers College before she returned to Washington to assume her present position. She has also served as administrative assistant to Office of Far Eastern Affairs, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation (UNRRA) from 1944 to 1948 when it was liquidated. She was elevated to the Republican National Committee in August, 1948.

She is scheduled to arrive in Atlanta at 12:45 p. m., Sunday.

The box supper is open to the general public and those who desire supper should call WA 1891 or MU 8-6063 and make reservations.

MRS. THALIA THOMAS

Hall Sees Negro Vote For GOP

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-4-54

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at a news conference Thursday, indicated that he believes the Republicans can win the colored vote in the congressional elections in pivotal northern states and at the same time reaister gains in southern states.

The press conference had been called by the Republican chairman to express jubilation with the President's decision to run for a second term and to announce that the party is "going to work for a Republican victory all down the line from the White House to the county court house."

"I do not say we are going to carry congressional elections in states like Mississippi and South Carolina," Mr. Hall said, "but right today, in those two states, we have organizational activities going on, and I can promise you people in this room today that in 1956 the Republican party will not be a sectional party. It will be a going party in 48 states in this Union."

"Reporter asked Mr. Hall how did he expect to get the colored vote in pivotal states in the North and make gains in the South.

At first, Mr. Hall said he did not understand the question. All the reporters in the room laughed. The reporter repeated the question.

"To my mind that answer is very simple," Mr. Hall replied. "I presume you go back to the question raised by the Supreme Court decision.

"In my opinion most Americans feel as I do that the decision of Supreme Court is the last word so far as we are concerned.

"I have been at meetings in the South and to my mind generally speaking, the question is not as difficult as some people would seem to think.

"To answer your question further I might give you what (Representative Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat, New York) said after we were in office some twenty months. He said the Eisenhower Administration had done more on civil rights since it had been in power than had been accomplished in the past twenty years.

"The Administration is working for all Americans. We do not think there are any second class Americans. We feel this administration has benefitted all Americans. We feel all Americans like what we have done. We are going to make a bid for all Americans."

Georgia Negro Republicans Stage Walkout At County Convention

Atlanta Daily World
Sat. 3-31-56
Jackson, Miss.
P. 1

Protest Election Of All-White Officers And Delegates

COLUMBUS, Ga., Mar. 26.—Forty angry Negroes stormed out of the Muscogee County Republican convention last Thursday in protest to a clean sweep of local GOP positions by white party members.

Negro Republicans left the meeting in a body after their slate of six delegates to the district convention was voted down, 53 to 46.

W. M. Thomas stayed behind long enough to ward white Republicans that the Negro walkout will mean contests of the county convention vote at district, state and national levels.

In addition to selecting an all-white slate of delegates to the district and state conventions, white Republicans also named a slate of officers for the next four years that includes no Negroes. James W. Andrew was elected Republican chairman.

It was the first time—at least during recent years—that Negroes were excluded from all Republican posts. In 1952, Negroes got one-third of the posts in accordance with pre-convention agreements.

34d 1956

Ala. Republicans in Accord, See 'Cinch' With Ike-Nixon

Journal & Constitution p. 9-E

Sun. 5-20-56

Leader Views Trip to West Coast As Leisurely Sightseeing Junket

Atlanta, Ga. 342

By FRED TAYLOR

Staff Writer, The Birmingham News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., May 19—Alabama Republican leaders, who used to battle fiercely each presidential election year over control of this state's delegation to the GOP National Convention, have never been happier in their political lives than they are today.

With party chieftains and rank-and-file members in Alabama eagerly — and unanimously — awaiting the almost certain renominaion of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon as GOP sandard-bearers, everyhing now is completely peachy.

"The only undecided issue we've got is whether our Alabama delegates to the Republican National Convention at San Francisco will travel by train, plane or automobile," said jubilant State Chairman Claude O. Vardaman.

"We're just going on an across-the-continent sightseeing tour and the sight of Dwight D. Eisenhower is always a pleasant one. We'll just answer the roll call and vote aye!"

Supremely Confident

That's the way Alabama's supremely confident top GOP'er viewed the upcoming Republican convention, which will open in the Pacific Coast city one week after the embroiled Democrats meet at Chicago for their national pow-wow to pick candidates for president and vice president.

Four years ago, Chairman Vardaman, an original Eisenhower man, and other Republican leaders were fighting furiously over whether Ike or the late Sen. Robert A. Taft would win a majority of this state's then 14-member delegation.

And in campaign years before that, they fought to determine whether New York's Thomas E. Dewey (GOP nominee in both 1944 and 1948) or Sen. Taft, the late Wendell Willkie or some other presidential aspirant would grab off a majority of Alabama's delegates.

Incidentally, this state's Republican delegation this year will number 21, since Alabama was given a bonus of seven delegate seats for the comparatively strong vote polled in 1952 for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket when nearly 150,000 ballots were recorded in the GOP column.

Adlai Stevenson, the 1952 Democratic nominee, and Alabama Sen. John Sparkman, his vice presidential running mate, got 275,000 to carry the state. Stevenson is a top-heavy favorite with 43 Alabama Democratic delegates already elected. And he has a chance to pick up more votes May 29 when election of the other nine members is completed in a runoff primary.

Vardaman, who thinks the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket is a cinch

ALABAMA

to win again in November, regardless of whom the Democrats nominate, added:

"It certainly is a relief not to have to go through the strain of delegate fights again this year. And it's an even greater relief not to be faced with the stress and anxiety of a national convention battle."

Alabama Republicans who will meet in state convention in Birmingham next Friday to choose four delegates-at-large, already are in the midst of picking 17 district delegates.

In 1952, each of Alabama's nine congressional districts furnished one GOP delegate, with the exception of the heavy Republican-voting Seventh District in the northwestern section of the state, which had two. This year, each district will furnish two delegates, with exception of the predominately Democratic Eighth District stretching through the Tennessee Valley. It will have only one, because the Republican vote there failed to exceed the 10,000 mark required for an extra bonus delegate. Thus, the GOP delegate gain is a net of seven.

Populous Ninth District, which includes all of Jefferson County, already has picked Cecil R. Holliman, attorney and newly chosen county Republican chairman, and Homer A. Jackson Sr., Birmingham accountant, as its two delegates.

And the Third District, in Southeast Alabama's Wiregrass region, has named Charles H. Chapman Jr., Dothan contractor, and E. L. Spencer, Auburn lumberman, as its delegates. The other seven districts will pick theirs before the state convention.

Almost certain to be picked for three of the delegates-at-large posts are Chairman Vardaman, Mobile's Marvin Mostellar, Republican national committeeman, and Oscar P. Drake, Haleyville, secretary-treasurer of the State GOP Executive Committee.

Nominee Says Racial Stand Caused Defeat

Advertiser Wed. 5-23-56 Montgomery,

(Earlier Story on Page 12B)

A statement by a Montgomery Republican defending the national GOP policy on segregation was blamed for his failure to be selected yesterday as a national convention choice.

Eugene Munger Jr., nominated as a convention delegate at the Second District meeting of the Alabama Republican Party held at Greenville, failed to get a vote after expressing his views on segregation.

Munger and another nominee, Howard Foshee, Montgomery, were asked how they stand on segregation, prior to voting for the delegates to the San Francisco convention. The local businessman told them, "I feel the same way the national party feels."

Foshee and another nominee, Dick Bennett of Greenville, were elected delegates. Named as their alternates were Perry O. Hooper, Montgomery, and John Huffman, Fairhope.

The election of the national convention delegates came after a motion that a discussion be held to determine the segregation views of the delegates to the district meeting. The motion, however, was ruled out of order by the district chairman, William E. Brooks Jr., of Brewton.

G.O.P. MAPS DRIVE FOR NEGRO VOTES

Times New York

Seeks to Tip Scale in Close Urban Districts of North and Regain Congress

Mon. 6-4-56

By JAMES RESTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 3—The Republican party, confident of the re-election of President Eisenhower, is going after the votes of Negroes in the large urban areas of the North in an effort to regain control of the Congress.

The G. O. P. has made a careful survey of the states and Congressional districts where Negroes tend to hold the balance of power and party strategists have been quietly planning a major campaign in these areas for weeks.

Last week, the issue was brought into the open during the Citizens for Eisenhower conference in Washington by Richard Tobin, the organization's public relations chief, who told the delegates that a 5 to 10 per cent switch in the Negro votes this year "would almost certainly" mean the election of a Republican Congress. He added:

Need to Gain 17 Seats

"In the context of Supreme Court decisions under a Chief Justice appointed by President Eisenhower, decisions as historic as the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln, we have a wonderful story to tell, and it is my opinion that it has not yet been told sufficiently well to the average Negro voter."

Mr. Tobin urged the delegates to emphasize that "a vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland." This is a theme which has previously been developed mainly in private: it is that continued control of the Senate by a Democratic majority would mean that the Senate Judiciary Committee, which handles civil rights legislation, would remain under the chairmanship of Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, a leader of those in the South who are pushing the fight against the Supreme Court's public school integration decision.

In the November election, Republicans must make a net gain of two Senate seats and fifteen House seats to organize and control the Eighty-fifth Congress.

G. O. P. chances of winning the Senate by a defection of Negro voters from the Democratic column are not good. In only two of the northern states where Democrats are up for re-election do Negro voters seem to hold the balance of power — in Missouri (7.5 per cent Negro on the basis of 1950 census figures) where Senator Thomas C. Hennings Jr. got 53.6 per cent of the vote in 1950, and New York (6.2 per cent Negro) where Senator Herbert H. Lehman was elected by 52.6 per cent of the 1950 vote.

Senators Hennings and Lehman, however, have been leaders in the fight for legislation favored by Negro leaders and are not expected to be much affected by the Republican bid for the Negro vote.

Times 6-4-56

The House picture offers the Republicans greater opportunities. A recent study by Congressional Quarterly, for example, listed sixty-one Congressional districts outside the South where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 census was larger than the winning candidate's margin of victory in the 1954 Congressional elections.

Thirty-two of the sixty-one districts elected Democrats in 1954, twenty-nine elected Republicans. In most of the thirty-two Democratic districts, however, the Democrats won by such large margins that olny a spectacular switch by the Negro voters could switch the seats to the G.O.P. column.

Focus on 13 Contests

There are, however, thirteen Democratic-held seats in districts with large Negro populations which were won by less than 55 per cent of the vote in 1954, and these are the principal targets of the G.O.P. campaign.

The Republicans are aware of the dangers of inflaming the segregation issue by thrusting it crudely into the campaign. For that reason, perhaps, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who was widely criticized for referring some months ago to Chief Justice Earl Warren as a "great Republican Chief Justice," left the segregation tactics last week to Mr. Tobin.

Nevertheless, the G.O.P. strategists regard this election as a period of maximum opportunity in their dream of shattering the Roosevelt coalition and regaining the allegiance of the Negroes.

Republicans See Chance

Until 1936, the Negroes tended to vote Republican in memory of Lincoln and Emancipation. In 1928, however, the Democratic party gained control of the cities, and throughout the New Deal era, the Negroes, mainly for economic reasons, increased the Democratic pluralities in the urban North.

The Republicans now feel, however, that they have a chance to break this pattern. The Negro population in the North has arisen from less than 3,000,000 in 1940 to almost 5,000,000 today, and in the public school segregation decision, in the Democratic manifesto in Congress against this decision, and in the person

of Senator Eastland, the Republicans think they have a combination which can detach a great deal of the Democratic party's Negro voters in the key cities of New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, Baltimore, St. Louis, Kansas City, Cleveland and Cincinnati.

In short, the G. O. P. is looking not only to this election, when it can count on the popularity of Eisenhower to keep it in power, but to the post-Eisenhower period when, if it can dramatize the Negro campaign for public school integration, it might be able to establish a new pattern of mass voting in the decisive populous states of the North.

The Republicans feel they have finally wiped away the ghost of the economic depression of the Thirties. They believe they have found a new decisive majority in American political life favoring a kind of modified or moderate New Deal. In addition, they have the argument of peace, and if they can now break or even weaken the Democratic party's hold on 80 per cent of the Negro voters in the North, they can see the prospect of a new Republican era.

That, at least, is the objective and background of what Mr. Tobin was talking about here last week.

Harlem Campaign Opens

The first local manifestation of the Republican campaign to woo the Negro vote appeared in Harlem yesterday. Handbills stating that support for Democratic candidates would result in control of important Congressional committees by "Southern race-baiters" were distributed by children.

Hulan E. Jack, Manhattan Borough President, called the handbill "a disgrace" and said he would begin an inquiry "first thing in the morning" to determine who was responsible for the circulars.

The handbills were yellow sheets 8½ by 11 inches printed on black.

The text read: "When you feed the head of a dog, you nourish the whole body! Remember when you vote for a Democrat Senator, Representative or Alderman in New York, Chicago, Detroit—or anywhere—you vote to make Eastland and the Southern race-baiters chairmen of the important committees in Congress!"

The leaflets were distributed outside a church where the Urban League of New York was holding its annual meeting and honoring Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat of New York, for his championship of civil rights.

They also were distributed in front of the Abyssinian Baptist Church, of which Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., is pastor. A young people's group of the church was conducting a rally honoring prominent persons for their work in civil rights. Among them was Mr. Jack.

"Just look at this. This is a disgrace," Mr. Jack said on entering the rally with a handbill.

"It certainly is," said Mr. Powell, who has sponsored a proposal to deny Federal school ai dto any state opposing racial integration in schools. "Why, there isn't even a name on it."

Mr. Powell said that if Negroes were to defeat Democratic candidates "Negroes would lose" Representative William Dawson as chairman of the House Committee on Government Operations as well as Mr. Powell himself, secon dranking member of the House Education Committee.

The handbill bore a union label and number designating the plant at which it was printed, but identification and location of the plant were not immediately determinable.

The Republican campaign in Harlem was announced last May by Thomas J. Curran, New York Republican county chairman, and five Negro Republican county leaders. They also said then that they would "play up" Senator Eastland's hostility to integration as a major propaganda weapon.

Younger Voters Shift Support to Eisenhower

Gallup Poll Shows 21-29 Age Group Backs Republican 1st Time Since '36

By GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., May 26.—For the first time since New Deal days, America's younger voters express a preference for a Republican candidate for President.

Whereas twenty years ago, in 1936, two out of every three voters in the twenty-one-to-twenty-nine age bracket favored Franklin D. Roosevelt, present indications are that Dwight D. Eisenhower would receive nearly as large a proportion of their vote in an election now.

In the last five presidential elections that the Democratic party's appeal has been greater among younger voters, while Republican strength has been concentrated in the older age group.

Today, there is only a minor difference between the views of the twenty-one-to-twenty-nine age group and those fifty years of age and older as far as presidential voting preference is concerned.

Vote by Age Groups

As one of its continuing series of cross-country voter preference surveys, the Institute's staff of interviewers asked this question of voters of all ages:

"Suppose the presidential election were being held today. If President Eisenhower were the Republican candidate and Adlai E. Stevenson were the Democratic candidate, which would you like to see win?"

The vote today by age groups, with the undecided vote excluded in the second column of the tables:

21-29 YEARS		
Eisenhower	61%	63%
Stevenson	36	37
Undecided	3	—
30-49 YEARS		
Eisenhower	62%	64%
Stevenson	35	36
Undecided	3	—
50 Years and Older		
Eisenhower	62%	65%
Stevenson	34	35
Undecided	4	—

In the analysis of the presidential vote by age groups since 1936, Institute statisticians have found that most of the leveling-off process has occurred since 1952. The traditional difference by age of the New Deal years persisted up through the 1952 election, despite the large vote for General Eisenhower in that election.

Republican High Point

The election of 1952 marked the high point in Republican success among young voters—but even in that year the most the Republican presidential ticket could do was to attract 49 per cent of the young vote, while 51 per cent went to the Democratic ticket.

By contrast, 53 per cent of persons between the ages of thirty and forty-nine, and 61 per cent of those fifty years of age and older, voted for Eisenhower in 1952.

The following table shows the percentage of persons in each age bracket who voted Republican in presidential elections between 1936 and 1952, as recorded in Institute surveys just after each election:

% REPUBLICAN OF MAJOR PARTY VOTE IN 5 PREVIOUS PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

	21-29 Years	30-49 Years	50 Yrs. & Over
	%	%	%
1936.....	32	35	44
1940.....	40	44	49
1944.....	42	47	49
1948.....	38*	43*	50*
1952.....	49	53	61
Today's survey...	63	64	65

** The figure is the Republican percentage of the four-party vote in 1948.*

The table shows that, among young voters, there was a shift to the Republican candidate of 17 percentage points between 1936 and 1952, and since then there has been a shift of another 14 percentage points.

Among middle-aged voters, there was a shift of 18 percentage points between 1936 and 1952, and a further shift of 11 percentage points since 1952.

Older Voters' Shift

Among older voters, there was a shift of 17 percentage points from 1936 to 1952, and since then there has been a shift of 4 percentage points.

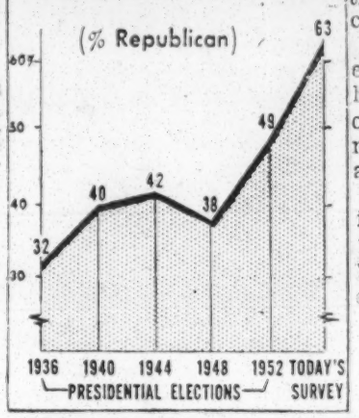
The very great importance of the young vote is evidenced by the fact that during the four-year period between recent presidential elections, a total of approximately 8,000,000 to 9,000,000 persons came of voting age.

Of the nearly 20,000,000 young voters in the twenty-one-to-twenty-nine age group, the proportion who participate in elections is smaller than among the older voters, but the vote of the young group is nevertheless a sizable factor in any election.

Republican party strategists undoubtedly will take comfort in today's presidential preference results as one of the most encouraging factors in favor of their party which has been uncovered up to the present date.

Whether or not this preference of young voters for Eisenhower can be made to rub off on Republican Congressional nominees is something else again.

The Institute is now conducting a survey of congressional voting sentiment and results will be reported shortly.



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CIVIL RIGHTS PLANK OF REPUBLICAN PARTY

GOP Says It 'Points To An Impressive Record'

ACCEPTS' COURT RULING

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20.—The text of the tentative proposed draft of the Republican platform plank on civil rights:

The Republican Party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

In the area of exclusive Federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican Administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

Progress Is Cited

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this Administration.

Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia government and in the district public facilities ncludng public schools, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds. The Eisenhower Administration has eliminated discrimination in all Federal employment.

Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with Federal Government and secure Federal contracts. This Administration has impartially enforced Federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the second session of the 84th Congress.

The regulatory agencies under this Administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in nterstate commerce. Segregation in the active armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospitals and among civilians on naval bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

Guarantee For All

The Republican Party has unequivocally recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees to all people the blessing of liberty, due process and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native-born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed or color.

The Republican Party accepts the decision of the United States Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through Federal district courts. The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and longstanding decisions of the same tribunal.

We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the Federal Government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved

PRESIDENT — DWIGHT EISENHOWER

PRESIDENT AND MRS. EISENHOWER leave Republican headquarters after learning Mr. Eisenhower's victory is overwhelming.

4342

California Voice San Francisco, Calif. Fri. 12-5-54

U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Mr. Mark Hardin, Vice Chairman of the $100-a-plate Dinner, a fund raising campaign for the Republican party are shown conversing with Publisher E. A. Daly of the California Voice. Mr. Brownell (on right) is telling Mr. Daly of the importance of returning the President for 4 more years.

VICE-PRESIDENT — RICHARD NIXON

Republican Party Scores Its First Memphis Victory Since Reconstruction Days

Commercial Appeal

Eisenhower And Nixon Break Democratic Hold On Shelby, Crittenden Counties—Race Track Supporters Win In Arkansas

Section 5
P. 2

By LOUIS SILVER

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S nationwide landslide re-election victory made record-breaking Mid-South history last week. Memphis, Tenn.

Shelby County and Crittenden County, Ark., site of West Memphis, gave voting majorities to a Republican presidential candidate for the first time in a free election. Shelby County since Reconstruction Days had gone Democratic, except in 1948 when the States' Rights Party won a majority here. For Crittenden County, the post-Civil War record was straight Democratic until last week.

Race track supporters were victorious in Arkansas balloting.

Tennessee, which was in the Republican column in 1952, joined Louisiana, Florida and Texas in the South to swell Mr. Eisenhower's electoral vote total to 457 from 41 states.

Louis Silver

Former Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois received 74 electoral votes from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina and South Carolina.

Jun. 11-11-56

3,000-Vote Margin

The Shelby County vote was 65,690 for President Eisenhower to 62,051 for Mr. Stevenson. The States' Righters got 7,286 votes. In Crittenden County, the Eisenhower victory was 2,476 to 2,120.

Even though the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket carried Shelby County, other Democratic candidates for Congress and the State Legislature won easily. Representative Clifford Davis of the Ninth District was returned to Washington with 90,874 votes compared with 35,783 for Herbert Harper, his GOP opponent.

Dist. Atty. Gen. J. Carlton Loser, recently nominated by Democrats to succeed the late Percy Priest in the Fifth Tennessee District, defeated George Spence, the Republican, by an overwhelming majority.

Re-elected in Arkansas were Gov. Orval Faubus over Republican Roy Mitchell, Hot Springs attorney, and United States Senator J. W. Fulbright over Ben Henley, GOP state chairman from Harrison.

Ike's Sweep Is Greatest In 20 Years

Courier-Journal
Thurs. 11-8-56
Louisville, Ky.

Popular Vote 58 Pct.; 457-74 Electoral Tally

P. 1

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL
Associated Press Staff Writer

Tag-end returns magnified yesterday the mighty personal triumph of President Eisenhower's re-election victory.

But the American people refused him Republican control of Congress.

The great outpouring of votes hoisted Eisenhower to a pinnacle of popularity towering far above that of his party.

At the same time, the electorate went on a historic vote-splitting spree that let Democrats cling to thin margins of control in both Senate and House. Thus for the first time in more than a century—since 1848—the presidential winner failed to sweep at least one branch of Congress with him.

Carries More States

The Democrats were sure, too, of a majority of the nation's governorships. They lost a few and gained a few.

But their presidential nominee, Adlai E. Stevenson, was caught and crushed under an Eisenhower landslide even more enormous than that of four years ago.

With returns in from 143,480 of the country's 154,844 polling places, the Eisenhower victory was measured in these figures:

Popular Vote: Eisenhower, 33,212,325, or 58 per cent; Stevenson, 24,192,953, or 42 per cent; Eisenhower lead, 9,019,372.

Electoral Vote: Eisenhower, 457, from 41 states; Stevenson, 74, from seven states; required to win, 266 of a total of 531.

In 1952 Eisenhower piled up 33,927,441 votes, or 55.4 of the total, and a margin of 6,612,449 over Stevenson. He carried 39 states with 442 electoral votes, to nine states with 89 votes for Stevenson.

From the devastation of his defeat Stevenson saved only six Southern states, which also were with him in 1952, plus Missouri, which went for Eisenhower four years ago, but drifted away this time.

The table of national results in the presidential race, state by state, and a story on all governorship contests are on Page 3.

The Stevenson states in Dixie were Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, and North and South Carolina.

Snatches Away Three

Eisenhower more than offset his loss in Missouri by snatching away three states that went to Stevenson in 1952—Kentucky, West Virginia, and Louisiana. Not since 1876 and Reconstruction days had Louisiana voted for a Republican for president. That was the year Rutherford B. Hayes won.

With Congress it was a different story. Eisenhower, simply couldn't pull enough Republican Senate and House coattail clingers along with him.

For Eisenhower, a Democratic Congress may be no insuperable handicap. After all, he has had one for two years and has been getting along fairly well with it. In fact, Democrats contend that on issue after issue they have given him sturdier support than Republicans.

Sends Thanks to Adlai

In the hour of his victory Eisenhower appeared before Republican rally with a beaming smile and a pledge that:

"With whatever talents the good God has given me, with whatever strength there is within me, I will continue—and so will my associates—to do just one thing: to work for 168,000,000 Americans here at home—and for peace in the world."

His first official act after wrapping up his victory was to send a telegram to Stevenson yesterday morning with an expression of thanks for his defeated rival's "pledge of cooperation for the immediate future and for the four years that lie ahead."

Two Factors Listed

The Stevenson defeat and the Eisenhower victory were made up mainly of two factors:

1. The people still like Ike and showed it.
2. They were worried about world conditions—shooting in Hungary and Egypt. And they showed that.

Although Eisenhower rolled up the most lopsided election victory in recent political history, he still fell short of the record the late President Roosevelt set in 1936.

Courier-Journal

Trying for a second term then, F.D.R. took every state but Maine and Vermont. He rolled over Republican Alf M. Landon by a margin of nearly 11,000,000 votes.

P. 16

For Stevenson, the results this time probably have written, "Finis," to his attempts to become president. The two decisive defeats he has suffered would seem to foreclose a third try.

Some Editors In South Quit Backing Ike

Courier-Journal
Fri. 11-2-56
Louisville Ky.

Papers for Stevenson Number Same as In '52

By The Associated Press

President Eisenhower, first Republican to pierce the traditional Democratic stronghold of the Solid South in nearly a quarter of a century when he was elected in 1952, has lost considerable backing from Southern editors this year.

However, an Associated Press survey of editorial support among the larger papers in the nominally Democratic South shows that Adlai Stevenson failed to make a gain. At least 32 newspapers are "sitting out" this 1956 presidential campaign.

Fourteen of these so-called "neutrals" supported the President in the last election and four were for Stevenson.

States Righters Gain

Both candidates lost support to the third party of States' Righters. Switching from Eisenhower were the Hattiesburg (Miss.) American, and The Columbus (Miss.) Commercial-Dispatch. Stevenson lost the West Point (Miss.) Times & Leader.

The Columbia (S.C.) State, which supported Eisenhower in 1952 through an independent Eisenhower movement, this year is backing a slate of independent electors.

The Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, for the fourth straight presidential election, is supporting an independent slate of electors who this year have expressed a preference for Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia.

The President has some 52 Southern newspapers supporting him compared with 68 in 1952. That is a net loss of 16 as he failed to gain any new backers.

Adlai Lost 5, Gained 5

Stevenson remained exactly the same—34—as his loss of five papers was offset by five new supporters, two switched from Eisenhower, two who were neutral in 1952, and the newly established State Times of Jackson, Miss.

Eisenhower suffered his greatest loss of editorial support in Mississippi where not one of the 22 daily newspapers have come out for him. In 1952 at least seven Mississippi dailies gave him their backing.

The two papers that switched allegiance from the President to Stevenson are The Huntsville (Ala.) Times and The Greenville (Miss.) Delta Democrat-Times. The Democratic candidate also picked up The Sarasota (Fla.) Journal and The Abilene (Tex.) Reporter News, both neutral in the last campaign.

Neutrals Are Listed

The newspapers that supported Eisenhower in 1952 but are not taking sides this year are: Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Charlottesville (Va.) Progress, Lynchburg (Va.) News, Lynchburg Daily Advance, Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, Richmond News-Leader, Raleigh (N. C.) Times, Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News, Clarksdale (Miss.) Press Register, Laurel (Miss.) Leader Call, Meridian (Miss.) Star, Natchez (Miss.) Democrat, McComb (Miss.) Enterprise, and Lake Charles (La.) American Press.

Nixon Predicts Larger Negro Vote For Eisenhower

Yesterday P. 1
Thurs. 11-1-56
Des Moines Iowa

Chicago, Ill.—(CNS)—Vice-President Richard Nixon on drawing 3,500 Negroes at the Trianon Ballroom on Chicago's South Side, was so very encouraged that he boldly predicted that President Eisenhower will get 40% of the Negro vote in November and thereby double his percentage over the '52 vote.

34

Nixon ventured so far on the limb to state that Ike would get this Negro vote in the industrial cities of the North. He bases his "optimism" on the crowds at Republican meetings and the reports of local leaders besides the "usually reliable public and private polls."

Nixon told how he based his new prediction. Like all other Americans, he says, "Negro voters do not want to risk their better jobs, their paychecks, their security and their peace by changing administrations at this time.

Herald Tribune photo by Morris Warman

DOWNPOUR GREETS NIXON—The Vice-President as he was met at LaGuardia Field yesterday by a member of the Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon.

Nixon Promises Harlem Action on Civil Rights

By Don Irwin

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon promised a Harlem rally last night that election of President Eisenhower and a Republican Congress will mean "action, not words; deeds, not speeches," toward advancement of civil rights.

Mr. Nixon brought his frank appeal for a switch in the generation-old Democratic pattern of Negro votes to a rally at the Hotel Theresa, 125th St. and Seventh Ave., in the heart of the nation's largest Negro community. Republican gains in Harlem could tip the state in a close election.

In a fast-paced four-hour tour, the Vice-President also traveled with Mrs. Nixon in a police-escorted motorcade to rallies in Nassau and Queens Counties. They first took in a meeting at the Levittown Arena, East Meadow, L. I., then went on to another at Lost Battalion Hall, Elmhurst, Queens.

Stops Off at Detroit

The New York appearances were only part of a long campaign day characteristic of the Vice-President's strenuous stretch drive to bring out a maximum vote next Tuesday for President Eisenhower and Republican Congressional candidates.

Dawn found the candidate aboard a chartered plane on an overnight flight east from California. He halted long enough at Detroit to address an enthusiastic indoor audience of 2,900 and to talk briefly with an oudoor overflow that was almost as large.

In New York his plane landed at La Guardia Field in a driving rain. After his evening of speeches, he boarded a special train at midnight for three days of whistle-stopping in Pennsylvania and Ohio.

As he has in Detroit and other cities with large Negro communities, Mr. Nixon emphasized to the Harlem rlly the argument that Southern Democrats who control key committees have stymied civil rights legislation in Congress. He conceded that their actions counter to views of Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate.

Says Democrats Stall

While some Democrats have "talked, orated and demagogued about civil rights," he said, the half of the party with Congressional seniority has "blocked, stalled and sidetracked any action."

Mr. Nixon credited the President's leadership for "a major breakthrough in the sound barrier which has for many years blocked any action." He predicted the President, if re-elected, will continue to "place his great moral force into the battle" for equality of opportunity for all Americans.

Mr. Eisenhower's re-election will mean, Mr. Nixon said, improved education and job opportunities for all Americans; "better and cheaper housing"; the end of "Jim Crow" laws in transportation and a "recognition of the dignity of man."

Lashes 'Shabby' Politics

At the Detroit rally in the Henry and Edsel Ford Memorial Auditorium, Mr. Nixon lashed at Mr. Stevenson for playing "shabby" politics by his criticism yesterday of the Administration's Near Eastern policies.

Finding Mr. Stevenson "a politician first and a statesman second," Mr. Nixon said the Democratic candidate "gloats like a Cheshire Cat over this turn in international politics which is costing lives in the Near East."

Mr. Nixon aded two new items to open questions which he propounded yesterday for Mr. Stevenson to answer. If the Democratic candidate has "something better to offer," he said, he should be able to state when he appears in Detroit tomorrow how he stands on the following:

"Does he think we should not work through the United Nations for peace in the Near East?"

"Does he think we should join with the British and French and send American boy to the Suez?"

The Vice-President was introduced by Detroit's Mayor Albert E. Cobo, Republican contender to unseat Michigan's four-term Gov. G. Mennen Williams. The Cobo forces pin their victory hopes on winning a solid majority for the President. Mr. Eisenhower took Michigan's twenty electoral votes by 320,000 votes in 1952.

Negro Lawyer Says Ike Lax On Race Issue

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 24 (AP)—A Negro leader today accused the Eisenhower administration of "indifference" in enforcing the Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.

A. P. Tureaud Sr., of New Orleans, former state counsel for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, now outlawed in Louisiana, said in an interview.

"I think the President could have done a great deal more to implement the decision and to bring about a more favorable climate for its being put into effect." He said he didn't mean use of Federal troops "but just the influence of his office."

The Eisenhower Doctrine Of This "New Republicanism."

While it was but natural that those who would claim that the heavy vote cast was more for President Eisenhower than his party, the startling fact remains that it is entirely impossible to separate the President from his party; in fact as the titular head and the one who holds the pilot-controls with so much vision and sagacity, the President actually represents the letter and spirit of the party.

Much has been said about this "New Republicanism," with those biting satires that the party as it were, was inadequate to imbibe the spirit of the great President it has projected, in this unprecedented crisis in which we find the county engulfed.

This New Republicanism in its sweep and scope, admittedly has been able to recapture that vote which went over to Roosevelt and could not be held firmly in line for more than one Truman era. That vote showed its independence in that in such populous areas as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and Detroit, there are gains over the vote the President received in 1952. The big Harlem shift may have been due in part to the stand so liberally taken by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell.

This New Republicanism swept seven Southern states into the Republican column and even in the deep South state of Georgia, the Stevenson lead was less than a two to one victory for the Democrats in 1952.

While on the Georgia situation, fully eleven counties went over into the Republican column. The following counties landed in the Eisenhower corner: Chatham, Effingham, Fannin, Pickens, Richmond, Glynn, Liberty, McIntosh, Muskogee and Towns.

This New Republicanism would have emerged with handsome majorities for both Houses of Congress had traditional South been debating ground. Its one-party system has prevented the invasion of this territory. But the future looks different.

It has been seen from the record of the past that the President's popularity, itself founded upon the principles of this New Republicanism, the Congress will go along in the same vein of patronism in helping to carry over the President's program which would advance the whole people.

If the deep South can by its awakening take a leaf from the Georgia situation in which its Fifth Congressional District brought out more voting than in previous years, because of an opposition candidate, there will be high hopes of a working two-party system in this area, such as other states are presently enjoying.

With the coming on of streamline economics, with the country becoming adjusted to a new system in agriculture, industry and trade the infusion of new blood and settlers with varied faiths and customs, there will come astonishing results along this way.

Independent voters, regardless of color are fast bringing about this condition. The abnormal shift to Roosevelt, to later be diminished at the high-tide of the Truman era only to be embraced in the spiral of the golden Eisenhower period, is one of the factors which will bring about a complete renaissance in the Imanac of American procedure resulting in a freedom for both egment of voters.

Biggest Republican Victory In History Given By Voters

Remarkable Switch of Colored Voters All Over Nation To Grand Old Party Was Surprising Feature Of Tuesday's Election; Kefauver Failed To Campaign In Home State, Which More Than Doubled GOP Majority It Gave Ike And Nixon 4 Years Ago

Shortly after midnight of Tuesday of this week, the returns from the presidential election showed that Dr. Gallup, Mr. Elmer Roper and other scientific pollsters had accurately forecast the outcome of what the result would be after the people had gone to the polls. Very generally these forecasts had stated that the Republican ticket, composed of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, native of Texas whose residence was in Kansas for many years, but who recently established his home in historic Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, would be elected president in a landslide.

The pollsters also, naturally, indicated that Vice President Richard M. Nixon would be re-elected.

In a number of issues, the Globe had told its readers that the Stevenson and Kefauver ticket did not have a chance to defeat so successful an administration as that which had been rendered by President Eisenhower and associates.

The Globe never doubted, even from away back when "Worry Wart" Harold Stassen who tried to constitute himself as a "one-man" Democrat Aid Society by his harsh fight on Mr. Nixon, that Mr. Nixon nevehtheless would be a powerful asset to President Eisenhower because of his and Mrs. Nixon's charming personalities.

One of the reasons which most all Americans undoubtedly know is that the people are not in the habit of rejecting a successful president's bid for a second term, after four years in office.

Another thing which most students of politics know was that the American people do not take kindly to a political party, whose leaders incur the suspicion of being dupes of a foreign power, hostile to America and its ideals. Stevenson had been a character witness for Alger Hiss.

A sure sign of Republican victory was provided by the fact that the Republicans in 1956 campaigned on the slogan of Peace, Prosperity and Progress and had the proof of the validity of that slogan. Peace as a slogan very naturally caused the people to think how definitely the Democrats had been a "war party" from away back in 1916, when Woodrow Wilson got elected on the slogan "he kept us out of war," and then barged immediately into World War I. At the time this happened Wilson and Co. were about to crack up in their effort to achieve prosperity.

At midnight of Tuesday, Eisenhower had rolled up a popular vote of more than 25,000,000 in the nation. Although these were from returns already counted, there were many other votes to be counted; the complete returns were expected to show that Stevenson and Kefauver had been defeated by an astounding majority.

The votes recorded showed Stevenson was ahead in only 7 states out of 48; that he had only 74 electoral votes out of 531 and Eisenhower had amassed a total of 457 electoral votes. This was an increase for Eisenhower over 1952, when he carried 39 states with an electoral vote of 442, while Stevenson carried only 9 states with an electoral vote of 89. Again as in 1952, Stevenson had not been able to carry a single Northern state, even losing the state of Illinois, where he lives.

Still worse was the case of Sen. Estes Kefauver, who although a candidatae for vice president avoided making any speeches in his home state, Tennessee, showed up with a bigger majority for the Republicans that it gave them in 1952. It was thought Kefauver would be an asset to the Democrats. The politicians nominated him over Senator from Massachusetts, and it was believed to have cost the Democrats much of the big Catholic vote in Massachusetts.

New York with close to a two-million plurality for Eisenhower, also lected Attorney General Javits over Mayor Robert Wagner for United States Senator.

There were such strange happenings in the election as Republicans carrying the Democrat City of Montgomery, Ala., and also the city of Memphis.

Nothing possibly gladdened the hearts of the Republicans more than the returns from Kentucky. There they elected two United States Republican senators according to returns at midnight. This had been anticipated because of the intensive campaigning done by Negro voters in Louisville. In the past, the Republicans have attributed Kentucky victories to the loyalty of their colored supporters.

Colored voters in Nashville split their ticket in a big way when they backed the candidacy of in peacetime. Eisenhower did not believe it necessary to have a war to get prosperity. Neither did Mr. Nixon.

Eisenhower and Nixon who undoubtedly believe in the old saying that no chain is stronger than its weakest link, became dedicated to making progress toward the elimination of racial discrimination in this country, not necessarily because Negroes are the chief victims of discrimination, but because enemies of our country use every bit of news, showing harsh treatment of American Negroes to be a choice item with which foreign nations seek and succeed in using to their advantage as they propagandize our alleged unfitness to be leaders of the world in which a large majority of the people are not white.

Mr. Nixon found that out, in his travels around the world following his inauguration as vice president. President Eisenhower knew it because of his contacts with peoples all over the world.

It is a popular pastime for many colored persons to believe and say that Negroes won the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. Actually, had not President Eisenhower thrown the weight of his administration behind the NAACP fight for school desegregation, there is not a chance that Negroes of this country could have won that fight.

Democrats had plans "up their leeves" for manipulating the gov-rnmnet executivet and legislative, n a way to annul the full efforts of he Court decision. Give credit to uch brilliant Republican leaders as Val J. Washington of the Republican National Committee, Archibald Carey, minister and diplomat, Attorney Z. Alexander Looby. The COURIER and AFRO and other such wise leaders for the notable services they rendered in helping President Eisenhower major in his laudable endeavor to wipe out second-class citizenship by law in the United States. Give Messrs Stevenson and Kefauver "credit" for carrying on in the Truman tradition of trying to make the people believe that they were dedicated to promoting the observance of what is said and implied in the 14th Amendment of the U. S. Constitution.

supported the candidacy of popular Attorney General J. Carlton Loser for congress. Gen Loser will fill the position held by Congressman J. Percy Priest, who died between the time of the August primary and the election.

George Spence the Republican opponent of Mr. Loser was publicized as a "states rights" man, which did not recommend him to a large element of Republicans who say that no man can believe in the states rights doctrine and claim to be a Republican at the same time.

Gen. Loser made a race for Congress in a Democrat primary twenty years ago, which saw the district wage a hard fight among three popular Nashvillians—Gen. Richard M. Atkinson, Hon. Will T. Cheek, and Mr. Loser. Mr. Atkinson won the race with a plurality of only 13 votes and served one term in congress.

It is believed the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket might have carried the state with the votes from Davidson County alone had Gen. Loser been permitted to run on the ticket with the presidential nominee. He was more popular in this country than either Stevenson or Kefauver.

As a political leader and orator he is as fully able to represent the fifth district as was the Hon. Percy Priest.

Negro GOP Vote Analyzed

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Large numbers of Tar Heel Negroes voted Republican in Tuesday's election, and three Raleigh Negro leaders agreed yesterday that the Pearsall Plan was a major factor.

"It was definitely a protest vote . . . against the Pearsall Plan and the way Gov. Hodges has handled" the school segregation problem, said P. R. Jervay, editor of The Carolinian, a Negro newspaper.

The Rev. G. A. Fisher cited the Pearsall Plan plus such factors as Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) and "his stand on Civil Rights" and the Congressional investigation of how segregation has worked in the District of Columbia schools.

"We couldn't defeat Hodges and we couldn't defeat Sen. Ervin, but we just wanted them to know how we felt," said Fisher. He cited criticism of the U. S. Supreme Court segregation decision voiced by Sen. Ervin (D-NC) as a factor.

F. J. Carnage, Negro attorney, said he felt much of the swing of Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican column resulted from the Pearsall Plan and "efforts to circumvent" the U. S. Supreme Court segregation decision.

Jervay and Carnage agreed that Republicans went after the Negro vote in the State more actively than in previous elections. Jervay said three Negro newspapers carried Republican campaign advertising "for the first time."

Jervay said he felt this advertising "had its effect" and that a number of Negro organizations worked to round up support for the Republicans.

The three agreed that in addition to the Civil Rights issue, prosperity and the fact that Negro voters—like a lot of white voters—liked Ike also were factors in the Negro support of the Republicans.

NATION'S EDITORS POLLED:

Eisenhower Landslide

By DAVID LAWRENCE

WASHINGTON—Here is the latest election forecast as derived from a poll of editors of the newspapers of every state in the Union conducted by letter and telegram in the last few days by this correspondent:

LAWRENCE

1. A landslide of electoral votes for President Eisenhower—about 374 to 157.

2. Reduced in many states as compared with 1952, but the possibility of increased margins in a few states, because of strength being shown by Eisenhower in the cities. This pattern is noticeable in all sections of the country, including the South.

3. An increase in Ike margins in the cities due to women's voters and to a large share of voters in labor-union families than four years ago.

The total number of letters and telegrams sent out—to daily newspapers only—was 1,502. From these 1,014 replies were received. This is an over-all percentage of 67.5, but in the so-called doubtful states, like Michigan and Minnesota, more than 85 per cent of the editors responded.

Here is the table of answers and the electoral vote indicated:

	Stevenson Certain	Stevenson Leaning	Eisenhower Certain	Eisenhower Leaning	Electoral Vote Adlai	Electoral Vote Ike
Alabama	7				11	
Arizona		1	2	3		4
Arkansas	14	1			8	
California		3	22	39		32
Colorado			10	3		6
Connecticut			13	1		8
Delaware				1		3
Florida		4	1	16		10
Georgia	14	1			12	
Idaho			7	3		4
Illinois		3	34	16		27
Indiana			39	6		13
Iowa			26	10		10
Kansas			36			8
Kentucky	3	9	1	4	10	
Louisiana	7	2	1	1	10	
Maine			6			5
Maryland			5	1		9
Massachusetts			10	19		16
Michigan			21	22		20
Minnesota	1		5	17		11
Mississippi	10	1			8	
Missouri	10	14	2	7	13	
Montana			6	5		4
Nebraska			16			6
Nevada			1	3		3
New Hampshire			5			4
New Jersey			14	3		16
New Mexico		4		7		4
New York			33	11		45
North Carolina	30	1			14	
North Dakota			7	1		4
Ohio			37	12		25
Oregon			9	3		6
Oklahoma	5	14		4	8	
Pennsylvania	1	3	26	37		32
Rhode Island				6		4
South Carolina	3	3			8	
South Dakota			6			4
Tennessee	6	7		1	11	
Texas	6	22	1	41	24	
Utah			1	1		4
Vermont			5			3
Virginia	2	6		10	12	
Washington			13	13		9
West Virginia	5	3		3	8	
Wisconsin			18	2		12
Wyoming		1	5	2		3
TOTALS					157	374

Ike's Suburban Vote Is Off 6% Over 1952

President Eisenhower's share of the major party vote in Washington's suburbs dropped 6 per cent between 1952 and 1956.

Complete unofficial returns showed Mr. Eisenhower polled 54 per cent of the votes cast Tuesday in the nearby area, contrasted with 60 per cent four years ago.

The total of 273,064 votes cast in the presidential race set a new record for the nearby area—Arlington and Fairfax counties plus Alexandria and Falls Church, Va., and Montgomery and Prince Georges counties, Md.

About one third of the Eisenhower drop-off was attributable to a shift of votes in Prince Georges County. Mr. Eisenhower's share there Tuesday was a slender 50.8 per cent, compared with 56 per cent in 1952.

Omitting consideration of Prince Georges votes, Mr. Eisenhower's share for the area in 1952 remains 60 per cent. Tuesday's Eisenhower total without Prince Georges is 56 per cent—or 2 per cent higher than the total including that county's votes.

Prince Georges, with a lower per capita income than other suburban counties, has experienced heavy growth in the past four years. Long regarded as a Democratic stronghold, on Tuesday it gave wide margins to Democratic Rep. Richard E. Lankford in his successful race against Eisenhower Republican challenger William B. Prendergast, and to Democratic senatorial aspirant George P. Mahoney.

Of the county's 62 precincts, 25 went for Adlai Stevenson in this week's vote. These were concentrated in the Spaulding, Chillum and Seat Pleasant electoral districts.

Mr. Eisenhower's share of the major party vote elsewhere in the area ranged from 58 per cent in Arlington to 54 per cent in neighboring Alexandria and Falls Church. Mr. Eisenhower won 57 per cent in Fairfax and 56 per cent in Montgomery.

The President's margin in Northern Virginia was apparently cut only a limited extent by the vote for the States' Rights ticket headed by T. Coleman Andrews. That ticket pulled about 3 per cent of the votes cast in the Northern Virginia suburbs which make up the 10th Congressional District.

Republican Rep. Joel T. Broyhill, who was reelected to a third term from the Tenth District, ran ahead of Mr. Eisenhower by about the same margin as Stevenson ran ahead of Democratic Congressional candidate Warren D. Quenstedt. Broyhill's vote was 53,148; Mr. Eisenhower's, 52,723. Mr. Stevenson led Quenstedt, 40,995 to 40,533. The Andrews vote totaled 2455.

In Montgomery County, where Mr. Eisenhower captured 56 per cent of the vote, Republican Rep. DeWitt S. Hyde squeaked through with 50.5 per cent of the ballots cast. Four years ago Mr. Eisenhower got 61 per cent of the Montgomery vote, Hyde 57 per cent.

Lamb Challenges D.C. Old Guard To Debate Integration, Home Rule

Post Times Herald Washington, D.C.
Mon. 3-26-56

George P. Lamb, gamboling for votes for National Committeeman among the District's orthodox Republicans, challenged the Old Guard last night to to a public debate on what he called "our town's two big issues—integration and home-rule."

Lamb, hoping to fleece the Party organization of the committeeman post at the May 1 primary, said GOP Chairman George L. Hart Jr. and Clyde D. Garrett should "stand up and be counted." Garrett is the incumbent and the organization's candidate against Lamb.

Lamb said his declaration for full integration for the District, as well as home rule, "separates the chaff from the wheat, the men from the boys."

Lamb, between greeting 250 callers at an "Open House" at his headquarters yesterday in the Pennsylvania Building, said he had an snswer for Republicans who call him a "Johnny Come Lately" to GOP affairs.

The graying corporation lawyer said he was in the tradition of President Eisenhower, Wendell Wilkie and the "17 million American independent voters" who helped to elect Eisenhower in 1952. The local GOP leaders were Taft supporters at the 1952 convention.

The visitors received a handshake, a cellophane - wrapped campaign toothpick and sipped punch and munched pastry.

On the other side of the political aisle yesterday, the District Kefauver-for-President Club announced opening today of its central headquarters at 820 13th st. nw. There are also three branches.

The Real Nixon Story

Commercial Appeal P. 6

Identity Of Eisenhower's Running Mate Not To Be Determined Purely On President's Fondness For Anybody

Sun. 3-4-56 Memphis, Tenn.

By JOSEPH AND STEWART ALSOP

WASHINGTON.—The people who are saying that President Eisenhower "is getting ready to dump Nixon" are even more wrong than the people who are saying that the President is far too fond of Nixon to tolerate any other vice presidential nominee.

The real Nixon story is a lot more complicated than that. It is true that the President has a warm affection for the Vice President. It is also true that the President, being a kind man and grateful to Nixon for his loyal service, would much prefer to make no change in the Republican ticket this year. Thus those who are betting that Dick Nixon will get the nod again have by far the best of the bargain, as of now.

But for all his kindness and loyalty to his friends, Dwight D. Eisenhower has also shown that he can be pretty coldblooded about members of his team who cease to look like assets. Harry Truman might have, indeed he probably would have fought to the end for any crony as close to him as Secretary of the Air Force Harold Talbott was close to Eisenhower. From Eisenhower, however, Talbott got the ax in very short order, with no greater consolation than a nice note and a military review. By the same token, the President did not conspicuously rush to the defense of his first Secretary of Health Education and Welfare, when Mrs. Hobby was in trouble with the Salk vaccine program.

President's Affection No Certain Guarantee

For this reason, the President's affection for the Vice President is no sure guarantee of Nixon's future. The real status of Nixon was implied very clearly at the President's historic press conference, when Eisenhower declared on the one hand that the choice of the vice presidential nominee would have to wait until the Republican convention, and on the other hand praised Nixon in the highest terms. Those who speak with undoubted authority have now paraphrased these seemingly double-edged Presidential remarks about as follows:

"I'd like to have Dick Nixon on the ticket with me, but I'm not going to commit myself because something may happen to change my mind."

For Nixon, therefore, the next six months are going to be a particularly dangerous obstacle race, in which the penalty of failure will be the President changing his mind. The obstacles ahead of Nixon are only too easy to discern.

There is his marked unpopularity, first of all with the type of Republicans who would prefer a vice presidential nominee like Governor Christian Herter of Massachusetts. There is second, and actually more important, the bad showing Nixon has been making in the political polls. In these reporters' opinion, the results of the poll-takers are almost meaningless until the actual eve of the voting; but politicians scare very easily if the polls seem to show that a man is not a winner. It was this, in the last analysis, that cost Robert A. Taft the Republican presidential nomination.

Vice President Has Many Real Assets

The polls alone can perhaps cause Nixon to be dropped, if they show, for example, that an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket is markedly weaker than an Eisenhower-Herter ticket. The polls may perhaps do just this, although no one can tell, until the noses are counted, how much the President's impaired health will cause the voters to weigh their choice by their opinion of the Vice President.

But then Dick Nixon, it should be remembered, has very great assets on his side, as well as very considerable obstacles to overcome. When Nixon has got into hot water, in the first place, he has invariably done so by sounding too much like a partisan politician; but he has sounded like a partisan politician precisely because the President, who wants to be above politics, has rather shrewdly deputed the political infighting to his Vice President.

Nixon has far more ability and judgment than his detractors suppose, and unless the President asks him to make partisan political noises, he is entirely capable of striking an altogether different note in the next six months.

In addition, the great majority of Republican organizations outside the Eastern states quite clearly prefer Nixon to any other vice presidential nominee. And finally and above all, there is no visible substitute for Nixon on whom the President's personal advisors can easily unite. Thomas E. Dewey would prefer Dewey, Harold Stassen would prefer Stassen, and so on through the list of hopefuls; and all the hopefuls' friends are similarly divided.

For Nixon, therefore, possession of the vice presidency is pretty certain to prove nine points of the law, unless the polls go too drastically against him or he makes some really bad bobbles.

Two Party System

Ga. GOPs In High Gear

Daily World P. 1
Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 3-27-56

Georgia Republicans started fullscale activity leading towards the National GOP convention last week when county conventions were held throughout the state.

Action in advance of the national meet will be centered on the GOP district meet, April 21, at the Fulton County Courthouse and a statewide convention, May 18-19 at the Atlanta City Auditorium.

William Shartzer, state chairman presided at an area meet which saw Bishop Sherman L. Greene declare "This is an excellent beginning toward the reelection of President Eisenhower."

Approximately 71 delegates and 71 alternates were named to district and state conventions.

Officers elected were Randolph Thrower, chairman; T. W. Holmes, vice chairman; F. M. Swift, counsel; W. J. Shaw, secretary; Fred Brooks, assistant secretary; and Inman Brannan, financial officer.

Delegates nominated were Shelby Armstrong, S. S. Abrams, T. M. Alexander, Fred V. Brooks, C. A. Brower, C. A. Brown, Mrs. Maie Butler, Mrs. Cassandra Binie, Prof. B. F. Bullock, Clinton Browner, A. W. Bryan, Prof. T. J. Curry, B. F. Cofer, J. H. Calhoun, W. L. Calloway, J. W. Dobbs, W. L. Calloway, G. E. DeLorme, Rev. H. I. Bearden, Mrs. Barbara White, T. J. Flanagan, Timothy Gilham, A. B. Gaines, Theodore Goosby, Mrs. Lottie Harris, W. S. Holloman, Roderick B. Harris, Kemper Harrell, C. C. Hart, T. W. Holmes Rev. W. M. Jackson, C. R. Yates, Ralph A. Long, Rev. R. H. Milner, Rev. J. L. Mitchell, Prof. John H. Morrow, Q. V. Williamson and W. J. Shaw.

Alternates chosen were St. Elmo Reynolds, Samuel L. Chisholm, Albert Watts, H. E. Eichelberger, H. M. Jones, Mrs. Marie Peeks, Mr Rebecca Dickerson, Archie B. Ha, Mrs. Alberta Mitchell, Mrs. D. E. Newman, Rich Mathews, Boysie Sullivan, J. B. Shepherd, W. Harold Smith, George Phinazee, H. R. Ford, Gilbert Turner, Mrs Mae Yates, Mrs. Elease Gilham, W. J. McIntosh, Dr. J. B. Harris, Mrs. Ruth Curry, R. N. Cole, Mrs. Addie G. Cox, Rev. C. N. Ellis, Rev. E. W. Lumpkin, Mrs. Gertrude Jackson, Mrs. Bessie Ringold, W. L. Greene, R. E. Houser, Jr., George T. Prather, E. A. Pollard, Jesse Hill and Willie Mitchell.

In Floyd County, Louis J. Mason, a retired Negro insurance agent was elected treasurer of the Floyd County Republican Central Committee at a county convention. Mrs. Robbie J. Smith was named chairman, succeeding her husband, Clyde Smith, who has been serving as both county and 7th district chairman. He will retain the latter role.

Daily World 3-27-56

Other Floyd officers were James L. Davis and J. W. Carten, vice chairmen and Jack T. Farrer, secretary, all of Rome.

In Macon, Negro Republicans of Bibb County walked out of a county convention there charging white members with "steamroller" tactics in the election of officers and delegates. The 31 Negroes later met at the Bibb County Courthouse and elected their own officers.

Roy Foster, Sr., of Wadley was named chairman of the Jefferson County Republican Party at a mass meeting there.

By Bob Burchette, Staff Photographer

Joanne Lamb, 16-year-old daughter of George P. Lamb, holds up a sign behind her father which expresses her view. The other cheering, charming ladies are sorority sisters of Joanne's, whom she brought to help dress up Lamb's "open house" yesterday.

Miss., S. C. GOP Leaders Face Ouster By Whites

WASHINGTON — (ANP)—Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Edna F. Redmond, Negro members of the Republican National Committee, are among four southern GOP leaders facing an ouster fight which may flare up at San Francisco in credentials contests involving present leadership of the party in Mississippi and South Carolina.

Howard, a Washington lawyer, is best known of the four southern Republicans. He has served as Mississippi committeeman since 1924, and is the senior member of the Republican National Committee.

In Mississippi, H. O. Spencer has been designated as a prospective national committeeman to succeed Howard, and Mrs. J. Balfour Miller of Natchez has been picked to replace Mrs. Redmond as the national committeewoman.

Both Spencer, who headed the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952, and Mrs. Miller are white.

CHARGE FAILURE

Replacement of Howard and Mrs. Redmond is sought by the Spencer faction on grounds that the Negro leaders have failed to build up the party in Mississippi. Howard is a veteran winner of many fights to displace him on the National Committee. He has raised the charge of racial prejudice against Negroes because his enemies in Mississippi excluded Negroes from their delegations. Howard supported the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio for the presidential nomination against Gen. Eisenhower in 1952.

But the movement against him now is reportedly not based on this fact. It grows rather from the charge that he has sought to keep the Republican party in Mississippi small and subject to his control.

The South Carolina GOP, lead by W. W. Wanamaker of Orangeburg and Mrs. Dabney Barnes of Greenville, both white, is under attack for similar reasons.

Seat Five Negroes On GOP Executive Committee

New Orleans, La., Mar. 19.—Five Negroes elected last January to the executive committee of the Orleans Parish Republican Executive Committee were seated last Thursday during a meeting at 419 Carondelet.

Elected were Jesse W. Cook, Henry Citizen, Rev. Noah Copelin, Mrs. Willie Harris and Samuel McNeal.

Mr. Cook, who was unanimously re-elected to serve as secretary for the next four years, was elected a member of the Republican State Central Committee for a four year term.

Negro GOPs Met At Bibb Court

Constitution State News Service

MACON, March 25—Negro Republicans walked out of the Bibb County Republican convention Saturday, charging white members with "steamroller" tactics in election of officers and delegates.

The 31 Negroes later met in the Bibb County Courthouse and elected their own officers.

In a Sunday Journal-Constitution story it was erroneously stated that the Negroes met at the Hotel Dempsey.

GOP Under Ike Gains Converts, Still a Minority

BY GEORGE GALLUP

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N.J., April 21—Evidence that the country's unprecedented prosperity under a Republican administration has won converts to Republicanism shows up in the latest institute poll.

If every citizen of voting age were required today to register anew at his polling place, either as a Republican or as a Democrat, the Democrats would outnumber the Republicans by a margin of 12,700,000 voters.

But the GOP, although still the minority party, has narrowed the gap considerably. One year ago, an institute audit found that the Democrats outnumbered the Republicans by 20,000,000 voters.

Here is the present party lineup, based on an estimated total of 98,500,000 citizens of voting age today:

APRIL, 1956

Democrats	51,700,000
Republicans	39,000,000
"On the fence"	7,800,000

The comparable figures for one year ago, when there was an estimated total of 98,000,000 citizens of voting age:

MARCH, 1955

Democrats	54,300,000
Republicans	34,300,000
"On the fence"	9,400,000

Political observers have speculated that just as the depression, when the GOP was in office, caused many voters to turn Democratic, it was perhaps inevitable that prosperity, when the GOP is in office, would work in reverse.

To determine the relative strength of the two parties today, interviewers for the Gallup Poll put the following question to an accurate cross-section of adults from coast to coast:

"If you had to register again today, would you register as a Democrat or as a Republican?"

Those persons who said they would prefer to register as an Independent, or as a member of some other party, were asked:

"Suppose you couldn't register as anything but a Democrat or a Republican. If this were the case, how would you register?"

The combined results today, together with the figures for one year ago:

NATIONWIDE

	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	39%	43%
Democratic	61	57

The extent to which the GOP is overcoming the "depression handicap" is perhaps best indicated in the following table which shows how young voters would register:

AGE GROUP, 21-29 YEARS

	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	33%	41%
Democratic	67	59

While a majority of voters not presently registered with either party would sign up as Democrats if they were required to register, the margin today in favor of the Democrats is not as great as it was a year ago:

NOT NOW REGISTERED

	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	37%	46%
Democarttic..	63	54

Any evaluation of national party strength must take into account the tremendous advantage which the Democrats have in the South.

OUTSIDE SOUTH

	1955	today
Would register:		
Republican	45%	49%
Democratic	55	51

SOUTH ONLY

	1955	Today
Would register:		
Republican	23%	29%
Democratic	77	71

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NEGRO SHIFT TO GOP TO COMBAT SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS EXPECTED

Daily World
Tues. 8-1-56 P. 1
Atlanta, Ga.

NAACP President Predicts 60-40 Voting Ratio

A great number of Negro voters may shift to the Republican party during the coming presidential election, according to a statement of Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, when he was the first Negro guest to appear on "Meet the Press," a national television program, Sunday afternoon.

Wilkins intimated that the "shift" of former Democrats to the Republican party may come as means of combating Southern Democratic Senator's attitudes toward any proposed legislation which would benefit this country's 15 million Negroes.

Striking out at both major parties, he said neither party has passed any legislation which would ease racial discrimination or segregation in the south since Reconstruction Days—more than 70 years ago.

However, Negroes have made the greater gains in civil rights under Republican administration—by executive orders.

Estmiates indicate that during the 1952 presidential election ratio of Negro Democratic-Republican voters was about 75 to 25 the country over.

However, since the Supreme Court decision which made segregation in public schools illegal, it is expected that the number of Negroes voting a Republican ticket will raise to a 60-40 ratio.

When the NAACP executive was questioned about his organization attitude in demanding the Supreme Court decision be inforced immediately, without consideration of moderation, Wilkins replied „I would not say that to ask that all schools be integrated now would be without moderation—two years since the court's decision.

The same panelist asked the NAACP executive why was his organization defying an Alabama court order which fined the NAACP $100,000. Wilkins' reply was "we not defying the court order. We have simply appealed the case to the Alabama Supreme Court. If this higher court directs us to pay the fine we shall do so. As well as turnover certain records they are demanding."

Daily World

Stating further, he said, "one of the reasons the local NAACP branch had refused to reveal names of the members is because after 24 members names were published in a local daily, all 24 persons were fired from their jobs within 48 hours.

P. 3

When questioned about Democratic party's attitude toward Negro voters, Wilkins explained, "Negroes think in terms of two national Democratic parties—Northern and Southern. The Northern party has helped the racial conditions within his sphere of influence, but the Southern Democratic have done nothing."

A panelist then asked the guest speaker why didn't all the Negroes move from the Southern states to the North. Wilkins explained, for the same reason all people from Maine would not move to California —because they have an investment in their native states, tradition, property, relatives, friends and love for their native grounds.

Another panelist remarked that Southern Negroes live better, have more and have a lower crime rate than Negro in most of the big Northern cities. Wilkins replied, "It is just like a Negro once said in Harlem. 'I would rather be a lamp post in the North than to be the governor of Georgia.'"

When questioned about the rights of the NAACP, with an estimated 300 000 membership having the right to say that it speaks for the Negro concerning national racial problems, Wilkins stated, "We do not say that we speak for all Negroes, however, we do say that we voice their sentiment on the race question in this country."

Nat Brooks was moderator of the National Broadcasting Company program.

Two Party System

Ga. GOPs In High Gear

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 3-31-56 P. 1

Georgia Republicans started fullscale activity leading towards the National GOP convention last week when county conventions were held throughout the state.

Action in advance of the national meet will be centered on the GOP district meet, April 21, at the Fulton County Courthouse and a statewide convention, May 18-19 at the Atlanta City Auditorium.

William Shartzer, state chairman presided at an area meet which saw Bishop Sherman L. Greene declare "This is an excellent beginning toward the reelection of President Eisenhower."

Approximately 71 delegates and 71 alternates were named to district and state conventions.

Officers elected were Randolph Thrower, chairman; T. W. Holmes, vice chairman; F. M. Swift, counsel; W. J. Shaw, secretary; Fred Brooks, assistant secretary; and Inman Brannan, financial officer.

Delegates nominated were Shelby Armstrong, S. S. Abrams, T. M. Alexander, Fred V. Brooks, C. A. Brower, C. A. Brown, Mrs. Maie Butler, Mrs. Cassandra Binie, Prof. B. F. Bullock, Clinton Browner, A. W. Bryan, Prof. T. J. Curry, B. F. Cofer, J. H. Calhoun, W. L. Calloway, J. W. Dobbs, W. L. Calloway, G. E. DeLorme, Rev. H. I. Bearden, Mrs. Barbara White, T. J. Flanagan, Timothy Gilham, A. B. Gaines, Theodore Goosby, Mrs. Lottie Harris, W. S. Holloman, Roderick B. Harris, Kemper Harrell, C. C. Hart, T. W. Holmes Rev. W. M. Jackson, C. R. Yates, Ralph A. Long, Rev. R. H. Milner, Rev. J. L. Mitchell, Prof. John H. Morrow, Q. V. Williamson and W. J. Shaw.

Alternates chosen were St. Elmo Reynolds, Samuel L. Chisholm, Albert Watts, H. E. Eichelberger, H. M. Jones, Mrs. Marie Peeks, Mrs. Rebecca Dickerson, Archie B. Hill, Mrs. Alberta Mitchell, Mrs. D. E. Newman, Rich Mathews, Boysie Sullivan, J. B. Shepherd, W. Harold Smith, George Phinazee, H. R. Ford, Gilbert Turner, Mrs. Mae Yates, Mrs. Elease Gilham, W. J. McIntosh, Dr. J. B. Harris, Mrs. Ruth Curry, R. N. Cole, Mrs. Addie G. Cox, Rev. C. N. Ellis, Rev. E. W. Lumpkin, Mrs. Gertrude Jackson, Mrs. Bessie Ringold, W. L. Greene, R. E. Houser, Jr., George T. Prather, E. A. Pollard, Jesse Hill and Willie Mitchell.

In Floyd County, Louis J. Mason, a retired Negro insurance agent was elected treasurer of the Floyd County Republican.

Central Committee at a county convention. Mrs. Robbie J. Smith was named chairman, succeeding her husband, Clyde Smith, who has been serving as both county and 7th district chairman. He will retain the latter role.

Other Floyd officers were James L. Davis and J. W. Carten, vice chairmen and Jack T. Farrer, secretary, all of Rome.

In Macon, Negro Republicans of Bibb County walked out of a county convention there charging white members with "steamroller" tactics in the election of officers and delegates. The 31 Negroes later met at the Bibb County Courthouse and elected their own officers.

Roy Foster, Sr., of Wadley was named chairman of the Jefferson County Republican Party at a mass meeting there.

A Moderation Plank Will Gain, GOP Told

Constitution 8-20-56 Atlanta, Ga. Mon.

Alabama Says Rights Stand Tied to 2-Party Crusade

By WILBUR JENNINGS

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19 (AP)—A resolution calling upon the Republican national convention to adopt a civil rights plank "of moderation and understanding" was adopted by the Alabama delegation today.

The Republican Party, the resolution stated, "could recognize the ordeal of the South, the problem of the South; could speak with the tongue of moderation and understanding and could open avenues of hitherto-unknown support that would make it for many decades to come the party of the vast majority of Americans.

"And this it could do clear of conscience and clean of hand for as God is our judge in the matter of racial relationships we come so to you in this expression."

YIELDS TO INDIANA

The delegation, first on the convention's roll calls, voted to yield to Indiana for the speech placing President Eisenhower in nomination. The speech is to be made by House minority leader Charles Halleck of Indiana.

In its segregation resolution, the delegation told the convention:

"We first would repel with contempt any suggestion from any source that the majority of the people of Alabama are banded together in any sort of conspiracy to deprive the minority of their rights under the laws of God and man.

"That simply is not so and any fair study of the social structure of Alabama will so convince any reasonable persons.

"We would tell this convention that Alabama reared a social order designed to protect the rights of all men and reared it under the many difficulties inherent in the presence in the same area of two contrasting races of near equal proportions.

"That social order segregated the races in certain fields that in others intercourse between them might be a thing of friendship and good will and mutual help in time of difficulty.

FEAR BREAKDOWN

"Let it be known that the people of Alabama, and this includes members of all races, believe with all their hearts that an enforced breakdown of this social order of the state laws under which it exists would inevitably replace harmony with discord, peace with friction and friendship with disgust.

"They are as one in this matter, regardless of their political faiths.

"We would point out to the Republican party that it has broken the once-solid South.

"A major reason for that break has been, of course, the character and integrity of the man it has offered as a candidate.

"Another major reason of compelling force has been growing southern awareness that the region must come to two-party politics if it is to exercise in the national arena that degree of influence to which its size, its growing importance and its patriotism entitle it.

CITE IKE'S PLEA

"We declare the course of moderation as expressed by President Eisenhower on the racial question in Alabama and the other states of the Deep South to be not only the course of right and decency and wisdom, but the course of progress from a political point of view.

". . . The wisest political observers tell us that to place the southern social bloc under attack in a bid for minority bloc votes on the national level is doomed in advance to failure.

"The Republican party, even were it inclined to do so, could not write a platform sufficiently radical to attract to it the bloc vote which will be cast in November."

The delegation elected Mrs. Thomas Abernethy of Talladega national committeewoman, succeeding Mrs. Myrtle Pitts of Clinton. Marvin Mostellar of Mobile was re-elected national committeeman.

HARLEM LEANS TO GOP

Advertiser 8-8-56

Israel, Segregation Loom As Potent Factors For New York's Role In National Elections

Fri. 3-9-56 Montgomery, Ala.

By JAMES D. EVLIN

NEW YORK, March 8 (AP)—The Israeli and segregation questions may be potent factors in the fight for New York's 45 electoral votes.

A sampling of public opinion by this reporter indicated these issues may bring some voting switches.

A Negro upswing in the Republican voting column appears a possibility.

Democrats contend they will make gains among Israel's supporters here.

150-MILE AREA

The survey, following President Eisenhower's announcement for a second term, covered roughly a 150-mile area. It included New York City and Albany, both ordinarily Democratic, and the usually Republican Hudson River Valley and Westchester County.

Harlem, populous Negro center regarded as Democratic since New Deal days, is smarting over racial incidents in Democratic Southern states.

Some of its residents say the Republicans are doing more for the Negro than the Democrats and that there will be an increase in the Harlem Republican vote.

On Israel, Democrats voice belief the Republicans have lost ground.

18 TANK EAL

They say there is dissatisfaction among Israeli's friends over administration policy in the Middle East. They cite the sending of tanks to the Arabs when Israel is asking arms.

"The trouble is," commented one Democrat, "whenever the administration does anything that causes criticism, the average person blames the Cabinet officer involved and not Ike."

While not commenting on the Israel or segregation issues, Republican State Chairman L. Judson Morhouse and his Democratic counterpart, Michael Prendergast, both saw victory ahead in the November election.

Morhouse said Eisenhower's popularity is such he may exceed his 1952 plurality of 850,000. He said more young Republicans than ever before will be working for Eisenhower's election.

Prendergast retorts that Democrat Averell Harriman wiped out this big majority and was elected governor by about 12,000 votes in 1954. He contends the Democrats can win again this year.

The President's announcement he will seek a second term quickly divided his followers and opponents on sharp lines on the possible influence of his heart attack.

HEALTH NOT ISSUE

"There isn't a person," said a New York City Republican worker, "who doesn't know of somebody who had a heart attack and lived to be 92 years old. Sure, Ike could get a heart attack during a second term, but so could anybody else holding the office of president. The health issue won't hurt Ike."

"Ike was pressured into it," said an Albany Democrat. "He's foolish to run—and I'd say that whether he was a Republican or a Democrat. Look at what happened to Roosevelt. Health is bound to be an issue in this campaign."

Democrats generally believe Vice President Nixon—their sharp critic—will make a good target if he is Eisenhower's running mate again.

But the rank and file supporting Eisenhower appear perplexed at the controversy that intermittently boils about Nixon—and particularly at reports some Republicans in upper echelons want to drop him.

"I don't know what all the fuss is about," said a Republican in traditionally GOP Westchester County, well-to-do residential section outside New York City. "It seems to me he has worked loyally for Eisenhower and has done a good job."

In Albany, where Thomas E. Dewey served as governor, several Democrats registered belief Dewey would supplant Nixon on the Eisenhower ticket. But a Republican expressed doubt, saying such a line-up would provoke Taft elements in the party.

A negro porter in Grand Central Terminal said "all you hear" in Harlem are pledges to vote Republican. Others with him nodded assent.

The Republicans, he said, are doing more than the Democrats toward desegregation.

A man waiting for a bus in Albany gave this as his reason for opposing Eisenhower:

"I just don't like a soldier as President. A soldier is too accustomed to taking orders."

A restaurant hostess said she was sorry Eisenhower didn't feel he should retire to his Gettysburg farm, but declared "I wish he could be President for 20 years. He and Mamie are such nice people."

Along the Hudson River valley, traditionally Republican, a farmer said he believed Eisenhower would get a heavy "sympathy" vote—ballots in admiration of his decision to stick to the job despite his heart attack.

Some Democrats say privately they believe Eisenhower's personal popularity is as great as it was in 1952.

But they believe they have one advantage they didn't have before. In 1952, it was a matter of campaigning against a national war hero with no political background. Now, he has a presidential record, which the Democrats can attack as vigorously as the Republicans can praise.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

Text of President's Address to G. O. P

Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 20 (AP)—Following is the text of President Eisenhower's prepared speech to the "Salute to Eisenhower" dinners here and across the country:

Nat. 1-21-56

In this past half hour, on the magic carpet of television, I have traveled around the country, recognizing faces of old friends hundreds of miles distant, recalling visits to cities as I glimpsed them on the screen, feeling the enthusiasm and warm friendship of so many thousands whom I have never met. I wish I could meet them so that I might personally say to each: "Thank you!"

P. 12-C

Naturally, I have been deeply moved through the flying minutes of this electronic tour. I am grateful to everyone—the Republican clubs, and all the organizations and individuals and their friends—who, directly or indirectly, participated in the salute.

New York

But my deepest emotion is concerned with things not shown by the TV cameras, things of the mind and heart and spirit—the memory of millions of our people—Republicans, independents and Democrats—who in 1952 worked tirelessly to make reality of their ideas of good government; the memory of men and women who stirred their friends and communities to action and who when the election was done—returned to their jobs and their homes, quietly performing the work of America, raising their families, discharging their responsibilities of citizenship, living worthy, rewarding lives.

'Basis and' Strength'

Those many millions made possible the event whose anniversary you observe today. They are the basis and the strength of what so many have called a new era. They brought fresh vigor to the political life of America with their vision, energy and dedication. We in Washington—inspired by them—have sought to be worthy of their trust. The heartfelt thanks of everyone at these dinners tonight goes to them. They, in the homes of America, are the ones who truly merit a great salute.

During recent months, I have had an unusual, even an enforced opportunity, to ponder on many subjects—the esseential goodness and honest purposes of people; the common bonds that poin all Americans regardless of ancestry, faith or politics; the anxiety of multitudes, at hame and abroad, to encourage and pray for one stricken by illness; the unity of aspirations that binds humanity together.

In pursuit of these aspirations, we in the Federal Government strive with all our strength to convert the uneasy peace in which we live to one that is genuine, based on the great moral principles of justice and right. Knowing well that true peace cannot be achieved by retreat from reality and responsibility or by desertion of friends, we make cartain that our defenses are alert and strong; that our partnerships with others are based on deep friendships and common great purposes; that gradually the truth of our nation's peaceful goals and our respect for the rights of others is brought to all peoples of the earth. Let no one be in doubt; this struggle for peace will be waged relentlessly by Americans of all parties and all creeds until at last success shall crown our efforts and reward our faith.

At home we enjoy prosperity; not the false prosperity of a dizzy inflation or of economic activity based mainly on arms spending; not the tragic prosperity of a few who can squander and of millions who must pinch; rather the genuine and widely shared prosperity of an immense productivity for peacetime satisfaction of human needs.

This record is the product of an industrious citizenry, supported in the Federal Government by a program designed for progress and dedicated to integrity, to concern for every individual, to faith in America and its principles.

Many tasks still await action. Problems involving sectors of the home front and relationships abroad demand the earnest and sympathetic attention of all Americans. Thus the present and the future are heavy with challenge, rich with opportunity. We must not relax merely because the general record is good.

For every good citizen, his party is, or he wants it to be, an instrument for genuine service, united in its devotion to a program that preserves intact the vital principles of the American creed; that attacks every problem in the light of those principles; that recognizes inescapable change and meets it; that believes in the dignity of every individual, in his equal right to justice and fair play, in his equal opportunity for the exercise of his talents, in his right to proper sharing in the nation's prosperity. This is my conception of the Republican party on this January 20, 1956. As long as our party lives by these principles and dedicates itself to these goals, it will continue to draw into its ranks, in ever-increasing numbers, men and women of idealism from every walk of life and from every section of our country.

As we move toward the solution of existing problems my own future role in our party remains undetermined; whether to be a candidate for your nomination or a worker in the ranks. I could devoutly wish that there were some method by which the American people could, under the circumstances, point out the path of my true duty. But it appears that this is a question that first I alone must answer. That answer will be forthcoming as quickly as it is firmly fixed in my mind. I trust that it will not unduly reflect concern for self, and I pledge that in whatever capacity I shall serve I shall support with all my strength the foreign and domestic programs for America that have been the guide of all of us for these past three years. That work must go on to fruition, in the interests of all Americans.

Again my warmest thanks to all of you.

Sunday Likely to Delay Public Inaugural in '56

WASHINGTON, Jan 20 (UP)—The President of the United States probably will not have a public inaugural a year from today.

Instead, he probably will be sworn in privately and take part in an inaugural ceremony the following day.

The Constitution provides that the next Presidential term begins Jan. 20, 1957, which will fall on a Sunday. When this happens, the incoming President usually is sworn in privately so that the nation would have a leader if an emergency arose in the next twenty-four hours. Then the formal ceremony takes place Monday. Charles L. Watkins, Senate parliamentarian, said this problem arose at the inaugurations of James Monroe in 1821, Zachary Taylor in 1849, Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877 and Woodrow Wilson in 1917

6,000 Republicans Hear Nixon Tell Job Bias Fight

Defender Sat. 2-4-56

Chicago, Ill.

Speaking before 6,000 diners at the International Amphitheater who were celebrating the third anniversary of President Eisenhower's inauguration, Vice President Richard M. Nixon said one of the chief targets in the program Eisenhower has presented to Congres is the elimination of discrimination in employment opportunity and education.

P. 3

Nixon said that once this was done, "we will quit losing 30 billion dollars a year, the economic cost of discrimination."

Republicans by the thousands turned out all over the country to honor the President. Sixty-three cities participated in the closed-circuit TV show, making it the largest mass celebration of its kind in history.

An estimated 60,000 Repubicans across the country contributed a net sum of over $5 million. For sheer political showmanship, it was a masterpiece and the Democratic strategists will have to dig deep to surpass it.

$100-A-PLATE

At the Ampitheater, an estimated 4,500 diners sat down to repasts costing them $100 each, consisting of choice Chicago steak or fancy speckled brook trout, with all the banquet trimmings. Another 1,500 in the balcony munched on an assortment of cheese, tuna fish, and egg salad sandwiches at $12.50.

From the mink coats and diamonds in the audience, it was apparent that prosperity is at least in the Republican column. The whole flossy affair netted over a half million dollars and Conrad Hilton, the hotel tycoon, accepted for the Party a check for $250,000 as a down payment on Illinois' contribution to the GOP chest from Fred Gurley, president of the Santa Fe railroad, who was dinner chairman.

A star-studded cast of top political figures headlined the show, but there were less than a dozen Negroes sprinkled in the audience. Nixon and Mrs. Nixon headed the list with Gov. and Mrs. William G. Stratton and Sen. and Mrs. Everett M. Dirksen, also in attendance.

CAREY IN MISSISSIPPI

Fred Waring and his Pennsylvanians provided the musical show with Fred Davis, famed baritone, in a featured number. Atty. Bindley C. Cyrus, who was a member of the dinner committee, sat with Mrs. Archibald J. Carey, jr., at one of the main tables. Carey was in Jackson, Miss., as the main speaker for that dinner.

J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor, came out from Washington to attend the dinner. Noted in the vast audience were Dr. J. B. Martin, trustee of the Sanitary District, Mrs. Forence Draper, Arthur Wilson and William E. King, Republican committeeman of the third ward.

Atty. Banjamin Crockett, who recently was endorsed on the GOP slate for judge, was there as well as Golden B. Darby of the Southside Community Committee, and Ripley P. Mead, sr.

Deputy Coroner William Martin and Atty. Donald Bourgeois came together.

Nixon lashed out at critics of the Eisenhower Administration saying the country was at its greatest peak of prosperity in peace time.

Voters Call GOP Prosperity Party

Herald P. 4-C

Fri. 1-27-56

Miami, Fla.

38 Per Cent Say Republicans In Office Means Good Times

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J. — Important indications that America's voters are beginning to link the symbol of prosperity more with the Republican party than with the Democratic party are revealed in a survey of national sentiment just completed by the American Institute of Public Opinion.

GALLUP

For the first time in a decade, more people say that good times in the immediate years ahead are more likely under the Republicans than under the Democrats.

The institute put the following question to a cross-section of voters throughout the country:

"Looking ahead for the next few years, which political party — the Republican or Democratic — do you think will do the best job of keeping the country prosperous?"

The vote:

WHICH PARTY CAN BEST KEEP AMERICA

PROSPEROUS?

Republican	38%
Democratic	34
No difference	10
No opinion	18

Although the GOP advantage is a small one, the fact remains that in breaking through the "prosperity barrier," the Republican party has gained a foothold in an area that has been the almost exclusive claim of the Democrats.

It is interesting to compare today's survey figures with identical studies conducted by the institute last November and also in November, 1951.

NOVEMBER, 1955

Republican	37%
Democratic	39
No difference	15
No opinion	9

NOVEMBER, 1951

Republican	29%
Democratic	37
No difference	19
No opinion	15

Replies to the question, of course, vary sharply according to the political party preference of the individual.

The important political fact, however, is that more independent voters — the "in-betweeners" in U.S. politics — have come to believe that the Republican party can best keep the country prosperous than think the Democrats can, as follows:

INDEPENDENT VOTERS

Republican	35%
Democratic	22
No difference	13
No opinion	30

Rank-and-file GOP voters are somewhat more confident that their party can do a better job than are Democrats, as the following tables show:

REPUBLICAN VOTERS

Republican	75%
Democratic	4
No difference	9
No opinion	12

DEMOCRATIC VOTERS

Democratic	66%
Republican	9
No difference	10
No opinion	15

Two other interesting patterns emerge from an analysis of the survey figures:

1. So far as occupational groups are concerned, there is considerable disagreement over which party can do the best job of keeping the country prosperous.

On the one hand, professional and business people and white-collar workers lean substantially toward the Republican party.

Skilled workers are about evenly divided, while unskilled manual workers and farmers, on the other hand, lean toward the Democratic party. Union members, by a vote of 4-to-3, have more faith in the Democrats.

2. By sections of the country, the industrial East is considerably more inclined to believe that the Republicans can do a better job than the Democrats of keeping the country prosperous, while the South is most convinced that the Democrats can.

Sentiment in the Midwest and Far West is about evenly divided.

TOP LEVEL Republican Party bigwigs appear in jovial mood at Chicago $100 plate dinner at International Amphitheatre. Fund raising dinner for 1956 campaign was part of nationwide celebration in which some 6,000 participated. Left to right, Gov. William G. Stratton of Illinois; J. Ernest Wilkins, assistant secretary of Labor; Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Senator Everett M. Dirkson of Illinois.

Westbrook Pegler

Republicans Wooing Negro Vote

THE Republican party has stolen credit for Harry Truman's campaign to establish by federal law certain "civil rights" for Negroes. Franklin Roosevelt's courtship of the Negro vote in the North was too devious and vast for condensation here. The fact that he was absolutely cynical and hypocritical is acknowledged by all practical Negro politicians who do not try to convince themselves that he had any humane regard for the colored population.

PEGLER

He and his wife refused to mix white servants with Negroes in their many homes, including the White House, and she so wrote in two of her books. He also included a standard Southern exclusion clause in the deeds to plots in his subdivision at Warm Springs and this, also, is too easily provable to permit of dispute.

Truman had no comparable record of personal conduct but he came of a "Southern" family in Missouri where there was not only every chance for the individual to choose his side but no chance to avoid doing so. In the days after the Civil War many Missourians were killed in feuds over the status of the Negro.

★ ★ ★

HOWEVER, Truman as President did establish a political body called the President's Committee on Civil Rights, with Charles E. Wilson, formerly president of General Electric, as chairman.

Wilson said the committee did not hold many meetings. Actually, it was a political dummy organized to put into words a political program by which Truman confidently hoped to rope the Negro vote, which is actually the balance of power in the city and state of New York and conceivably in the nation.

Its program was fed to it by the NAACP in New York, which for a long time has enjoyed a false prestige as the political agent of the entire Negro population.

In the face of all this, in Eisenhower's administration the Supreme Court brought in its decision ordering in effect that segregation in Southern public schools be dropped.

★ ★ ★

VICE PRESIDENT Nixon recently referred to the fact that the decision was written by Earl Warren, a Republican chief justice. This aroused a splutter of indignation among a few stand-pat idealists who cherish an illusion that the court should be non-political.

The fact remains that the Republican party gets the credit and will get the Negro vote for that reason notwithstanding all the groveling of the Roosevelt and Truman machines over 20 years.

34d 1956 REPUBLICAN

VAL WASHINGTON LAUDS GOP RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS

World Tues. 3-27-56 P. 1

B'ham Ala.

BY MARCEL HOPSON

"The Republican Party, under the adminstration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower, racked up more Civil Rights achievements in three years than the Democratic Party in twenty years", declared Val J. Washington, Republican top spokesman on civil rights, in a major address at the third annual dinner sponsored by the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club at Smithfield Court auditorium, last Friday night.

Both Sides Of Mouth

Mr. Washington, of Washington, D.C. in his eloquently delivered hour-long "give-the record" oratory, wasted no time in attacking the actions and records of Democratic presidential nominees, Sen. Estes Kefauver, of Tenn. and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois; and Alabama U.S. Sen. John Sparkman, vice-presidential nominee.

He said that one may know a man by what he says, but you can come closer to him by judging what he does. He accused Stevenson, Kefauver and Sparkman of "speaking out of both sides of their mouths", making one speech in California and a different type in Alabama, Georgia or North Carolina.

Mr. Washington is director of the Minorities Division of the National Republican Committee.

He lashed out at the so-called "southern liberals", terming Sparkman as nothing but a "rank reactionary", who agress with every thing Stevenson or Kefauver says or does. He accused Stevenson of wanting to postpone everything "forever".

Digging into what he termed "both sides of the mouth speeches", Washington quoted Stevenson as saying, on February 7, "I will not agree to cut off federal funds to education even if integration is not carried out in the schools of the South; will refuse to use federal troops or power to enforce integration in the South; in Portland, Oregan, February 11, Stevenson skipped over the civil rights question, completely; February 12, he asked for removal of desegration issues from the presidential campaign.

Washington quoted NAACPSecretary Roy Wilkins as calling Stevenson, Sparkman and Kefauver those "dey's and dasser boys".

Mr. Washington thundered "Stevenson and his blurp boys made many Negroes mad at his March 5 speech in which he suggested that the Northern states get their houses in order before they talk about the South"

No Place Like The South

In an acid-tongued, pin-pointed retort, Mr. Washington answered Stevenson by asking, "Where in the Northern states have white people:

"1. Used economic pressure on their black brothers because they fought for first class citizenship and respect as any other American citizen;

"2. Arrested Negro leaders who took part in a bus transportation protest because they wanted members of their racial group given fair and rightful treatment on buses;

"3. Murdered Negro leaders, like Rev. Lee of Mississippi, for speaking out for first-class citizenship;

"4. Cancelled professional baseball games because Negroes were members of one or both of the participating teams;

"5. Openly fought and defied the United States Supreme Court and the U. S. Constitution—the supreme law of the land.

"6. Created a campus riot, driving Autherine Lucy from a college campus;

"7. Passed a law, like in Virginia, to keep Negroes and whites from playing with or against each other in athletics.

Revoked Retired Teacher's Pension

"8. Like a Georgia governor, who recently suggested that the State Boadof Education revoke of cut off the $518 monthly pension of a retired president of a white girls' college, who served in that capacity meritoriously for nineteen years, because they learned that he had been speaking favorably on integration in education".

Citing these instances and more, Mr. Washington suggested that Stevenson "change his tune and tell the truth about the South".

In behind-the-scene action, Mr. Washington said, Kefauver voted against everything in Congress which entailed civil rights legislation.

Greatest Since Lincoln

Mr. Washington called President Eisenhower "the greatest president America has produced since Abraham Lincoln". He suggested that Eisenhower "is completing the program started by Lincoln". World

"When 79 per cent of the Negroes voted against Eisenhower in favor of Stevenson, in 1952, the president had no civil rights program". Mr. Washington pointed out, "Now Mr. Eisenhower has a very good civil rights program". P. 6

Always Kept A Promiise

He said the Republican Party has always had a program which protected the basic freedom of Negroes, "and has never made a promise which it did not keep".

Cheap Partisan Politics

The speaker declared that President Eisenhower has always placed himself above "cheap partisan politics". He went on to point out the president, since taking office, has been working on five fronts, namely:

1. Legal—as shown in the appointments of U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Chief Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, both who have figured prominently in civil rights legislation and the desegregation program in Education; and U. S. Judge Hobart H. Grooms of Birmingham.

2. Ecomonics—as attested by some 531 Negro postal supervisors appointed in post offices throughout the country, and fair employment practices;

3. Political—as attested by the appointment of Negroes to policy-making bodies of the federal government such as Scovil Richardson, E. Fredrick Morrow, and others;

4. Social, and 5. Diplomatic— attesting that, never in the history of America, in one year, have so many heads-of-state of black republics or countries, such as Liberia President W. V. S. Tubman, Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, President Paul E. Magoire and Mdme. Magoloire of Haiti, and others been invited to the White House "and broke bread" with the president and the first lady of the land.

No More Panics

Mr. Washington quoted President Eisenhower as saying, regardless of rumors and propaganda, "there will never be another economic depression or panic in America".

Democratic 84 Years

Mr. Washington, in one phase of his address, revealed that Alabama has not voted on a "Republican ticket" since 1872, and added "We hope that some day soon. Alabama will wake up and do the right thing."

The guest speaker was introduced by Attorney Oscar W. Adams, Jr., chairman of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club. A capacity crowd filled Smithfield Court auditorium, last Friday night, to hear Mr. Washington give the "Record of The Republiican Party."

Negroes In Switch to Republicans

Herald Tribune Mon. 3-19-56 New York, N.Y.

Leaders Leaving The Democrats

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Mar. 18.—Unmistakable evidence was made available today that Negro leaders in significant numbers are in the process of changing their political allegiance from the Democratic to the Republican party.

If the movement swells to embrace the grass-roots Negro voter, as Republican strategists are convinced it will, the switch in party affiliation will have profound implications in the November election, particularly on marginal Congressional races in Northern cities and a few close Senate contests. It could also have a significant effect on the broad sweep of American politics. Negroes have been voting Democratic in a a ratio of more than 2 to 1 ever since the Roosevelt New Deal.

Democrats in Dilemma

The switch now indicated to be taking place is rooted more in anti-Democratic sentiment rather than undiluted enthusiasm for the Republicans.

The Democrats are in a dilemma over the bitter civil rights issue that has split their party. Northern Democrats are far more concerned over the probable loss of Negro voting strength in the North than they are over the still nebulous prospect of a third party in the South.

Herald Tribune

The following extracts from a few of hundreds of letters written by Negroes to the Republican National Committee over the last three months, an unprecedented volume, dramatize better than anything else the concern of the Democrats and the hopes of the Republicans.

A Durham, N. C., Negro editor, who has supported the Democratic party since the Franklin D. Roosevelt regime, wrote: "The truth is, I have never wholeheartedly been connected with the Democratic party because I could not swallow men like Sen. (James O.) Eastland, Miss., and numerous other bigots in the Democratic party."

He's Now a Republican

The editor has changed his registration and is now "a full-fledged Republican, lock, stock and barrel." His name is L. E. Austin. P. 2

In Oakland, Calif., a prominent Negro leader and registered Democrat for the past twenty-five years publicly switched to the Republicans last month. The Republican party quickly put him on the county planning board. His name is George Vaughns.

A New York attorney, Grant Reynolds, has informed the National Committee he plans a "very active" campaign for President Eisenhower. He toured the West for Adlai Stevenson in 1952 in company with Joe Louis.

It is true that Mr. Reynolds was a Republican until the late 1940s. He broke with former Governor Dewey. Here is the explanation he gave this reporter for returning to the Republican party:

"The main factor in my mind is that the most effective leaders of the Democrats are members of the States Rights bloc. They have actually disfranchised the Negro from the Democratic party. Northern liberals cannot explain away the fact that Sen. Eastland is chairman of the Judiciary Committee and that the Senate itself is in the hands of Southerners like Sen. Walter F. George and Richard B. Rus-

sell, of Georgia.

N. A. A. C. P. Leader to Switch

A top figure in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said privately this week he would vote Republican for the first time in his life if the election were held tomorrow.

The tug of the Roosevelt tradition, carried on by former President Truman, is still a factor of great importance in Negro voting habits. But some astute Republican politicians, including a former National Chairman, Rep. Hugh Scott jr., Pa., are convinced after intense study that a realignment has set in. For their part, Democrats will give heavy emphasis to economic gains of the thirties and forties and invite comparison with the Eisenhower administration.

A major switch in the political allegiance of Negroes took place in 1936 under the persuasive impetus of the New Deal. In 1952, an estimated 70 per cent of the 4,000,000 Negro voters voted Democratic. Negro registration this year is headed for the 5,000,000-plus mark. In many Deep-South states the Negro still has little better chance to vote than he did in 1860.

Affects Congress Vote

But in the North a significant change of political allegiance could have these effects: give Republicans the margin of victory in a dozen or more Congressional districts with heavy Negro registrations; supply votes enough to tip the balance to the Republicans in such razor-edge states as Oregon, with 12,000 Negroes, and Maryland, with 168,000; offset the new advantage for the Democrats in their 1954 capture of nine new governorships.

Plan Wide Publicity

The Republican National Committee plans to give nation-wide publicity to the evidence of Negro disenchantment with the Democratic party. To offset that campaign, Northern Democrats will be pushed to the limit to get the party as a whole to take a strong civil rights position. But a strong position is entirely unacceptable to the South.

Actually, President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson think much alike on the torrid issue of public school integration in the South. Both plead for moderation and patience.

The President, however, has nothing to contend with in his party to compare with the extreme, vociferous segregationist opinion of many Southern Democrats, and the Democratic voices which have denounced the Southerners in strongest terms have limited party influence.

LOCAL GOP'S MEET "MR. CIVIL RIGHTS" — Shown (above) are members of a delegation of the local Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, who met Val J. Washington (fourth from left, ~~center~~) at Birmingham's Municipal Airport, shortly after the arrival of the top GOP civil rights spokesman from Washington, D. C., Thursday. Mr. Washington, director of the Minorities Division, National Republican Committee, appeared as guest speaker at the A.L.R.C.'s third annual dinner which drew a capacity crowd at Smithfield Court auditorium, last Friday night. Flanking Mr. Washington from left to right, are: Ervin Patterson; J. Howard Williamson Birmingham Mirror publisher; Dr. G. P. Parham, Executive Committee chairman; Frank Hunter, Public Relations chairman; Mr. Washington; Harvey Peterson; Mrs. Helen Willis; Mrs. Beulah Owens Mrs. Lucille Harmon Patterson, corresponding secretary; Jack Owens; Ben W. Moore; Mrs. Louise Hunter, secretary; and Attorney Oscar W. Adams, Jr., A.L.R.C. chairman.

Plank May Urge Strict Integration Enforcement

Star Aug. 8-19-56
Washington D.C. P.1

Southern Republicans May File Minority Report, Avoid Floor Fight

By CROSBY S. NOYES

STAR CONVENTION BUREAU, SAN FRANCISCO—Aug. 18.—A strong statement on civil rights including possibly a call for strict enforcement of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision, appeared in the making today as the Republican Resolutions Committee put the finishing touches on the party's 1956 platform.

Best indication of how the wind was blowing came from the reaction of Southern delegations. This morning, a group of six Southern States caucused privately, discussing the possibility of disassociating themselves from the statement on civil rights and submitting a minority report of their own.

At this stage, at least, it appears to be a limited rebellion. One of the Southern committeemen has expressed his firm disinclination to carry the fight to the floor of the convention after the platform is presented Tuesday.

This, however, will depend on how the minority report, if forthcoming, is phrased. An aggressively worded statement might well precipitate fireworks on the floor. A more moderate one might serve to smooth over the issue while salving feelings of the Southern members.

Leaders Silent on Plank

Convention leaders here are still being close-mouthed about the actual provisions of the platform plank. The executive committee on resolutions will present the result of its work to the full committee late tonight.

Until final approval is assured, none of the leaders is willing to talk except in generalities.

Senator Bush of Connecticut, who heads the committee, told reporters today he expects a "succinct" statement on civil rights. He refused to speculate, however, whether it would be more specific than the Democratic plank, branded "weasel-worded" by some G. O. P. leaders here.

Unofficial word, however, indicated the plank might spell out a recommendation for strict enforcement of the Supreme Court decision on school segregation. It was this intention, it was believed, that aroused the particular opposition of the Southern delegates.

Short Platform Now Out

Chairman Bush also revealed that the original hope of writing a short platform, about which much was said in the opening sessions, had been disappointed. As consideration progressed, he said, many new ideas were suggested by witnesses for inclusion which had not been originally contemplated. It would certainly be shorter than the Democratic platform, Senator Bush said, but might run nearly as long as the G. O. P. statement of 1952—nearly 10,000 words.

As was the case last time, the foreign policy plank will take up one-fourth to one-half of the space. The opening paragraph would be devoted to a Republican "declaration of faith," the chairman said.

It is probable that the entire document will not be read to the convention. Copies of the platform will be ready for distribution to all delegates early Tuesday morning. The present plan is for Senator Bush to read only the preamble during the convention session.

Star P.3-A

In addition to civil rights, there were indications that this year's platform would be more liberal than the 1952 document in several respects.

Sensitive about the need for a farm plank which will recapture the support of the farm belt, the agriculture subcommittee headed by Representative Laird of Wisconsin can be expected to include recommendations for continued Government price supports at a high level, measures to reduce overproduction and a number of benefits for hard-pressed areas.

The foreign policy plank, around which most of the predrafting controversy has revolved, will almost certainly include a strong plea for bi-partisanship. In view of this, the bitter criticism of foreign policy under the Democrats, which featured so highly in the 1952 platform, will be omitted.

The committee is under strong pressure to include mention of the crisis in the Near East, including a recommendation for sending defensive arms to Israel. But it is dangerous to predict how far the committee will go in this direction.

The District delegation here, headed by George L. Hart, jr., is hopeful that their recommendation for increasing the number of District delegates to the G. O. P. convention will be included. The six-member delegation asked that their strength be raised to 10 at the 1960 convention, on the argument that the increase is justified in terms of population.

Late word from the Resolutions Committee, however, indicates that these hopes will be disappointed. No formula, it seems, has been discovered that would make a special case for the District, without also involving the question of representation from Alaska and Hawaii.

Roscoe Drummond

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Republicans Seek Negro Breakthrough

Fri. 8-24-56 P.4

SAN FRANCISCO—This Republican convention is putting a new and powerful political weapon into the hands of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon which could prove to be the one thing in the coming campaign capable of resolving doubts on the side of a Republican victory. That weapon is a civil rights plank, unanimously adopted Tuesday as the capstone of the Republican platform, stronger, more explicit, more concrete than came from the Democrats in Chicago.

If the Deep South and most of the border states are going to return to Democratic ranks this fall—as now seems altogether probable—then there is mighty little in the North that President Eisenhower can afford to lose.

This is why the decisive allegiance of the Negro voter this year is important and may be absolutely indispensable to Republican success.

Bear in mind that for the past 20 years the Negroes have voted almost solidly Democratic, first because of the economic gains they feel they received under President Roosevelt and, second, because of the civil rights promises they received from President Truman.

Bear in mind that in the biggest cities of five big electoral-bloc states — New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan—the Negro vote is increasingly concentrated and in any close election holds a potential balance of power.

This isn't just theory. Take two examples:

In 1952 when Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan was reelected by a statewide margin of only 8,600 votes, three Negro wards in Detroit alone gave him a margin of 28,000.

In 1954 when Averell Harriman won the governorship in the huge state of New York by only 11,125 votes, New York City's five Negro districts spelled the difference between defeat and victory by giving him a margin of 20,221 votes.

In the populous, critical cities of the North the Negro population now reaches 21 per cent in Philadelphia, 19 per cent in Detroit, 17 per cent in Chicago and 11 per cent in New York and Los Angeles—cities which provide the biggest concentrated vote in five states which have 156 electoral votes and all of which the Republicans are likely to need to win.

If the Republicans can make a solid breakthrough in the Negro vote in these cities in these states this fall, which they have not been able to do in many years, this could well over-balance the prospective return of the South to its one-party tradition.

Here are the tools which the Republicans believe will enable them to make this needed breakthrough:

1. The Republicans here set forth a platform which goes beyond the Democratic civil rights plank at three important points—(a) by proclaiming that it "concurs" in the decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that public school desegregation must be ended; (b) by pledging itself to "support" this decision and help carry it out "by all branches of the federal government;" (c) by committing the party to a six-point civil rights legislative program designed to help guarantee Negroes against being denied their rights by the states—a program which many Democrats fought in the last session of Congress.

Rights Plank Not Big GOP Issue

SAN FRANCISCO — The Republican National Convention which opened this week in San Francisco will have no such strife over civil rights as ripped through the Democratic convention in Chicago.

It is expected that the Republicans will adopt a much stronger civil rights plank without trouble because there is no strong anti-civil rights block in the party.

Unlike the Democrats, the GOP has little following in the South, and stands to lose very little by adopting a strong civil rights plank in its platform.

No matter what stand the convention takes on the critical issue, President Eisenhower, who will undoubtedly be his party's candidate, has stated he will take no steps to enforce the Supreme Court rulings against segregation.

At pre-convention sessions, the resolutions committee of the GOP named Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois chairman of the subcommittee on civil rights and immigration.

Almost immediately Dirksen predicted that his party would have no difficulty in producing a sound civil rights plank.

In a statement preliminary to the first hearing, Sen. Dirksen said the Republican party "has unfailingly placed itself on the side of the 14th Amendment, namely that there is but one law for all races, all creeds and all colors, and that all citizess by virtue of theri citizenship in the U. S. are entitled to equal protection under the law."

The Illinois Senator said his party would have no "difficulty in presenting a resolution on civil rights which will be sound and fundamental, enabling the Eisenhower administration to move steadily forward on the firm basis already accomplished in four years."

As the Republican platform took shape at the beginning of the week, reports were that the civil rights plank will use specific language urging implementation of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation school decision.

Meanwhile, Leonard Hall, Republican national chairman assailed the Democratic civil rights plank as a "Spiderweb across the gap between the two wings of the party."

He charged that the Democrats are "always promising but when they get in power they do nothing about it."

In addition to the civil rights plank, the Republicans are expected to include the following proposals in their platform:

1. Call for a continuation of flexible price farm supports and the billion dollar soil bank that pays farmers to cut back production.

2. Urge that the U.S. guarantee the physical safety of Israel and the Arab states without offering arms to any Middle Eastern nation.

3. Suggest that a continued effort be made to lower international trade barriers.

4. Propose a boost to small business by recommending a one-third tax cut on all corporation profits up to $25,000.

5. Omit any mention of state right-to-work laws that ban the union shop.

6. Advocate a temporary program of federal aid for school construction.

7. Praise the Eisenhower "partnership" program which permits both private and public development of power.

8. Call upon Congress to tighten legislation covering the merger of corporations.

9. Laud Mr. Eisenhower's defense chiefs and pledge the U.S. to continued supremacy in the air.

10. Push for immediate Hawaiian statehood, and suggest that both Alaska and Puerto Rico might eventually join the union.

11. Make no specific mention of the dispute over Egyptian seizure of the Suez canal.

12. Propose that the federal minimum wage be extended to workers not now blanketed under it.

13. Ask for a revision of internal revenue depreciation rates as a boon to small business.

14. Stand firmly behind the four-point Eisenhower civil rights program, which is designed to guarantee all citizens the right to vote and provides redress in federal court for those who are denied their constitutional liberties.

NEGROES TAKE ACTIVE PART IN ACTIVITIES

COW PALACE, SAN FRANCISCO — (INS) — President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Vice President Richard M. Nixon were renominated last night as the second-term standard bearers of a deliriously happy and unpartisanly confident Republican Party.

The GOP convention was wild with acclaim for Ike and Dick from the moment Indiana's Rep. Charles Halleck intoned the magic Eisenhower name as he nominated the five-star hero of World War II for another four-year crusade in the White House and Nixon's nomination was hammered home like the cannonball express.

Harold E. Stassen, the onetime lone wolf among the victory-mad Republican elephants, was just another voice in the Ike and Dick mob when the GOP blue chips fell. He was back on the team and he was bellowing his tribute to the Vice President as an unbeatable link in an unconquerable chain.

The nominating formalities were the ultimate crescendo of a gorgeous pandemonium of praise, percussion and frenzy on a day saddenied only by Nixon's sudden call to the bedside of his critically stricken father in La Habra, 430 miles away.

Also seconding the nomination of Mr. Nixon was Ernest J. Wilkins, under secretary of labor, a Negro Republican.

Nixon may make his acceptance speech to the GOP convention by television from Los Angeles tonight because of his father's critical illness.

GOP publicity director Richard L. Guylay said that the plan is under consideration if Nixon finds he is unable to return to San Francisco.

It was reported that the GOP is trying to arrange for Nixon to use a TV studio in Los Angeles.

ALL FOR IKE

State after state, and all the territories — from Alabama to the Virgin Islands — gave their entire 1,323 delegate votes to the man who led them out of 20 years of political wilderness, and on whom their hopes are pinned for continued GOP control of the federal government.

Permanent convention chairman Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts made it official. He announced that Mr. Eisenhower had received all the votes of the convention, and added:

"Therefore I declare President Eisenhower unanimously the nominee of the Republican Party for the Presidency of the United States."

Eight stepped up to say that the nomination suited them fine. They came in this order:

HOUSEWIFE — Mrs. Wallace B. Schneidau, Houston, Tex., mother of six, good-looker. Best line: "I've said it before and I say it again — even in Texas we've never seen anything so good as Dwight D. Eisenhower."

SPORTSMAN — Frank Leahy, former coach of Notre Dame, 47, father of seven, good at pep talks, independent, prejudiced in favor of Eisenhower. Lines: "When the going gets tough the tough get going ..... congratulations to all for conducting such a dignified convention." Leahy was the first speaker of the day to salute Mamie Eisenhower "..... without whose help the President could never have done the fine job he has done."

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON
sad event mars thrill . . .

WAR VET — Charles T. Beaird, Shreveport, La., switched from Democratic Party because of "big government in Washington." States' rights man. His line: "Mr. Eisenhower has made a two party South come to life."

FARMER — Donald Jarrett, Britton, E. D., Bashful young man of the soil. Single. His line: "I guess I'm a politician, being a delegate. Keep the bureaucrats off our farms."

NEGRO LEADER — Dr. (Mrs.) Helen Edmonds of Durham, N. C., History Professor. There was some dissent in the North Carolina delegation over her selection as the state's seconder. Big, strong, intelligent-looking woman with contralto that carried to edges of Hall. Got big hand. Her lines: "In three and a half years President Eisenhower has never broken his word to our people." The Democrats, she said, wobbled on Civil Rights last week. "President Eisenhower does not talk out of both sides of his mouth."

LABOR — Edward L. McCarthy, Providence, R. I., Steelworker, married 17 years, first time away from family. Flashed union card, to cheers. His quote: "I'm here because millions of us union members voted for Ike in 1952, and I'm here to tell you we're going to vote for Ike in 1956."

MINORITIES — Mrs. Abe Pinanski, Brookline, Mass., mother of four, hard worker in community causes, trustee of Beth Israel hospital. Mrs. Pinanski: "We cannot forget that under Dwight Eisenhower we kept our husbands, sons and brothers, because peace prevailed."

POLITICIAN — Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, trumpet-voiced Governor of Maryland, the man who nominated Ike in 1952. Shovel-jawed, ready-smile, big man. "Years of promises fulfilled ..... a winner in war and peace ..... victory awaits us in November."

Renomination of Nixon, Civil Rights Top Issues As Republicans Convene

Differences Of 4 Years Ago Missing

By W. H. LAWRENCE

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19—Confident Republicans open tomorrow their centennial convention ready to give quick renomination to the team of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon.

Only two questions threatened complete harmony and a controversy-free meeting in the big Cow Palace near here. This is the first time in 25 years the GOP has met as the party in power and the major controversies that divided it so sharply four years ago are entirely absent.

One issue was renomination of Nixon. This was generally assumed since the effort of Harold E. Stassen to displace him has rallied so far only a tiny minority. But Stassen continued to claim a 50-50 chance that the final ticket will have Gov. Christian A. Herter of Massachusetts as the President's running mate.

SOUTH BALKS

The other question was civil rights, a problem that bothered the Democrats in Chicago last week.

Southern Republicans balked at a strong platform endorsement of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decisions and threatened a floor fight they could not possibly win.

In a surprise move, the President decided today to fly to San Francisco 24 hours earlier than he had planned, arriving here on Tuesday before instead of after the convention nominates its candidates. The official explanation was that the President wanted more time to visit and talk with his delegate friends. But the decision followed three conflicting reports on the stand the President would take over renomination.

PREDICTS IKE NOD

Gov. Goodwin J. Knight of California, no friend of Nixon, said he'd heard Eisenhower would clearly endorse his young vice president before the balloting.

Stassen said his information was that the President would release publicly a list of acceptable running mates, including Nixon but not confined to him.

At the White House, James C. Hagerty, the presidential press secretary reminded reporters that the President repeatedly has said publicly he wanted an "open" convention with the delegates free to choose among various rivals both for the presidency and the vice presidency. This has been coupled with expressions from Eisenhower that he was "delighted" Nixon would seek renomination, and that he would be pleased to run with him again.

MAY ASK FREE VOTE

A well-informed source here suggested it was not improbable that Eisenhower might, on arrival here, reemphasize, in one form or another, his desire for a free and open convention and that he was not trying to dictate to the delegates either his own or Nixon's renomination.

There was no confirmation from the White House of Stassen's claim the President might have a short list of acceptable running mates, as he did four years ago when party leaders chose Nixon. But there was no flat denial from there of the Stassen statement, either.

But out here, Leonard W. Hall, the Republican national chairman, denied there would be any list from the President.

Nixon said he didn't know whether Stassen's forecast was accurate. He did say he regarded as "a good precedent" the unusual action of Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic presidential nominee, in throwing wide open the selection of his running mate at Chicago last week.

DRAMA MISSING

Completely missing were the elements of drama that marked the 1952 convention in which Eisenhower, still a five-star General of the Amry who had not formally enrolled in any political party, won nomination over "Mr. Republican" himself, the late Sen. Taft of Ohio. That was a hot and heavy battle waged on several fronts from the opening gavel to final adjournment in the Chicago stockyards.

There is little prospect that the Republicans will provide fireworks to match those of the Democrats in those same stockyard surroundings last week.

The Democrats brought to a climax their convention after renominating Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois by throwing the vice presidential nomination into a wide-open floor fight, in which Sen. Kefauver of Tennessee came from behind to win the nomination narrowly over Sen. Kennedy of Massachusetts. This presented a challenge to the Republicans to be as democratic in picking their own nominees.

QUIET CONVENTION

The forecast of Rep. Joseph W. Martin Jr. of Massachusetts, the permanent chairman at every convention since 1940, is that this conclave will be "comparatively quiet."

The party leaders assembled here are supremely confident they can re-elect an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket. Their mood is reminiscent of 1948 when the assumption was general that nothing could stop the election of Gov. Dewey of New York to replace the then President Truman. This has led some party leaders to warn against overconfidence.

SURE OF NIXON

Republican leaders generally agreed that nothing short of a presidential expression of disapproval of Nixon—and this they regarded as inconceivable—could stop his renomination. They also said they could not conceive of a list of candidates on which Nixon would not be included. But these leaders did not rule out the possibility the President's stand might encourage other candidates to enter the vice presidential field. They saw no chance, however, that any one of them could detract from the solid bloc of strength lined up behind the vice president.

There was a two-hour strategy session this morning in the vice president's Mark Hopkins Hotel suite involving some of the party's most powerful leaders from states with the biggest blocs of votes. On hand were top party officials from New York, Pennsylvania, California, Ohio, Massachusetts, Minnesota and other states. Out of this session came word that Herter's speech nominating Nixon would be followed by seconding speeches by Sen. Bricker of Ohio, and L. Judson Morehouse, New York state chairman.

One of Stassen's problems is that Herter not only is going to place Nixon's name before the convention, but has announced he will request withdrawal of his own if it is placed in nomination. Sen. Knowland of California speculated that the Stassen group might attempt to place in nomination another person or that it might simply cast votes for Herter without a formal nomination for him.

The outlook was for a comparatively quiet opening day, with two sessions at 11 a.m., PDT, and 4 p.m.

ALL-WHITE GOP GROUP CONFIDENT ON RETURN

Yerger Predicts Defeat For Howard Faction

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss. Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 23.—Members of the state-recognized all-white Republican faction in Mississippi returned Thursday from the national convention, confident they will gain control over the bi-racial wing headed by Perry Howard, Negro attorney of Washington and Jackson.

Wirt Yerger Jr., young Jackson businessman, said his recognition as chairman of the state executive committee, over S. W. Miller, Negro contractor of Jackson, assured eventual change in state party control. Miller was chairman of the Howard faction's executive committee.

Mr. Yerger said his group had refused to take their contest for full recognition to the convention floor in San Francisco "because we did not want to hurt President Eisenhower's assured victory in November."

He said even though his faction did not gain full recognition, "we feel we won a victory" in getting seven of the 15 seats allotted to Mississippi.

Mr. Yerger said he left the convention with a "firm understanding" from party leaders that his group will be recognized which he said will bring Mississippi closer to a two-party state. "That will end Perry Howard's group which has been run from Washington by him," Mr. Yerger said.

E. O. Spencer, Jackson hotel executive who is national committeeman for the state-recognized faction, will serve as liaison between Mr. Yerger's executive committee and the national committee. Mr. Yerger said a separate group will be set up to handle patronage which it has done since the Republican victory in 1952.

Over-all governmental functions will be discussed at the annual convention of the National Association of Secretaries of State at Carmel, Calif., Sept. 20-22.

Heber Ladner, secretary of state of Mississippi and president of the national association, Thursday listed the major topics on the program as follows:

Mechanical voting procedures; reduced postage rates for state governments; and microfilming and preservation of public records.

Dixie GOP Plans Own Plank on School Edict

By ALLEN DRURY

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19—The Republican platform committee pushed steadily ahead today toward completion of the 1956 platform as Southern delegates readied a formal protest against civil rights language they considered too strong.

The Southern protest—an objection rather than a "revolt"—was expected to be placed before the full convention if it should be turned down by the platform committee. But Southern delegates agreed they would undoubtedly go home and campaign loyally for President Eisenhower, regardless of the treatment of their views.

DELAY STUDY OF PLANK

Because of the difference of opinion, however, the platform committee was reportedly putting civil rights at the end of its closed-session study of the tentative platform draft.

This would give the Southerners a full opportunity to make their argument before the committee puts its final stamp of approval on the proposed draft.

The Southerners were readying a minority report embodying their proposed substitute for the plank, favored by Sen. Everett M. Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of the civil rights and immigration subcommittee.

The Dirksen plank, favored by the administration, would call for full implementation of the Supreme Court decision ordering an end to racial segregation in the schools.

SPECIAL DIVISION

It also would call for congressional action on the Eisenhower civil rights proposals embodied in a bill that was killed in the last session of Congress. The bill would have created a special civil rights division in the attorney general's office, and would have provided for court action against anyone depriving individuals or groups of their civil rights.

Instead, the Southerners were rallied behind tentative language proposed by Ted Dalton of Norfolk, Va., unsuccessful candidate for governor in 1954.

It read: "We recognize the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases, as in al other decisions, as the law of the land.

CUSTOM, TRADITION

"However, we also recognize that the decision overturns the customs and traditions established for generations throughout the South, and that the adjustment to this decision can be produced only by time, consideration and understanding. We propose to follow the course of moderation pointed by our great President Eisenhower."

Some Southerners reportedly were inclined to question the wisdow of giving specific mention to the South as a region with regional problems, feeling this might cause some criticism from other sections of the country. All were agreed, however, that they might run the risk of losing several possible congressional seats in the South if the platform contained the stronger language asked by Dirksen.

By emphasizing "moderation," they hoped to align themselves with the general theme of the Eisenhower administration and come up with a statement politically popular back home.

Northern delegates, however, seemed equally determined to write in the more specific plank. They hoped by this to offer the voters a contrast to the watered-down civil rights compromise adopted by the Democratic convention.

Meanwhile some discussion also developed in the committee over the exact language to be used in calling for a tax reduction. Some delegates favored a simple promise in the preamble of the platform, without further definition. A second group reportedly thought there should be a plank promising the cut as soon as justified by the government's financial condition. A third group wanted a statement spelling out in detail exactly what segments of the business economy should be given cuts.

Mississippi GOP Delegation Angrily Accepts Compromise

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 15 (AP)—A compromise division of the Mississippi delegation detween two rival factions was approved by the Republican National Committee today after Wrt Yerger Jr., leader of one group, angrily exclaimed that he had been "told to accept this solution or nothing."

A contest sub-commitee late yesterday had recommended that Yerger's faction be given seven of Mississippi's convention delegates and that the other eight go to the group led by Perry W. Howard, Negro attorney and national committeeman for 32 years.

While Yerger, a Jackson insurance man, was protesting before the National Committee today, national chairman Leonard Hall interrupted to ask, "Are you objecting to the (subcommittee) report?"

"Let's put it that way," Yerger replied. "I don't want a hearing; I' just want feelings known."

The solomon-lke dvision then was accepted by the National Committee.

The committee then proceeded to an open hearing on an appeal by a South Carolina group which had lost out before the subcommittee yesterday. The subcommittee recommended that the official designation go to the delegaion headed by David Dows, 71, who learned his politics in the New York home county of chairman Hall.

The appeal was brought to his rivals, national committeewoman Mrs. John E. Messervy, J. Bates Gerald, and state chairman Oscar W. Pitts.

They charged "improper intervention" in South Carolina party affairs by national chairman Hall.

SITTING APART — Several members of Mississippi's Lily White delegation to the Republican National Convention chose to sit in the balcony apart from the Black and Tan wing of the state party. They are Mr. and Mrs. J. Balfour Miller (2 and 1), James Singleton (3) of Tylerton, R. B. Thomas (4) of Wiggins, Truman Eubanks (5) of Sumrall, Mr. and Mrs. Wirt A. Yerger (6 and 7) of Jackson. —UP Telephoto

How Fund Requests Fared in Congress

Following is a table showing the amount of money the President requested this year, how much Congress voted and the amount it voted last year.

Department	President's request for '56-'57	Congress voted for '56-'57	Congress voted last year
Agriculture	$1,989,841,668	$1,993,744,968	$883,051,623
Commerce	1,522,673,000	1,416,732,000	1,245,360,000
Defense	34,147,850,000	34,656,727,000	31,882,815,726
Dist. of Col.	182,899,500	181,612,490	168,843,440
General Govt. ..	15,014,475	14,969,975	27,166,300
In'pendent Ofs. .	5,783,704,000	5,966,517,826	5,842,458,500
Interior	435,142,300	423,934,100	317,573,627
Labor-HEW	2,363,885,400	2,366,380,781	2,373,516,500
Legislative	122,496,933	117,804,058	92,808,972
Mutual Security .	4,859,975,000	3,766,570,000	2,703,341,750
Public Works ...	818,501,000	856,727,000	1,365,613,500
State-Jus.-Jud. ..	599,104,820	548,930,957	466,302,415
Treas.-Post Off. .	3,649,872,000	3,629,139,000	3,322,488,500
Supplementals ..	3,619,917,563	3,949,071,313	1,656,625,802
TOTAL*	$59,950,336,809	$59,729,807,628	$52,199,015,915

*These figures were compiled by the Senate Appropriations Committee. In addition the Government this year will spend the following amounts which the Senate does not list as appropriations: $7.5 billion for fixed permanent charges such as interest on the national debt; $800 million in state highway construction grants from a special tax fund.

ATLANTA REPUBLICANS GREET MRS. THOMAS — Mrs. Thalia Thomas (C) Assistant to the Director of Minority Division of the Republican National Committee is greeted by Atlanta Republicans following her Lincoln-Douglass dinner address here at the Butler St. YMCA. From left to right are: Timothy Gilham, President of Gate City Young Republicans; Jeff Watts, President of State Federation of Young Republicans; Mrs. J. B. Harris, President of Metropolitan Women's Republican Club; Archie Hill, President of Morehouse College Young Republicans; Mrs. Thomas, J. W. Dobbs, Vice chairman, State Central Committee; G. E. DeLorme, State Central Committee; and Philip Hood, President of Clark College Young Republicans. — (Perry's Photo)

Hall Sees Negro Vote For GOP

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Leonard W. Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, at a news conference Thursday, indicated that he believes the Republicans can win the colored vote in the congressional elections in pivotal northern states and at the same time register gains in southern states.

The press conference had been called by the Republican chairman to express jubilation with the President's decision to run for a second term and to announce that the party is "going to work for a Republican victory all down the line from the White House to the county court house."

"I do not say we are going to carry congressional elections in states like Mississippi and South Carolina," Mr. Hall said, "but right today, in those two states, we have organizational activities going on, and I can promise you people in this room today that in 1956 the Republican party will not be a sectional party. It will be a going party in 48 states in this Union."

"Reporter asked Mr. Hall how did he expect to get the colored vote in pivotal states in the North and make gains in the South.

At first, Mr. Hall said he did not understand the question. All the reporters in the room laughed. The reporter repeated the question.

"To my mind that answer is very simple," Mr. Hall replied. "I presume you go back to the question raised by the Supreme Court decision.

"In my opinion most Americans feel as I do that the decision of Supreme Court is the last word so far as we are concerned.

"I have been at meetings in the South and to my mind generally speaking, the question is not as difficult as some people would seem to think.

"To answer your question further I might give you what (Representative Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat, New York) said after we were in office some twenty months. He said the Eisenhower Administration had done more on civil rights since it had been in power than had been accomplished in the past twenty years.

"The Administration is working for all Americans. We do not think there are any second class Americans. We feel this administration has benefitted all Americans. We feel all Americans like what we have done. We are going to make a bid for all Americans."

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN COMMITTEE WOMAN: Mrs. Edna M. Redmond, of Jackson, National Republican Committee-Woman for the State of Mississippi is finding herself with a busy schedule as the time for the Republican National Convention and the fall campaign approaches. Next week she will be in Washington, March 5, 6, 7 for the Fourth Annual Republican Women's Conference. Along with invitations to a number of high social events she has been accorded a seat at the speakers table during the conference.

PERRY HOWARD

Howard's gotta go?

WASHINGTON

This will be denied by the Republican National Committee.

The decision has already been made to drop **Perry Howard** as national committeeman from Mississippi.

Plans are to substitute Professor **Lawrence Jones,** founder and president of Piney Woods Institute.

However, no move will be made in this direction until after the state primaries.

* * *

THE DEMOCRATS are trying to keep it a secret. But ex-**President Truman** is pushing the National Committee to take an all-out stand in favor of civil rights and public school integration.

The issue was discussed in detil recently when **Paul M. Butler,** National Democratic chairman, had breakfast with Truman.

Also pushing for the civil rights-school integration policy is **Walter Reuthers,** head of the powerful UAW.

REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS of both parties are aghast at the repercussion caused by the so-called "manifesto" issued by the Southern bloc.

The majority of those who signed it did so because **Senator Russell** (D., Ga.) "sold them a bill of goods."

He told his colleague that the purpose of the document was to re-elect Senator George, also of Georgia, who will have as his opponent, ex-Governor Herman Talmadge, arch pro-segregationist.

Many are conceding privately that it will do no good, that Talmadge will be elected and, largely because of the manifesto, the Democrats will lose both the Congress and the White House next November.

THE RECENT 'hush hush' visit of ex-Governor of New York **Thomas E. Dewey** to the White House had to do with the No. 2 spot on the Republican ticket.

Ready willing and anxious to campaign for him is the New York judge who had much to do with Dewey being nominated in 1948.

It was an interesting conversation **Joseph Clark,** formerly New Jersey, postal department trouble-shooter, had with Senator **Russell Long** of Louisiana.

They were seat companions on a plane from the South.

The prediction is colored citizens of the Pelican State will be voting full strength very soon. But sooner still, all public schools of the state will be integrated, the pro-segregationists notwithstanding.

* * *

CAMPAIGN FODDER will be made of the fact that Senator **Estes Kefauver** (D., Tenn.), if he gets the nomination, resides in a home located in a D.C. suburb covered by a restrictive covenant.

In this area residents can't buy the property, only the "right" to live in the houses.

The Republicans aren't worried, however, for Vice President **Richard Nixion** lives in the same area.

* * *

M. BERNADINE JOHNSON, the New Jersey (Newark) lawyer, is practically assured of an official spot with the Young Democrats of the District.

Already nominated. No opposition.

Alice Dunnigan, the news gal, is in charge of the Uptown campaign office for Kefauver.

On the other hand, is it true that **F. Joseph Donahue,** Kefauver's national campaign manager, got a dressing down from none other than the Senator himself?

If it isn't so, then why was the tan receptionist suddenly shifted to an out-of-sight spot far removed from the front of the downtown office?

FEARFUL THAT the coming campaign may prove a rough and tumble affair, **Philip Young,** chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, has called upon leaders of both political parties to "stick to the facts" when discussing the Federal career service and the Federal employees.

His urgings fall upon deaf ears. Both sides are primed and ready to go.

One of the cases which the Democrats will fling at the GOP is that of ousted **Dr. Frank Horne.**

The two Joes (Ray and Rainey) of HHFA and the GOP National Committee, respectively, will be the targets in this respect.

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES C. DIGGS JR. (D., Mich.) was the only member of Congress who called for the expulsion of the pro-segregation student leader, **Leonard Wilson,** of the University of Alabama.

Excerpts from **Mr. Diggs'** telegram to **Dr. O. C. Carmichael,** university president:

"Young upstart Wilson is obviously enamored with his own dubious importance because of the encouragement of his undemocratic and misguided elders."

* * *

THEODORE C. STREIBERT, director, USIA, is on a two-week inspection trip to agency posts in Nigeria, French West Africa, the Gold Coast and Liberia.

He returns to the capital on March 31.

In event readers miss the speak - your - piece letters of **Dr. E. B. Henderson,** the ex-school professor and his wife are spending the remainder of the month in Miami and Nassau.

Of the two places, he likes Nassau better ("found no barriers because of race.")

DR. MORDECAI (Captain of the Capteone) JOHNSON, has been president at Howard University for 30 years.

Thirty-six when appointed, he received the news via a cablegram as he sat in a classroom in Paris, France.

His reaction (according to an article in the current issue of **Time** magazine): "My happiness on my trip was destroyed."

At that time, there were 2,155 students enrolled. Now there are 4,800.

The yearly budget was $956,000 Now it's $5,658,500. The faculty is 442, three times its 1926 size.

But today, Dr. Johnson's observation is: "We need 20 more years to mature as a university."

Leaves Tuesday Noon

Ike Is Going to Convention Day Earlier Than Planned

By Charlotte G. Moulton
United Press

President Eisenhower will leave for the San Francisco Republican Convention a day early so he can "visit and meet" with the delegates before his expctd rnomination, the White House announced yesterday.

Presidential News Secretary James C. Hagerty said instead of his scheduled Wednesday departure, Mr. Eisenhower now will leave here Tuesday noon on the presidential plane Columbine III. He will arrive at San Francisco at 6:30 p. m. (PDT).

Hagerty gave no intimation Mr. Eisenhower wants to sound out the delegates on the controversial vice-presidential nomination. In fact, authoritative sources said the President who called for the change i signals himself, merely felt his arrival Wednesday "after it was all over" would make him "almost isolated" from the convention.

"He just wanted to be there, to get the feel of it and meet the people," this source related.

Hagerty, wearing a broad smile and a brand-new "I like Ike" necktie, disclosed the new plan at a specially called Sunday newes conference at the White House.

Earlier Hagerty tramped down hard on a published report that Mr. Eisenhower may have to undergo another intesti operation for ileitis next fall.

He telephoned news associations to say there was "absolutely nothing" to the report, published in yesterday's Miami (Fla.) Herald.

"I have checked with the President's doctor and I can categorically deny it," Hagerty said. "As I have previously reported, the President's operation was successful."

The Miami Herald, in a column known as the "Tip-Off," said it had been told Mr. Eisenhower "may have to undergo another ileitis operation—this one after the November election.

The Herald added that a 'highly - placed Washington source" said doctors have decided the President could safely postpone the operation until after the campaign and the election.

The Herald also said Administraion officials have "given a thorough check to a local vacation spot" with good golf and fishing facilities where the President may rest after the San Francisco convention.

The United Press learned that the vacation spot is the Villas Hotel in Miami Springs, the same place Adlai E. Stevenson stayed while campaigning in Florida. Federal agents were reported to have examined the location thoroughly in recent weeks pending a possible presidential visit.

Hall is "Delighted"

Hagerty said Mr. Eisenhower's wish to advance his departure for the Convention was relayed to Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall, who "was more than delighted."

The secretary said he does not know whether the President will go to the Convention itself before time for delivery of his speech on Thursday. His nomination is scheduled for Wednesday.

The presidential headquarters will be on the sixth floor of the St. Francis Hotel.

Hagerty parried questions as to the President's attitude towards the vice presidential race. One reporter noted California's Gov. Goodwin J. Knight was reported to have said he was informed Mr. Eisenhower will come out for the renomination of Vice President Richard M. Nixon before the voting starts for second place.

Wants "Open Convention"

Hagerty said he had "no knowledge of the matter. He referred reporters to news conference statements by the President that he desires an 'open convention."

Asked, "Has the President sent any message to San Francisco relative to the vice presidency?" Hagerty replied:

"None that I kno wof."

The President of Mrs. Eisenhower attended 9 a. m. services at the National Presbyterian Church yesterday morning so that the Chief Executive could get back to the White House early to continue work on his acceptance speech.

Besides by the First Lady, the President will be accompanied on his flight to San Francisco by his son, Maj. John Eisenhower; John's wife, Barbara; Maj. Gen. Howard McC. Synder, the President's personal physician; Hagerty, and a few other members of the White House staff. Many White House aides already are in San Francisco.

The President and his wife will leave the convention for a three- or four-day vacation on Cyprus Point, swank area on California's Monterey Peninsula.

Hall blasts Truman—

Southerners balk on GOP civil rights plank

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 18—(AP)—The tentative civil rights plank in the Republican National Convention platform Saturday failed to meet the approval of delegates from the Southern states of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida and Virginia.

About the same time, GOP Chairman Leonard Hall blasted Harry S. Truman, the one-time Democratic powerhouse, Saturday night in the opening salvo of a Republican jamboree aimed at making Dwight D. Eisenhower president for another four years.

Tom Stagg of Shreveport, La., reported that, after a caucus, delegates from these states decided to appeal to the full platform committee that the language be softened with respect to the Supreme Court ruling outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

Failing in this, Stagg said the Southerners would consider the possibility of filing a minority report and taking the issue to the convention floor, as was done at the Democratic convention at Chicago.

Stagg said, however, he did not know yet whether, under convention rules, the Southerners would have sufficient committee strength to get the issue placed before the convention, which opens Monday.

'Low ebb in politics'

IN A NEWS conference, Hall called upon the new Democratic ticket to ask Truman to apologize for a statement Hall said Truman made in his address to the Democratic national convention finale Friday night. Hall quoted Truman as having said:

"I wish I could go on and discuss with you the finances of this government. I don't think there is anybody alive that knows any more about this than I do, and I want to say to you that they are in danger right now from this bunch of racketeers."

Hall termed this an insulting statement and said:

"Harry Truman in making this statement reached a pretty low ebb in politics. I'm not surprised because he was reared in Missouri and got his training under the old Pendergast machine. (The late Tom Pendergast was the political boss of Kansas City.)

"I think that Democrats and independents as well as Republicans will resent this vicious attack on Mr. Eisenhower and his administration."

Hall met with newsmen—some of them just in from Chicago where they attended Friday night's final session of the Democratic National Convention—in one of the preliminaries to Monday's opening of the GOP Convention. The bunting was up, the delegates arriving hourly.

Aid from White House

REPUBLICAN PARTY policy drafters meanwhile finished what they described as a "short, easy-to-read" platform lauding President Eisenhower and promising to continue his foreign and domestic programs.

The civil rights issue also was controversial at the Democratic Convention in Chicago, but compromise language smoothed over a threatened party split.

Republican spokesmen in San Francisco said the party's platform committee of 105 members had aid from the White House, and would carry some of the highlights of President Eisenhower's "State of the Union" message to Congress last January.

Its key features were declarations that the Republicans have brought "peace, security, progress and prosperity" to the land.

Spokesmen also said the platform would pledge that if the party is returned to power, it will pursue policies which would ensure continuance of these benefits.

Details of the platform were kept under cover until its presentation to the convention Tuesday for adoption. The committee arranged to give the documents its final okay at a meeting later Saturday. Gov. Samuel Wilder King of Hawaii indicated that one of the planks would call for statehood for Hawaii.

Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of a subcommittee on civil rights, said the Republican platform will endorse the court decision and call for its implementation—endorsements not given at Chicago.

THE SHARPEST CONTRAST in the two platforms will be in what they say about the administration. The GOP echoes the president's State of the Union message with a review of the three and a half years of his party's accomplishments in which he said:

"Our country is at peace. Our security posture commands respect. A spiritual vigor marks our national life. . . . As a people, we are achieving ever higher standards of living — earning more, producing more, consuming more, building more, and investing more than ever before."

The Democratic platform, on the other hand, painted this picture of Republican rule:

"In the brief space of three and one-half years, the people of the United States have come to realize, with tragic consequences, that our national government cannot be trusted to the hands of political amateurs, dominated by representatives of special privilege."

'In there fighting'

VICE PRESIDENT Richard M. Nixon arrived on the convention scene during the day. He told greeters he was on hand "with only one purpose—to assure that President Eisenhower and his leadership will be continued."

But when a hotel crowd started chanting "We want Nixon" he promptly made his own drive for renomination plain by grasping his hands overhead and replying: "We'll be in there fighting."

He told reporters he hoped the names of other candidates who may want the vice presidency will go before the convention. He said he did not consider himself the "only" candidate.

"Everything else is subordinate to electing President Eisenhower," he declared.

Opposing polls

HAROLD STASSEN, presidential assistant on leave to oppose Nixon, told a press conference Nixon's name on the ticket would cost an over-all loss of 4,620,000 in President Eisenhower's total vote.

Minutes after Stassen gave his report on a professional poll, Sen. Styles H. Bridges told reporters of a scientific poll showing 54.3 per cent of the voters for an Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, 25.7 for an Eisenhower-Herter ticket. Twenty per cent gave no opinion.

Asked whether the Republican convention would be as open on vice president as the Democratic session, Bridges replied:

"It will be as open in theory, but not as evenly divided."

Bridges said he expected the anti-Nixon forces to be badly beaten.

Up to delegation

NIXON PROCEEDED to a conference with Sen. William F. Knowland and Gov. Goodwin J. Knight just before a caucus of the 70-vote California delegation, which Knight, long cool toward Nixon, has said he wants uninstructed.

"We all agreed to leave the matter to the delegation to decide," Nixon announced, with concurrence by Knight and Knowland, after an 80-minute session.

The delegation is expected to give endorsement to Nixon, but delegates friendly to Knight said a roll call vote would be demanded on every question, including the anticipated Nixon endorsement.

Knight opposed

THE DELEGATION split in the stormy caucus with indications Gov. Knight would lose his drive to head the delegation.

Knowland, urging endorsement of Nixon, was nominated for the delegation chairmanship opposing Knight.

The chairmanship traditionally goes to the governor. But Knowland had declared Knight should withdraw unless he went along with California's endorsement of Nixon.

One delegate told reporters Knight "still is standing fast in refusing to back Nixon."

Electing a chairman was the first order of business in the caucus. The question of endorsing Nixon will follow the vote on chairman.

RIGHTS STAND STRONGER, THE NAACP HOLDS

SAN FRANCISCO — The Republican Party's platform committee yesterday announced it will offer the convention a stand on civil rights that urges the nation as a whole to stand by the Supreme Court's rule against segregation in public schools.

There was a promised platform of "progressive implementation" in the plank. The plank, however, called for "understanding" of the traditions that have long prevailed in the South.

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, called the Republican stand on civil rights "A shade stronger" than that of the Democratic platform.

However the head of the NAACP also made the statement that:

"We regret the failure to pledge an effort to eliminate the filibuster rule which has blocked all federal civil rights legislation in the senate."

The Democrats last week, recognized the High Court's integration ruling as being of "importance," but took a stand against any force militarily strong — to be firm in foreign affairs without beating the drums of war.

"We promised to end favoritism in government. We promised to reverse the trend toward bigger and bigger government and to restore power to the people — where it properly belongs."

Langlie proclaimed triumphantly: "We have kept our promises."

The keynote speaker conceded that all danger to peace has not been banished from the world, and that "challenges multiply."

He said the leaders of world Communism have been "forced to renounce some of their old ways, forced to search for new devices, economic and political, to pursue their ends."

Langlie asserted that when the Democrats held the White House "Communist world aggression achieved its maximum success... the nations of Eastern Europe were lost to freedom, and on another continent China became part of the Communist empire."

The keynoter recalled Democratic predictions of "a major farm disaster," of the loss of U S allies, and of "wild and wanton inflation" unless what he branded "Socialistic' controls wrere imposed upon the economy.

He pointed with pride to a balanced budget, "greater striking power for defense than ever before,' an end to "crisis" government, and the harmony and unification which he said Mr. Eisenhower has restored to the nation.

Republicans Made Deal On Rights Back In 1877

Daily World p. 4
Atlanta, Ga. Tues. 8-21-56

CHICAGO — (NNPA) — Running true to form, ex-President Truman Thursday accused Republicans of entering into an agreement to do nothing about civil rights if Southern Democrats did not press their contest of the election of President Rutherford B. Hayes in 1877.

As a result of the deal made at that time, he said, nothing was done about civil rights until the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt became President in 1933.

Mr. Truman appeared before the platform and resolutions committee of the Democratic national convention Thursday afternoon.

The former President was in a fighting mood, but the recommendations he made on civil rights were equivalent to a pledge to support the Constitution.

The biggest part of his statement was devoted to a discussion of the "deal" over the Hayes-Tilden contest and a recital of the facts leading to his sending to Congress the report of the Civil Rights Committee which he appointed.

Nowhere in his statement on civil rights did he say the 1956 Democratic platform should pledge the party to "unequivocal enforcement" of the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools.

Mr. Truman said he thought the 1948 or 1952 civil rights plank was good, but he was partial to the 1948 plank because he ran on the 1948 plank and won. He would offer no specific recommendations as to how the civil rights plank should be worded. Instead he suggested that the platform of 1948 and 1952 be studied. He said that he felt "this committee is perfectly capable of writing a platform that will accomplish the purpose in which we are interested, and that is being fair to all the people of the United States as the Constitution provides."

Ducking the question, Mr. Truman replied that his particular suggestion was that the civil rights planks of 1948 and 1952 were good, but he was partial to the 1948 plank on which he ran and was elected.

Mr. Truman then brushed off further discussion of specific recommendations on civil rights by saying he had been the first head of state to propose internationalizing important waterways.

Mr. Truman told the committee that he is "very much interested in the civil rights situation, and with your permission I will discuss that, I fear, maybe at too much length, because I think I know something about the history of it, and its background."

As he moved from his seat to the witness chair, Mr. Truman carried with him a copy of the report of the President's Civil Rights Committee, entitled "To Secure These Rights."

After discussing briefly the questions of the Eisenhower Administration's foreign policy, the domestic financial policy of the Government, and the conservation of natural resources, Mr. Truman said:

"Now, I am perfectly willing to discuss with you that most controversial subject known as civil rights, and with your permission Mr. Chairman, I will be glad to go head and call your attention to a few things that are history and a few things in which this great nation of ours should be vitally interested.

"On October 29, 1947, I sent a document to the Congress of the United States entitled, 'To Secure These Rights.' That document contained a survey, a history of the civil rights program.

"And in that document, which I sent to the Congress, I said to them at that time, just a paragraph or two, 'In times past when our American freedoms were threatened, groups of our citizens banded together and set out on paper and principles they felt should preserve freedom, and the kind of action that would defend freedom.

"The Declaration of Independence was that kind of a document,' and I notice that the title of this report ,that is, the report which I sent to the Congress, is taken from the Declaration of Independence.

"I hope this committee has given us a broad document and an American charter of human freedom in our time,' that is this document which I sent to the Congress in 1947.

"And it is just as great now as it was at this moment in 1947.

"Men of goodwill everywhere are stirring under great difficulties to create a world-wide moral order firmly established in the life of nations for us here in America, a new charter of human freedom will be guide for action.'

"And I want to say to you that there have been a great many steps taken based on this document which I sent to the Congress in 1947, and a great many of those actions have been exceedingly controversial, but I want to say to you that they have been right, and whenever anything is right, it makes no difference how controversial it is, we ought to make an effort to put it, through.

"For your interest and information, in 1868 or 1869, an amendment to the Constitution was passed, called the Fourteenth Amendment, and that amendment guaranteed everything that we have been fighting for in this day and age as civil rights.

"It is a part of the fundamental law of the land, and it has not been enforced, and I will tell you why it hasn't been enforced.

"In 1876—I am going to read a little history to you now—there was doubt about the vast majority of a man, a Democrat from New York. He was elected President of the United States, and there was some the electoral votes, and they appointed a commission to decide who should be President of the United States, and they counted this gentleman out.

"He was one of the greatest lawyers of his time, but they elected Rutherford B. Hayes, to be President of the United States by one electoral vote, and they did it absolutely contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

"Before that event took place on the next day, the people who were interested in Samuel J. Tilden, who had been legally elected, were very much perturbed.

"I can remember when I was a boy, when my father told me that if the general run of the people had their way, they would have taken over the Government and made Tilden the President.

"Well, the people who are most interested in Samuel Tilden's election were sent for to come to the White House, and an agreement was made between those people and between Rutherford B. Hayes and General Grant, that if Mr. Haynes was allowed to be President of the United States without interference, the troops would be withdrawn from the South, and the Reconstruction program would be stopped, and the 14th Amendment would not be officially enforced.

"Remember, that was a Republican President, two of them who made that promise on civil rights way back there in 1877, and that situation prevailed until a man by the name of Franklin D .Roosevelt was elected President of the United States.

"And he was very much interested, as was Woodrow Wilson, in the peace of the world and the foreign policy of the United States. He knew very well if we did not perform at home those things which we were asking the people of the world to perform, we would have not very much influence.

"So this thing went on and on, and the President—I always refer to Mr. Roosevelt as the President and never to myself in that capacity—didn't live his term out, and I succeeded him.

"As a result of my historical information on this subject and on several other subjects in which the Government of the United States is very much interest, I set up a commission to go into this situation and make certain recommendations to me and to the Congress of the United States, and that commission was headed by Charles E Wilson as chairman. Now that is the 'Electric' Charlie Wilson, not the 'General Motors' Charlie Wilson.

"And it had a wonderful number of most important people on it, and they went into this situation in detail, and they came up with one of the most wonderful reports you have ever read, and if you haven't read it, I want to say to you that the subject of that report is 'To Secure These Rights which had been a part of the Constitution since the late 1860's.

"That document is a Government document, printed by the United States Government Printing Office at Washington in 1947, and I think that for a quarter you can get a copy of it.

"It would do you good to get it and read it. You would find out then that all these proceedings which have taken place, including the decision of the Supreme Court, about which there is so much controversy, was only an enforcement of the law which has been a part of the fundamental and basic law of this United States since the late 1860's."

When Mr. Truman completed the reading of his lengthy statement in which he discussed several platform topics, he submitted himself to questioning by members of the platform committee.

Mr. McCormack recognized Mr. Diggs.

"Mr. President, your record in the field of civil rights is known to all people all over the world," Mr. Diggs said, adding:

"It is certainly a refreshing thing to have you recite that history, because certainly the Republican party has attempted to take credit for many of the things that President Roosevelt inaugurated, and that you so ably carried on and implemented.

"Could you for the benefit of the drafting and platform committee give us some guides as to how the program, that was started by President Roosevelt and implemented by yourself, how that program should be carried forward so that we can continue to progress in this important field, especially in consideration of the experiences and events since you were in that particular office?"

NEW DISPUTE ARISES IN MISSISSIPPI GOP

Commercial Appeal p. 22
Memphis, Tenn.

Seating Arrangements Add To Strife Of Factions

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19. — (UP)—Mississippi's divided delegation to the Republican National Convention erupted in a new dispute Sunday over seating arrangements for the state's all white and racially mixed factions.

Wash. D. 8-20-56

The new dissension came as E. O. Spencer, who unsuccessfully sought to have a "Lily White" delegation seated at the convention, left the city for home.

Mr. Spencer, who had threatened to leave before the opening convention session Monday, checked out of his hotel to return to Mississippi. Anson Sheldon, a spokesman for the "Lily White" group, denied that Mr. Spencer left because of the racial dispute.

"He's just tired from overwork and has a lot of business to attend to at home," Mr. Sheldon said.

Meanwhile, the remaining members of the all white faction formally requested the GOP tickets subcommittee to move their places in convention hall so they would not have to sit with the "Black and Tan" group.

However, Mr. Sheldon said that if the subcommittee could not arrange to split the delegation's seating arrangement "we'll have no alternative but to sit with them."

The National Committee, in a "compromise" ruling last week, allocated seven delegates and alternates to the Spencer group and eight delegates and alternates to the "Black and Tans" headed by Perry W. Howard.

The confused Mississippi situation was complicated further by the fact that the tickets subcommittee delivered all 15 of the state's convention passes to Howard.

Mr. Sheldon, relaxing a personal rule of not speaking to Howard, met with the "Black and Tan" leader only long enough to get the tickets for the "Lily Whites."

GOP Seats 2 Mississippi Delegations

'Insurgents' Win In S. Carolina

By GLADWIN HILL

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 14 — Preliminary skirmishing of the Republican National Convention got under way today with two surprises.

In squabbles between rival delegations from Mississippi and from South Carolina, the GOP National Committee's subcommittee on contests came up with two unexpected recommendations.

It voted to seat both the contending Mississippi delegations, splitting the state's 15 convention votes between them unevenly.

Eight votes were recommended for the "black and tan" (biracial) delegation headed by Perry Howard, venerable Negro lawyer and the state's recognized national committeeman. Seven votes were recommended for a rival so-called "lily white" delegation headed by E. O. Spencer, a Jackson, Miss., hotel operator.

In the South Carolina dispute, the subcommittee voted to unseat a long-entrenched "regular" Republican faction which has vexed the national organization. In its stead the committee recommended recognition of an insurgent delegation led by a former sheriff of Nassau County, N.Y., David Dows.

The subcommittee's recommendations in both disputes will be passed tomorrow to the National Committee. It in turn will make its recommendations to the convention's Credentials Committee.

The Credentials Committee will make its report early in the convention when floor fighting may develop. This seems quite likely in both cases. The convention opens here Monday.

The Mississippi ruling was notable on two counts. Rep. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the National Committee's counsel, who sat on the closed deliberations and reported them, said it would be the first time he recalled in Republican annals that rival delegations would be seated, if the subcommittee decision prevails. He said the Democrats had done this in a Texas dispute at their 1944 convention.

It also would be the first time since Howard, senior National Committee member in point of service, took office in 1924 that a "lily white" insurgent delegation had achieved such in roads on his sway, despite contests at every convention.

The subcommittee's recommendation, Rep. Scott said, was based on its finding that the claims of both delegations to proper standing were "imperfect."

G.O.P. BACKS PLAN FOR MISSISSIPPI

National Committee Favors Seating Rival Slates, Rejects South Carolina 'Regulars'

By GLADWIN HILL

Special to The New York Times.

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 15—The Republican National Committee approved today the recommendations of its subcommittee on contests for settling factional squabbles in the party ranks in Mississippi and South Carolina.

The subcommittee had recommended the seating at next week's Republican National Convention of both rival delegations from Mississippi, with the state's votes divided between them. It has recommended the rejection of South Carolina's "regular" delegation in favor of an insurgent group headed by a former New Yorker.

The decisions, reached during some three hours of deliberations today, completed the business of the national committee that has guided party affairs since 1952. A new committee will be formed as an agendum of the convention. The committee is composed principally of one man and one woman from each state.

The only business enacted by the committee was approval of a new retirement plan for national committee employes.

Further Contention Not Expected

The squabbling factions in both Mississippi and South Carolina still can take their disputes to the convention Credentials Committee. But today's action by the full national committee was so decisive that, despite some belligerent postures and expressions yesterday, further contention at this juncture seemed unlikely. There were indications, nevertheless, that at least in the case of Mississippi, the factional strife was merely suspended.

The Mississippi controversy is between a self-styled "black and tan" bi-racial faction headed by Perry Howard, a prominent Negro lawyer, and a so-called "lily white" faction asserting that it is the only Republican group legally recognized in Mississippi.

In a temporary compromise eight of the state's fifteen convention votes were allotted to the Howard faction and seven to the 'lily white" faction. This will give the "black and tans" the necessary edge to re-elect Mr. Howard to the national committee post he has held since 1924. It will put him in a position to continue the vendetta with challenging "lily white" groups that has cropped up at every convention all those years.

A leader of the "lily white" faction, Wirt Yerger Jr., took the floor briefly at today's session to say that he was not all happy about the compromise. He said it had been offered on a take-it-or-leave-it basis by party higher-ups. He demurred at formally continuing the contention, however, since his group had tacitly accepted the compromise. He is the state party chairman recognized by his faction.

Charge of 'Closed Corporation'

The South Carolina dispute was continued today as a full-dress debate before the national committee. Both factions reiterated the arguments they had advanced before the contests subcommittee. The national committee, in a short closed executive session, voted overwhelmingly to recognize a delegation headed by David Dows of Aiken, retired New York executive and a former Sheriff of Nassau County.

The Dows group successfully challenged the legality under South Carolina la wof a delegation headed by the state's two national committee members, J. Bates Gerald and Mrs. John E. Messervy, both of Charleston. Mrs. Messervy, emerging from the session, said to some of her associates, "Well, get ready to go home."

The Dows group asserted that the Gerald-Messervy faction had tried to keep the South Carolina Republican party a "closed corporation," to the point of disregarding election laws. The Dows people countered charges that they were in a "lily white" group with a declaration by a Negro lawyer, Elliott D. Turnage, that the organization had welcomed Negro participation on a large scale, and had nothing to do with the Ku Klux Klan or the Citizens Councils, both white racist movements. South Carolina has sixteen convention votes.

The national committee's delibberations were conspicuously unconcerned with the rivalries both inter-party and intra-party, around which the convention revolves.

That field was duly dealt with during the day's convention C. Bliss of Ohio, chairman of the Midwest and Rocky Mountain Republican State Chairmen's Association, which covers twenty-one states.

He told a press conference his latest soundings of sentiment in the area indicated growing support of the Eisenhower Administration's policies to the extent that a "properly conducted" campaign in the fall could win Republican majorities in both houses of Congress as well as the Presidency and Vice Presidency.

He said farm dissatisfaction had lessened markedly in recent months. On the Vice-Presidential controvsersy, he asserted sentiment was overwhelmingly for the re-election of Richard M Nixon.

Southerners Protest

GOP May Face Trouble Over Civil Rights Plank

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 18 (AP)— The tentative civil rights plank in the Republican National Convention platform today failed to meet the approval of delegates from the Southern states of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida and Virginia.

Tom Stagg of Shreveport, La., reported that, after a caucus, delegates from these states decided to appeal to the full Platform Committee that the language be softened with respect to the Supreme Court ruling outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

Would Go to Floor.

Failing in this, Stagg said the Southerners would consider the possibility of filing a minority report and taking the issue to the convention floor, as was done at the Democratic National Convention at Chicago.

Stagg said, however, he did not know yet whether, under convention rules, the Southerners would have sufficient committee strength to get the issue placed before the convention.

Republican party policy drafters meanwhile finished what they described as a "short, easy-to-read" platform lauding President Eisenhower and promising to continue his foreign and domestic programs.

The civil rights issue also was controversial at the Democratic convention, the compromise language smoothed over a threatened party split.

White House Aid.

Republican spokesmen in San Francisco said the party's Platform Committee of 105 members had aid from the White House, and would carry some of the highlights of President Eisenhower's State of the Union message to Congress last January.

Its key features were declarations that the Republicans have brought "peace, security, progress and prosperity" to the land.

Spokesmen also said the platform would pledge that if the party is returned to power, it will pursue policies which would ensure continuance of these benefits.

Details of the platform were kept under cover until its presentation to the convention Tuesday for adoption. The committee arranged to give the documents its final okay at a meeting later today. Gov. Samuel Wilder King of Hawaii indicated one of the planks would call for statehood for Hawaii.

Dirksen's View.

Sen. Everett Dirksen of Illinois, chairman of a Civil Rights subcommittee, said the Republican platform will endorse the court decision and call for its implementation—endorsements not given at Chicago.

The sharpest contrast in the two platforms will be in what they say about the administration. The GOP echoes the President's State of the Union message with a review of the three and a half years of his party's accomplishments in which he said:

"Our country is at peace. Our security posture commands respect. A spiritual vigor marks out national life. . .. As a people, we are achieving ever higher standards of living—earning more, producing more, consuming more, building more, and investing more than ever before."

The Democratic platform, on the other hand, painted this picture of Republican rule:

"In the brief space of three and one half years, the people of the United States have come to realize, with tragic consequences, that our national government can not be trusted to the hands of political amateurs, dominated by representatives of special privilege."

Rights Plank Credits Gains to GOP

Constitution
Atlanta Ga.
Aug 8-21-56

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 20 (AP)—Following is the text of the tentative proposed draft of the Republican National Convention's platform plank on civil rights:

EQUALITY OF JUSTICE—CIVIL RIGHTS

The Republican Party points to an impressive record of accomplishment in the field of civil rights and commits itself anew to advancing the rights of all our people regardless of race, creed, color or national origin.

In the area of exclusive federal jurisdiction, more progress has been made in this field under the present Republican administration than in any similar period in the last 80 years.

The many Negroes who have been appointed to high public positions have played a significant part in the progress of this administration.

SEGREGATION END IN D. C.

Segregation has been ended in the District of Columbia government and in the district public facilities including public schools, restaurants, theaters and playgrounds. The Eisenhower administration has eliminated discrimination in all federal employment.

Great progress has been made in eliminating employment discrimination on the part of those who do business with the federal government and secure federal contracts. This administration has impartially enforced federal civil rights statutes, and we pledge that it will continue to do so. We support the enactment of the civil rights program already presented by the President to the second session of the 84th Congress.

The regulatory agencies under this administration have moved vigorously to end discrimination in interstate commerce. Segregaiton in the active armed forces of the United States has been ended. For the first time in our history there is no segregation in veterans' hospitals and among civilians on Naval bases. This is an impressive record. We pledge ourselves to continued progress in this field.

The Republican party has unequivocally recognized that the supreme law of the land is embodied in the Constitution which guarantees to all people the blessing of liberty, due process and equal protection of the laws. It confers upon all native-born and naturalized citizens not only citizenship in the state where the individual resides but citizenship of the United States as well. This is an unqualified right, regardless of race, creed or color.

The Republican party accepts the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court that racial discrimination in publicly supported schools must be progressively eliminated. We concur in the conclusion of the Supreme Court that its decision directing school desegregation should be accomplished with "all deliberate speed" locally through federal district courts. The implementation order of the Supreme Court recognizes the complex and acutely emotional problems created by its decision in certain sections of our country where racial patterns have been developed in accordance with prior and longstanding decisions of the same tribunal.

We believe that true progress can be attained through intelligent study, understanding, education and good will. Use of force or violence by any group or agency will tend only to worsen the many problems inherent in the situation. This progress must be encouraged and the work of the courts supported in every legal manner by all branches of the federal government to the end that the constitutional ideal of equality before the law, regardless of race, creed or color, will be steadily achieved.

RIGHTS PLANK FIGHT IS LOOMING FOR GOP

Atlanta Journal
Sept. 8-20-56

Dixie Republicans Ponder Floor Battle To Ease Party Platform

By The Associated Press

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 19.—Dixie Republicans threatened Sunday to carry to the GOP convention floor a fight to have the party platform keyed to "moderation" on school de-segregation.

An endorsement of the Supreme Court decision outlawing separate public schools for white and Negro pupils, plus a pledge to implement the court order, was expected to be combined in the main report of the 105-member convention platform committee.

Aimed At Negro Vote

GOP leaders said they wanted a "strong, forthright" civil rights stand, particularly because Democrats adopted a platform last week that steered clear of endorsing the court edict.

Republicans saw a golden opportunity to try to out-bid Democrats for the potent Negro vote in the big cities. But the Southern GOP contingent counselled a "moderate" course.

State Senator Ted Dalton of Virginia pressed for a substitute plank recognizing the court decision as binding but asserting that any change should come gradually.

To Offer Minority Report

Senator Dalton's proposal was to be filed with the platform group as a minority report that could take the issue to the convention floor.

The convention, however, is expected to approve the majority version to give the GOP ammunition to shoot at the Democrats in the big Northern population centers.

Editorial

Administration Reneging On Judges

Courier
Pittsburgh Pa.
Sat. 3-17-57

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER believes that the Republican Administration has done a wonderful job, in general, in placing Negroes in important positions at home and abroad; buf we are disturbed and disappointed by the failure of the White House to appoint a single Negro lawyer as a Federal judge.

The Courier suggested, at the beginning of the Administration, the names of several outstanding Negro lawyers as candidates for the Federal judiciary, and supposed that at least two would get the nod from the White House.

Although three years have passed and over eighty Federal judges have been nominated and appointed, not a single Negro has won ONE of these high positions, although many are qualified.

It is difficult to understand how the Administration can find many qualified persons to appoint to other high positions at home and abroad, and yet find it impossible to find a single Negro lawyer capable of serving on the Federal bench.

If anything has been definitely established in the past few years, it is that there are numerous Negro lawyers who have demonstrated their ability to measure up to the highest standards of the legal profession.

Nevertheless, we have but three Negro Federal judges—all appointed by the previous Democratic Administration and, incidentally, have served with great distinction.

If the Democrats were able, without difficulty, to find three Negro lawyers capable of serving on the Federal bench, we are unable to see why the Eisenhower Administration, dedicated to civil rights and fair play, has not been able to find a single Negro worthy of appointment to the Federal judiciary.

Considering the problems of the times, it is much more important to the sixteen million Negro citizens of the United States that they have more representation on the Federal bench than it is that competent colored citizens be appointed to other positions.

The progress of Negroes in this country has been determined in large part by the decisions of Federal courts, and it is imperative that there be Negroes on the bench to help make the decisions.

This is an election year and the Negro vote in many sections will determine in large part which party will win the very close election.

This Negro vote has become very sophisticated and is not stirred, as in the past, by mere professions of friendship and good will.

What Negroes want is tangible evidences of good will and appreciation, and in connection with the Federal judiciary, they have seen nothing so far to convince them of the sincerity of the present Administration.

What we want now is several appointments of qualified Negro lawyers to the Federal bench, and we shall be satisfied with nothing less.

34d 1956

REPUBLICAN

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER
DR. MILTON EISENHOWER (BROTHER)

Ike's illness changes '56 vote picture

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—The uncertainties of day-to-day life were again driven home to the nation by the unexpected illness of President Eisenhower early Friday.

Only the day before he had appeared in good health and spirits, and the palace guard was pleased with the political outlook.

Mr. Eisenhower had planned to spend the weekend at his Gettysburg farm. James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary, announced at his 10:30 a.m. conference with reporters Thursday that the President would leave for Gettysburg around 1 or 2 a.m. Friday.

* * *

AT 12:30 A.M., Thursday, Leonard Hall, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was the speaker at a National Press Club luncheon.

Aside from members of the staff from Republican headquarters, also attending the luncheon to give moral support to Mr. Hall were members of the White House staff, headed by Gov. Sherman Adams, assistant to the President.

In his speech, Mr. Hall oozed enthusiasm and confidence. The Republicans have the best possible ticket in the same candidates who won in 1952—Eisenhower and Nixon — Mr. Hall said.

* * *

THE REPUBLICAN ticket will get a larger percentage of the labor and colored vote in 1956 than it did in 1952, he predicted.

At the outset, Mr. Hall told his press club audience that there was nothing that the Republicans can say about Adlai Stevenson that Sen. Estes Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee, has not already said.

The implication of this remark was that not only was Kefauver dead politically as a potential Democratic Presidential nominee but that his blistering attacks on Stevenson had made the job of Republicans in the Presidential campaign much easier.

* * *

BUT IN LESS than 24 hours this rosy picture had changed. It changed at 9 a.m., Friday, when Mr. Hagerty announced the President's condition with a brief statement:

The President has an upset stomath and a headache this morning. We have postponed his schedule for the day. Dr. Snyder has been with him since early this morning. There is nothing wrong with his heart."

That, in newspaper parlance, is a "Stop the presses!" bulletin. Reporters rushed to their telephones and in a few minutes the news was being teletyped into newspaper offices across the country.

* * *

LATER, IT was disclosed that Dr. Howard McC. Snyder, the physician to the President, had been called to the White House at 2 a.m.

Mr. Eisenhower's illness was diagnosed as "inflammation of the lower portion of the small intestine."

The President was taken to Walter Reed Hospital as a "precautionary measure." An operation was performed and he was reported recovering 'satisfactorily.'

The excitement about Mr. Eisenhower's health, of course, is intensified because of the heart attack he suffered in Denver last summer and because he has said he will accept renomination for President by the Republicans at their national convention in August.

* * *

ALREADY THE Democrats have made it clear that Mr. Eisenhower's health will be a campaign issue; and Republicans apparently have been willing to permit it to be an issue.

To offset Democratic propaganda, Mr. Hagerty has said that reports will be issued from time to time on the state of Mr. Eisenhower's health.

Past experiences indicate that the American people have a right to know the health condition of candidates for the Presidency.

* * *

BACK IN 1944, every reporter covering the White House knew that President Franklin D. Roosevelt was a sick man and would not live through another term of office.

But the state of his health was kept a secret. After Mr. Roosevelt was renominated and reelected, he died of cerebral hemorrhage at Warm Springs, Ga., April 12, 1945, and Vice President Harry S. Truman became President.

The question of making Mr. Roosevelt's health a campaign issue reportedly was discussed in 1944, but Herbert Brownell Jr., then the chairman of the Republican National Committee, vetoed the suggestion.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey probably would have been elected President in 1944 if the American people had known the condition of Mr. Roosevelt's health.

This error in political strategy is not likely to occur again.

Mr. Eisenhower's health will be a campaign issue, the Republicans are prepared to meet it, and the American voters will have a choice between Vice President Richard M. Nixon and whomever the Democrats put up for Vice President as the man they would like to succeed to the Presidency if a vacancy by reason of death should occur.

Dr. Eisenhower Submits University Resignation

Associated Press Wirephoto

Dr. Milton Eisenhower

Special to The New York Times.

UNIVERSITY PARK, Pa., June 8—Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower tendered his resignation today as president of the Pennsylvania State University, effective "no later than Dec. 31."

Writing under date of June 7, he cited "personal reasons."

Verbally today he explained that he had reached the decision as long as a month ago and expressed the hope that it would not be associated in the public mind with the illness of his brother, President Eisenhower.

George H. Deike, president of the university board of trustees, said that it would ask Dr. Eisenhower to reconsider his resignation. "There is nothing this board would not do to keep the services of Dr. Eisenhower," he declared.

In his letter Dr. Eisenhower said he had yet to decide his plans, but that he had "no intention of joining the staff of the Federal Government."

34d 1956 REPUBLICAN MACON COUNTY

GOP Speaker Will Appear In Tuskegee

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Oct. 24—Barrington Parker, field representative of the National Republican Committee, will speak at a local gathering here Monday, Oct. 29, at the Greenwood Baptist Church beginning at 8 p.m., according to Rev. T. R. Newman, who is in charge of arrangements.

Rev. Newman, who has probably done more to build a grassroot Republican Party in Macon County than any other individual, said that the local committee made a very wise choice in selecting Dr. Parker to appear here.

He has been instrumental in building Republican units throughout the country. Rev. Newman said further that the speaker will be prepared to answer any questions posed to him by the audience.

"All voters, regardless of their political affiliation, are welcomed at the meeting Monday evening," Rev. Newman said.

It is announced intention of the local Republican Club to continue in its efforts to build a strong second party in Macon County.

Appointed to Advisory Board

Truman Gibson Jr., Democrat, Lines Up With Eisenhower

NEW YORK—A man named Truman came out for Eisenhower officially this week as a member of the advisory board of the National Citizens for Eisenhower Committee to bring to light a surprising defection from the ranks of the Democratic party.

The gentleman in question is no kin to former Democratic

TRUMAN K. GIBSON
. . . he's "no kin" to Harry

President Harry S. Truman. The full name of the "Democrat-gone-for-Ike" is Truman K. Gibson Jr., a Chicago attorney and a former departmental assistant to the Secretary of War under the Democratic Administration of World War II.

Ironically, in 1948 Gibson had been appointed a member of a committee on morals, character development and religion in the armed forces during 1948 by ex-President Truman.

* * *

GIBSON'S APPOINTMENT to the Eisenhower campaign group was announced by John Reed Kilpatrick, national chairman, in New York.

The appointee is a prominent figure in Illinois sporting circles. He formerly served as Joe Louis' business manager. Mr. Gibson is also a close associate and former law partner of Rep. William Dawson (D.-Ill.), the main cog in Chicago's powerful Democratic party organization.

Mr. Gibson also serves as secretary of the International Boxing Club which sponsors most of the nation's major pugilistic presentations.

* * *

OTHER POSTS held by Mr. Gibson include: membership on the board of the National Travelers Aid, the Chicago Branch of the National Polio Foundation, and a secretaryship of the Chicago Land Clearance Committee.

In 1939, Mr. Gibson was appointed counsel for Carl Hansberry in long litigation involving racial restrictive covenants in the Pak Housing Area of Chicago. The case was won for Mr. Hansberry by Mr. Gibson.

In 1945, Mr. Gibson was awarded the medal for merit by Secretary of War Stimson for his work as department assistant to Secretary Stimson in World War II.

In 1946, Mr. Gibson remained in Washington as a member of President Truman's Advisory Committee on Universal Military Training.

Negro Gop Leaders In Miss. Face Ouster

WASHINGTON—(ANP) — Perry W. Howard and Mrs. Edna F. Redmond, Negro members of the Republican National Committee, are among four southern GOP leaders facing an ouster fight which may flare up at San Francisco in credentials contests involving present leadership of the party in Mississippi and South Carolina.

Howard, a Washington lawyer, is best known of the four southern Republicans. He has served as Mississippi committeeman since 1924, and is the senior member of the Republican National Committee.

In Mississippi, H. O. Spencer has been designated as a prospective national committeeman to succeed Howard, and Mrs. J. Balfour Miller of Natchez has been picked to replace Mrs. Redmond as the national committeewoman. Both Spencer, who headed the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952, and Mrs. Miller are white.

The replacement of Howard and Mrs. Redmond is sought by the Spencer faction on grounds that the Negro leaders have failed to build up the party in Mississippi.

Howard is a veteran winner of many fights to displace him on the National Committee. He has raised the charge of racial prejudice against Negroes because his enemies in Mississippi excluded Negroes from their delegations.

Howard supported the late Sen. Robert A. Taft of Ohio for the presidential nomination against Gen. Eisenhower in 1952.

But the movement against him now is reportedly not based on this fact. It grows rather from the charge that he has sought to keep the Republican party in Mississippi small and subject to his control.

The South Carolina GOP, lead by W. W. Wanamaker of Orangeburg and Mrs. Dabney Barnes of Greenville, both white, is under attack for similar reasons.

34c(1) 1956

NEW YORK

REP. ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

Powell Calls Upon Ike To Take Lead In Relieving Racial Tenson

Informer p. 5 Sat. 3-17-56

Houston, Tex.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — Congressman Adam Clayton Powell (D. N.Y.) called upon President Eisenhower to take the lead in relieving racial tension in the South by calling leaders of both races in troubled areas to the White House for a conference.

The suggestion was made by the New York City congressman in an address at Howard University during the observance of the School's 89th anniversary. Some 700 persons overflowed Rankin Chapel to hear the address.

Other recommendations made by Congressman Powell in his 30-minute speech were that the Attorney General place on the subversive list of the Department of Justice the White Citizens Councils, which he described as more subversive in America than the Communist Party, and that Negroes reject completely the "moderation" proposal of Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson.

Commenting on the recent racial conflicts in Ala. Congressman Powell said that the entire world is judging the United States as a democracy in light of what is happening in this and other southern states regarding civil rights. He blamed leaders of both the Democratic and Republican Parties for failing to provide the type of leadership which he said is needed at this time.

Calling upon the White House for action, Congressman Powell said, "We, therefore, right thinking American people, demand that the President show that he has the physical strength for an immediate conference at the White House of Negro and white leaders, or we ar not going to be able to accept his words that he is physically fit to be President of the United States another four years."

As for Stevenson, whom the Congresman described as titular head of the Democratic Party, he said, "Moderation as defined by Adlai Stevenson is a postition directly in the middle of the road. The only way out of this morass is bold imaginative thinking, not straddling consecrated alert and positive leadership, not middle of the road shilly - shallying, pussy - footing, doubletalking."

Reading from a letter, which he said had been addressed to Stevenson. Conugresman Powell said, "Have Paul Butler (chairman, Democratic National Committee) call a meeting of the National Democratic Committee. Put it to a vote whether the Democratic caucus in the Senate should approve Eastland (Democratic senator from Mississippi) or not.

"How can a man such as Senator Eastland, who has openly made a mockery of the Supreme Court, have the life and death power in his hands of the ratification of all Federal judges and all Federal attorneys, and the final word on all anti-and pro-civil rights bills without the Democratic Party speaking out boldly against him and using every legal method to stop him from being appointed Chairman of the Judiciary Committee,' he continued.

Congresman Powell said that the Negro stands in the South today much more mature than his white. He declared that the Negro had abided by the "separate but equal" doctrine when that was the law of the land, and asked, 'why are we now called extremists because we continue to be loyal to our land?"

Following Congressman Powell's address, Dr Morecai W. Johnson, president of Howard, presented Alumni Achievement Awards to three Howard graduates. They were Llewellyn J. Scott, founder and director of Blessed Martin DePorres Hospice, in Washington; Dr August C. Terrence, an Opelosas, La. physician who has led an effort to secure voting rights for Negroes in his state; and Frederick D. Wilkinson, registrar at Howard since 1920.

Powell May Bolt Party If Platform Weak

Daily Pic. Sat. 3-16-56

Kansas City, Mo.

BY RAYMOND WILCOVE

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — Rep. Adam Powell (D) New York, said yesterday he may bolt the Democratic party unless it takes "a strong and unequivocal stand" on civil rights.

The influential New York congressman also said in an interview that he is thinking of resigning from Congress to head a national "Spiritual Campaign Against Prejudice."

Threatens To Leave

The Harlem representative, who is pastor of the nation's largest colored church, was the second Negro member of Congress in recent days to threaten to leave his party because they did not feel the Democrats were forceful enough in their approach to civil rights.

Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D) Michigan, took a similar position in an interview a week ago with International News Servce. Diggs warned that millions of Negro voters will desert the Democratic party in the November election "unless the Democrats stop pussyfooting on civil rights."

The third Negro member of Congress is Rep. William L. Dawson (D) Illinois, who is vice chairman of the Democratic national committee.

May Vote For Ike

Powell said he has not made up his mind for whom to vote in November. But, he added, he may support President Eisenhower unless the Democrats select a nominee "who supports civil rights in a forthright manner."

Powell expressed dissatisfaction with what he termed "the policy of moderation advocated by Adlai Stevenson."

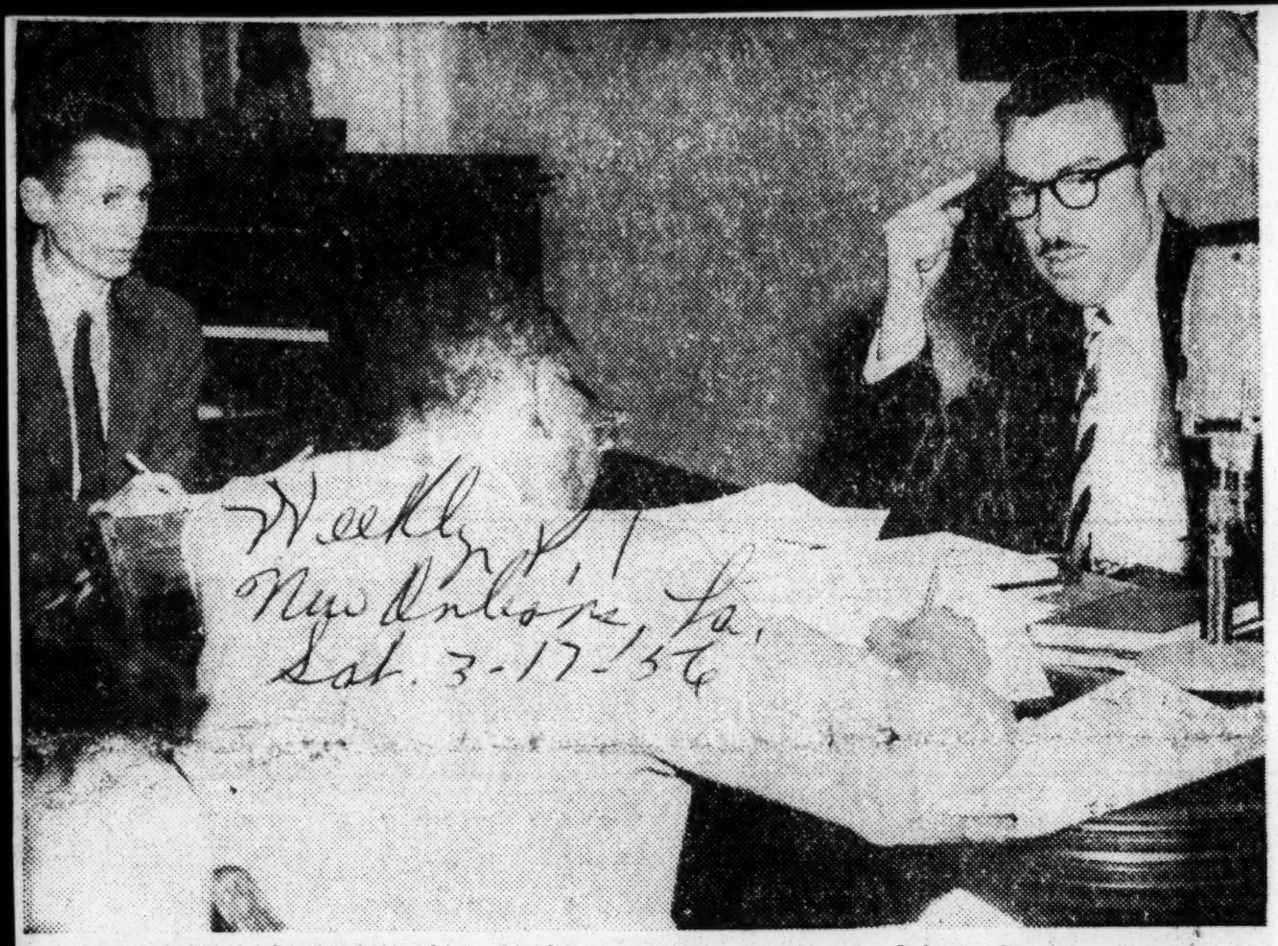
The congressman said he may resign his House seat, which he has held since January, 1945, to head "A Spiritual Campaign Against Prejudice." He explained that at the moment the campaign is directed in support of the Negro leaders who have been arrested for supporting a boycott of segregated buses in Montgomery, Ala. The movement is urging "A Day Of Prayer" on their behalf March 28 and on behalf of Miss Autherine Lucy, who has been barred from the University of Alabama.

Campaign Is Growing

The congressman declared that the campaign is "snowballing all over the country" and will be expanded after March 28 into a general movement "against prejudice," based on "a spiritual approach" without violence. He said he may resign from Congress "in order to devote my full time to this."

Powell explained: "This movement is not restricted to any religious group. It even seeks the support of disbelievers. It is dedicated to a spiritual renaissance against prejudice wherever it may rear its ugly head. It is a movement in which Negroes and whites, Protestants, Catholics and Jews, are all participating."

The New York legislator said meetings will be held in churches throughout the country "urging everyone to drive from their minds hatred of their fellowmen." He said: "This is the only way we can make democracy work and this is the only way the U. S. can effectively combat Communism."



TIME FOR A CHANGE?—New York's congressman-pastor, Adam Clayton Powell, jr., set the public back on its ear recently with the simultaneous announcement that he may quit Congress and resign his post as head of the Abyssinian Baptist church. Powell dropped the bomshells after declaring that he has "heard the call to preach the gospel to my brothers all over the country." This was looked upon as a signal for Powell to sound the clarion call for unity among all Negro-Americans. (Newspress Photo).

INCIDENT IN HAITI

Advertiser
Fri. 6-29-56 P. 1

Powell Warns Negro Schools Must Practice Integration

Montgomery, Ala.

WASHINGTON, June 28 (AP)—Rep. Powell (D-NY) said today that Negroes must practice racial integration in their own institutions if they want white institutions opened to them.

His comment to a reporter referred to a letter from a Mississippi Negro educator protesting Powell's refusal to pose with a Negro student in connection with what the congressman said was promotion of "a Jim Crow, segregated cotton festival in Memphis."

Powell, a Negro from New York City, said the protest came from Dr. J. H. White, president of Mississippi Vocational College, a Negro school, in aruging there will always be a need for all-Negro institutions.

"In an integrating society," Powell said, "the Negro cannot ask that which he is not willing to give."

Powell explained the incident of the photographing as follows:

While attending a social function in Haiti given in his honor by U.S. Ambassador Davis, he was solicited by a girl seeking signatures for "a scroll of some type."

Powell said both he and the ambassador signed, but when he inquired about its nature he said he was told it was to "promote" an all-Negro cotton festival in Memphis.

Powell said the girl, Maxine Perryman, a student at Dr. White's school, then asked him to pose for a photograph in connection with the scroll.

"I refused—for many reasons," Powell said, adding it was not because of the Negro coed whom he described as "a lovely, sweet girl."

"I'm not in any way going to condone segregation," he asserted.

Powell's reply to Dr. White's letter was a three line acknowledgement.

But to newsmen, he said "there are bound to be two poles" in "an integrating society."

"One should respect the other, because both are honest and sincere," he said. "At one end of the pole is the Negro in the north. At the other end, the Negro in Mississippi and Alabama. Undoubtedly, they (in the South) will be the last to pass through the door of integration, as will their white brothers and sisters."

34d 1956

DU BOIS SPEECH BARRED

Times P, 14-C

A. L. P. Desegregation Rally Slated for Levittown

Thurs. 3-15-56

Special to The New York Times.

LEVITTOWN, L. I., March 14 —Dr. William E. B. DuBois, 88-year-old co-founder of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, has been barred from speaking at an American Labor party rally on desegregation at Levittown Hall Friday night.

A ruling was issued today by Hempstead and Oyster Bay Town Supervisors, who administer the hall, citing Dr. DuBois' reputed Communist-front affiliations as their reason. Dr. DuBois, dismissed by the N. A. A. C. P. as its research director in 1948, was vice chairman of the Council of African Affairs, an organization listed as subversive by the United States Attorney General.

Dr. DuBois had been scheduled to speak on "Desegregation and the United States" under the auspices of the Levittown American Labor Party Club. He said today that he thought the ruling was "unfair."

DR. WILLIAM E.B. DuBOIS

34d 1956

PAUL ROBESON

Vote Paul Robeson In Contempt Of Congress

Defender Sat. 6-23-56 P. 2
Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The House Committee on Un-American Activities voted 7 to 0 last week in recommending contempt of Congress proceedings against Paul Robeson, noted concert singer.

The committee approved the action of the subcommittee, which a day before had recommended that Robeson be prosecuted after he assailed the committee members as "non-patriots" and "un-Americans" at a stormy hearing.

The singer was subpoenaed before the committee supposedly to discuss State Department rules governing the issurance of passports.

Actually Robeson was questioned throughout the hearing on his alleged affiliation with the Communist party, and his reported friendly attitude toward Stalin and the Soviet union.

Starting off, Robeson calmly invoked the fifth amendment regarding his acquanintance with a number of people who were reported to be members of the Communist party.

HEARING RECESSED

But the hearing became more heated as it progressed, and finally came to a head when Richard Arens, staff director and counsel for the committee, asked Robeson if he knew Benjamin Davis.

Robeson admitted that he not only knew Davis, but that Davis was a personal friend of his.

"Do I understand that you are lauding the patriotism of Davis,' injected Attorney Arens.

"Davis is a fine American, a patriotic citizen," roared Robeson. "You are the men who are un-patriotic — you are the Un-Americans, and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves," stormed Robeson.

"I've had enough of this," shouted Walter. "This is about all I can take. Hearing is recessed."

The four men present at the subcommittee hearing immediately voted to recommend to the full committee that Robeson be cited for contempt of congress because of his attitude which obstructed the hearings, for an attack upon the committee, and for smearing a U. S. Senator.

EASTLAND SMEARED

The so-called "smear" was when Robeson was questioned on a statement attributed to him regarding Negroes taking up arms against the Soviet Union.

The attorney read a newspaper clipping which quoted Robeson as saying in a speech made in France about 1949 that colored Americans would not take up arms against the Soviet Union.

"I still feel that way," said Robeson. "It is unthinkable to me that anybody will take up arms in the name of "Eastland" against Russia.

"I still say that what this government needs to do is to go down in Mississippi and Alabama and clean up that situation down there."

Robeson and the chairman had clashed earlier in the hearing when a witness asked if this was the Congressman Walter from Pennsylvania.

"You are the same Walter who wants to keep decent people from foreign countries out of the United States?" questioned Robeson, who is himself an attorney.

"All of your kind!" quipped Walter.

"You are right," snapped Robeson, "all of the darker people of the West Indies Islands."

This reference was aimed at the McCarran-Walter Immigaration act which limits the quota of immigrants to this country from the British possessions.

The counsel read testimony made against Robeson before the committee by Jackie Robison, Thomas W. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and Manning Johnson, an FBI informant.

Robeson said that if Jackie Robinson had the opportunity he would probably change his testimony now.

He attempted to counter the Young statement by asking permission to read statements made about him by Dr. Benjamin Mays when he was awarded an honorary degree at Morehouse, and by another prominent Negro leader when he was presented the Spingarn Medal by the NAACP. This request was denied.

HAILS RUSSIA

When asked if he knew Manning Johnson, Robeson replied that he had read by the papers where Johnson had said "Dr. Ralph Bunche was some king of a fellow," and finally Johnson was discharged from the FBI. "He must be a pretty low character if he was dismissed by the FBI," stated Robeson.

When the singer was questioned on statements he is supposed to have made regarding his treatment in Russia, Robeson admitted that he had said that when he was in that country he felt for the first time that he was really a "man" spelled with a capital "M".

He added: "I didn't feel the pressure of color that I feel in this committee."

"Then why don't you go back to Russia?" snapped committee member Gordon Sherer of Ohio.

"Because my people worked and died for this county — I have a right here and I'm going to stay here just like you," shouted Robeson in his loud baritone voice.

Earlier in the hearing he had nentioned that his mother was a Pennsylvania Quaker and his father a North Carolina slave. His family baked bread for Washington's troops when they crossed the Delaware.

"This Committee wants to shut up every Negro who has the courage to speak out against injustice done to our people and all colonial peoples," he emphasized.

Throughout the hearing Robeson was denied his request to read 3 prepared statements.

When the committee counsel asked Robeson if he had lauded Stalin, and what he thinks of Stalin now, the witness replied:

"The question about Stalin is one to be discussed in the Soviet Union. I will not discuss Stalin, or the head of any other country with you."

Pointing an accusing finger angrily at the counsel and committee members, Robeson continued, "You are responsible for more than 60 million black people dying on slave ships and plantations — no I will not discuss Stalin with you. That is a question to be discussed with friends."

When the hearing was finally dismissed in a flare of angry tempers, Robeson said: "I don't blame you. I would dismiss this hearing. I would dismiss this committee permanently if I were you. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

Probers Move To Cite Robeson for Contempt

Courier-Journal P. 1
Wed. 6-13-56
Louisville, Ky.

Left-Wing Negro Singer Calls Members Of House Committee 'Bad Americans'

By The Associated Press

Washington, June 12.—The House Committee on Un-American Activities today started contempt-of-Congress action against Paul Robeson after an uproarious session in which the Negro singer declared, "You are the bad Americans. . . . You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

Chairman Walter (D.,Pa.) abruptly adjourned the group's public hearing after a table-thumping exchange with the left-wing entertainer who was given a Stalin peace prize in 1952.

The committee then went into closed session and voted unanimously to recommend that Robeson be cited for contempt. Because the group technically was sitting as a subcommittee, it plans to meet again tomorrow to ratify its action.

Goes Before Full House

A recommendation from the committee would go before the full House, which would decide whether to vote contempt citation.

Walter said the committee was basing its action on Robeson's "entire conduct" at the hearing, "personal attacks on the committee," and "the smear on a senator."

The last referred to Robeson's mention of Senator Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and an outspoken segregationist.

In denying he had ever said U. S. Negroes would refuse to take up arms against the Soviet Union, Robeson added:

"In passing, I said it was unthinkable anybody would take up arms in the name of an Eastland."

Denies He Was In Contempt

Robeson later told a newsman: "There was no contempt; I answered every question. I was just standing my ground."

He did refuse to answer some questions, invoking the Fifth Amendment protection against possible self-incrimination. He declined to say whether he is a Communist Party member or whether he knows certain persons named by the committee.

Robeson was called before the group in its inquiry into the possible use of American passports by Communists or fellow travelers. The singer is making a court fight of his demand for a new passport, denied him after he won the Stalin prize.

The witness testified his "fight for a passport is a struggle for freedom." He said he was being deprived of freedom "because (Secretary of State) Dulles, Eastland, Walter, and their ilk oppose my views on colonial liberation, my resistance to oppression of Negro Americans, and my burning desire for peace with all nations."

Courier-Journal P. 12

Robeson repeatedly interrupted committee members and staff director Richard Arens when they sought to question him about his travels in Russia.

"I wouldn't discuss anything with people who murdered millions of my people—I won't discuss these things with you," he said.

Won't Discuss Stalin

Asked if he had changed his opinion of Joseph Stalin, Robeson retorted:

"That is a question I will discuss among friends. It has nothing to do with you."

After he had said, "In Russia I felt for the first time like a full human being," Robeson was asked why he didn't stay there.

"I came back to America to fight for my people," he said. "I'm not going to be driven out by Fascist-minded people."

Walter reminded Robeson of his popularity as a student and football player at Rutgers University and asked why Robeson's son wasn't sent there instead of to "Soviet schools" in Paris and Moscow.

Hearing Reaches Climax

"The success of a few Negroes like myself and (baseball star) Jackie Robinson can't make up for the thousands of Negroes living on $700 a year," Robeson replied.

The hearing reached its climax when the singer told his questioners:

"You are the bad Americans. You belong with the Alien and Sedition Acts. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

With that, Walter banged his gavel and declared the hearing adiourned.

Associated Press Wirephoto

PAUL ROBESON
At committee hearing

Mississippi Solon Blasted

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 6-13-36

Contempt Citation May Be Approved For Paul Robeson

BY ROBERT E. THOMPSON

WASHINGTON (INS) — Paul Robeson faced probable contempt proceedings Tuesday after precipitating one of the most explosive sessions in the stormy history of the House UnAmerican Activities Committee.

Members of a subcommittee which heard the Negro singer brand them as Fascists, unAmerican and unpatriotic recommended that Robeson be cited for contempt of Congress because of his performance.

The full committee is expected to vote Wednesday on the move. Approval by the House would confront Robeson with Justice Department prosecution.

GROUNDS FOR ACTION

Three points in Robeson's testimony were listed by Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D) Pa., as grounds for the action.

They included:

1. The singer's "entire conduct" during the wild, name-calling hearing.

2. His personal attack on the committee.

3. A verbal assault on Sen. James Eastland (D) Miss.

Walter did not refer to Robeson's repeated use of the fifth amendment in refusing to state whether he is or has been a Communist.

When the session was over, Robeson and his attorney, Milton Friedman, charged that the contempt action was merely a "headline maneuver." They claimed the committee was seeking to steal headlines from Robeson's testimony.

cused the group itself of being "unAmerican."

The left-wing baritone refused at a stormy hearing to say whether he was a communist and told subcommittee members, "It's none of your business what I think."

Barbed Remarks

Robeson and committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D. Penn.) exchanged barbed remarks for several minutes before Representative Walter finally banged down his gavel and declared the hearing adjourned.

"I've stood just about as much of this as I can," Walter said.

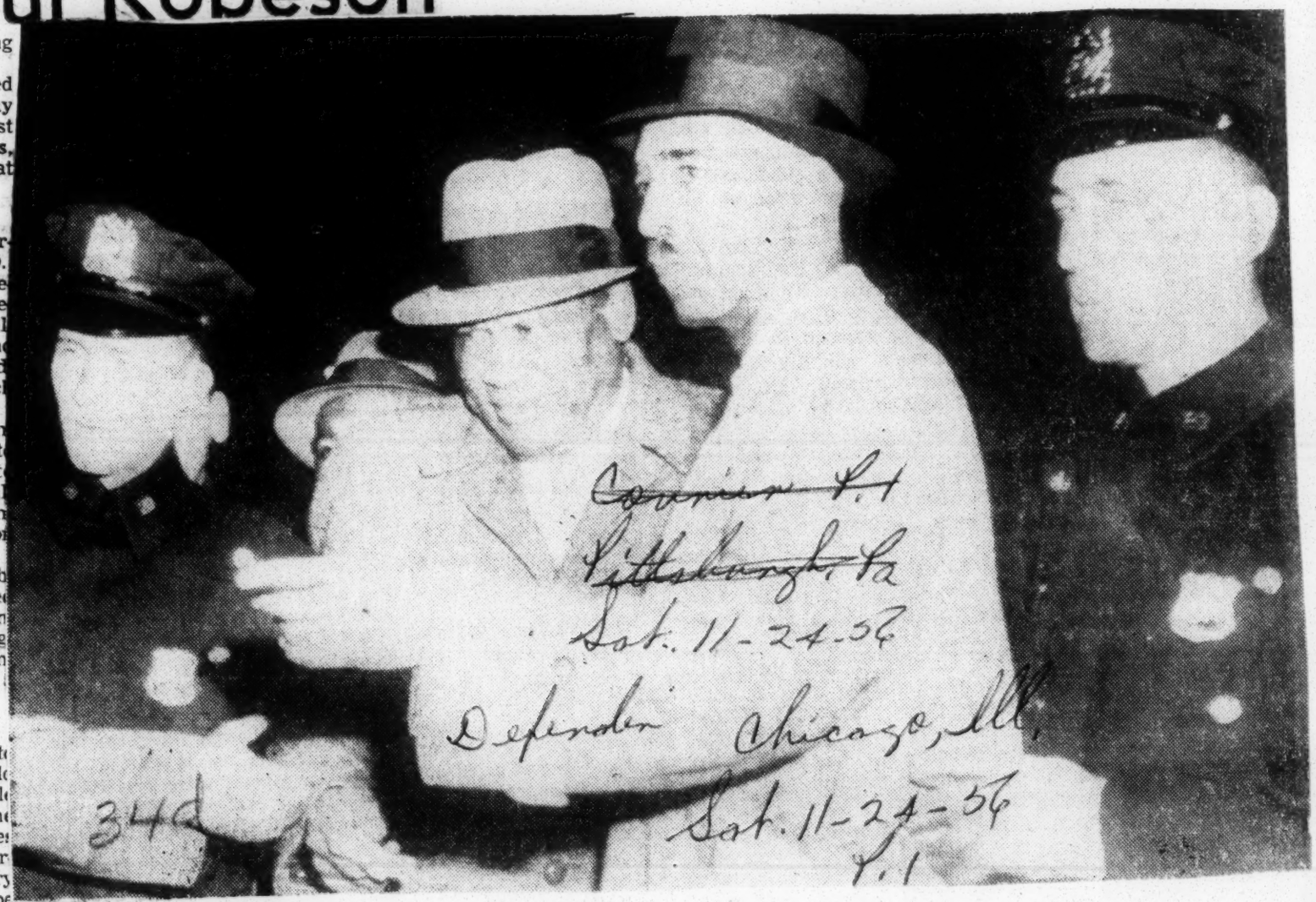
He and the other three members then voted unanimously to recommend that the House cite Robeson for contempt. Mr. Walter said the full nine-man committee will vote on the citation Wednesday.

The chairman said the subcommittee action was prompted by three factors: Robeson's entire conduct during the hearing, his personal attacks on the committee and his "smear" of the senator.

Affection For Russia

The latter was a reference to Robeson's remark that it would be "unthinkable that any people would take up arms in the name of an Eastland." Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is an outspoken foe of the Supreme Court's school integration ruling.

Robeson admitted having "a great, great friendship and great affection for the Soviet Union" but refused under the Fifth Amendment to say whether he was a communist. He also declined to answer several other questions on grounds of possible self-incrimination.



TO THE TUNE of angry shouters, singer Paul Robeson (2nd from left) is escorted by police into New York's Pythian Temple. Inside, the American - Soviet Friendship Committee was staging a rally celebrating the 39th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Anti-Soviet demonstrators congregated outside the hall were ready with tomatoes and other objects they hurled at persons attending the meeting. Many of the anti-Soviet demonstrators were of Hungarian descent. Hungarian patriots recently were crushed by Red Army forces in an attempt to throw off the Russian yoke.

CONTEMPT CITATION FACED BY ROBESON

Communist Appeal P. 1

Left-Wing Singer Refuses To Answer Questions In Stormy Session

Wash. 6-13-36
Memphis, Tenn.

By The United Press

WASHINGTON, June 12.—A Subcommittee on UnAmerican Activities voted Tuesday to seek contempt action against Negro singer Paul Robeson after he ac-

Paul Robeson Roars:

U. S. Needs to Clean Up Mississippi, Alabama!

By Alice A. Dunnigan

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities voted 7 to 0 Wednesday in recommending contempt of Congress proceedings against Paul Robeson, noted baritone.

The committee approved the action of a subcommittee, which a day before had recommended that Robeson be prosecuted after he assailed the committee members as "non-patriots" and "un-Americans" at a stormy hearing.

The singer was subpoenaed before the committee, supposedly to discuss State Department rules governing the issuance of passports. Actually, Robeson was questioned throughout the hearing on his alleged affiliation with the Communist party and his reported friendly attitude toward Stalin and the Soviet Union.

Starting off calmly, Robeson quietly invoked the Fifth Amendment regarding his acquaintance with a number of people who were reported to be members of the Communist party.

But the hearing became more and more heated as it progressed, and finally came to a head when Richard Arens, staff director and counsel for the comittee, asked Robeson if he knew Benjamin Davis Jr.

Robeson admitted that he not only knew Davis, but that Davis was a personal friend of his.

■

AT THIS POINT, Robeson was interrupted by Chairman Francis Walter, who wrapped his gavel and ordered Robeson to answer the question. "We know all of that," snapped Walter. "You answer whether or not you knew Davis."

"I've answered the question," Robeson snapped back.

Do I understand that you are lauding the patriotism of Davis, injected Attorney Arens.

"Davis is a fine American, a patriotic citizen," roared Robeson. "You are the men who are unpatriotic—you are the un-Americans, and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves," stormed Robeson.

"I've had enough of this," shouted Walter. "This is about all I can take. Hearing is recessed."

When another member of the committee stated that he would like to ask a question, Walter shouted, "No! The hearings are recessed."

■

THE FOUR MEN present at the sub-committee hearing immediately voted to recommend to the full committee that Robeson be cited for contempt of Congress because of his attitude which obstructed the hearings, for an attack upon the committee, and for smearing a U. S. Senator.

The so-called "smear" was made upon Senator Eastland when Robeson was questioned on a statement attributed to him regarding Negroes taking up arms against the Soviet Union.

The attorney read a newspaper clipping which quoted Robeson as saying in a speech made in France about 1949 that colored Americans would not take up arms against the Soviet Union.

■

ROBESON STATED that the speech was made at a peace conference at which time he said that it was his feeling that the American people would not take up arms against Russia.

"I still feel that way," said Robeson. "It is unthinkable to me that anybody will take up arms in the name of 'Eastland' against Russia.

"I still say that what this Government needs to do is to go down in Mississippi and Alabama and clean up that situation down there."

He said he thought it was a healthy thing for this country to ask itself why Negroes should fight for a democracy when they are still second-class citizens. When a poll was taken, many white people asked, "Why in the hell should they?" Robeson added.

■

ROBESON AND the chairman had clashed earlier in the hearing when a witness asked if this was the Congressman Walter from Pennsylvania. "You are from the steel and coal mining section?" asked Robeson. "Then you wouldn't by any chance be representing U. S. Steel?" he asked sarcastically.

"You are the same Walter who wants to keep decent people from foreign countries out of the United States?" questioned Robeson, who is himself an attorney.

"All of your kind," quipped Walter.

"You are right," snapped Robeson. "All of my kind—all of the colored people of the world—all the darker people of the West Indies Islands."

This reference was aimed at the McCarran - Walter Immigration Act which limits the quota of immigrants to this country from the British possessions.

The counsel read testimony made against Robeson before that committee by Jackie Robinson, Thomas W. Young, editor of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, and Manning Johnson, an FBI informant.

■

ROBESON SAID that if Jackie Robinson had the opportunity, he would probably change his testimony now. He has perhaps regretted many of the things he said. He recalled that he (Robeson) was one of the persons who made it possible for Robinson to get into professional baseball.

He said he was the last person who addressed both the American and National Leagues pleading for Negroes to have an opportunity to play professional baseball just like he had a chance to play football.

He attempted to counteract the Young statement by asking permission to read statements made about him by Dr. Benjamin Mays when he was awarded an honorary degree at Morehouse, and by another prominent Negro leader when he was presented the Spingarn Medal by the NAACP. This request was denied by the committee chairman.

When asked if he knew Manning Johnson, Robeson replied that he had read in the papers where this Johnson had said, "Dr. Ralph Bunche was some kind of a fellow," and finally Johnson was discharged from the FBI. "He must be a pretty low character if he was dismisssed by the FBI," stated Robeson.

■

WHEN THE singer was questioned on statements he is supposed to have made regarding his treatment in Russia, Robeson admitted that he had said that when he was in that country he felt for the first time that he was really a "man" spelled with a capital "M."

He added: "I didn't feel the pressure of color that I feel in this committee."

"Then why don't you go back to Russia?" snapped committee member Gordon Scherer of Ohio.

"Because my people worked and died for this country. I have a right here and I'm going to stay here just like you," shouted Robeson in his loud baritone voice.

■

EARLIER IN the hearing he had mentioned that his mother was a Pennsylvania Quaker and his father a North Carolina slave. His family baked bread for Washington's troops when they crossed the Delaware and he has a heritage in this country.

"I brought my family back to America from England to fight for the rights of my people.

Just like Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman, I am fighting for the freedom of our people—you bet your life!" emphasized the witness.

"I'm not only fighting for 16 million American Negroes, but I am fighting for the 800 million colored peoples throughout the world. Those are the people who have said—who have told you—that they are not going to die for anybody else, they have now decided to fight and die for their own freedom.

"This committee wants to shut up every Negro who has the courage to speak out against injustices done to our people and all colonial peoples," he emphasized.

■

ROBESON SAID he was correct in his statement that Negroes do not want to take up arms against Russia and neither do the whites of this country, he added. "Everybody wants peace, even the President wants peace, thank God," said the speaker. "If committees such as yours do not upset the apple cart."

Throughout the hearing Robeson was denied his request to read three prepared statements.

When the committee counsel asked Robeson if he had lauded Stalin, and what he thinks of Stalin now, the witness replied:

"The question about Stalin is one to be discussed in the Soviet Union. I will not discuss Stalin, or the head of any other country with you—a nation which is responsible for 62 million lives of my people."

■

POINTING AN accusing finger angrily at the counsel and committee members, Robeson continued, "You are responsible for more than 60 million black people dying on slave ships and plantations; no, I will not discuss Stalin with you. That is a question to be discussed with friends."

When the hearing was finally dismissed in a flare of angry tempers, Robeson said: "I don't blame you. I would dismiss this hearing. I would dismiss this committee permanently if I were you. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

Paul Robeson (left) with his friend, Ben Davis Jr. House sub-committee members made a big issue out of their friendship at recent hearing.

Robeson's Suit for Passport Dismissed by Appeals Court

Courier Journal p. 2
Thu. 6-8-56

Washington, June 7 (AP)—Paul Robeson, the Negro baritone, lost another round today in his court fight to regain the passport he lost in 1950.

The United States Court of Appeals unanimously upheld a district court order dismissing Robeson's suit against Secretary of State Dulles.

Robeson's right to travel abroad was revoked six years ago, and the State Department has refused to renew it until he does something about its demand that he submit a non-Communist affidavit.

The singer, who has long been identified with Communist causes, has said he would never sign such an affidavit.

Today's decision upheld the action of Federal Judge Burnita S. Matthews in dismissing Robeson's suit to force issuance of a passport without the affidavit. Judge Matthews ruled last August she found nothing to indicate the State Department's stand was arbitrary.

The Court of Appeals said Robeson had "failed to exhaust his administrative remedies," meaning he had not complied with all State Department procedures.

"We think he was required to do so," the court said, adding: "He did not ask for a hearing but instead asserted the invalidity of the regulation providing for one. We cannot assume the invalidity of a hearing which has not been held or the illegality of questions which have not been asked."

Paul Robeson Will Testify On Passport

Defender p. 14
Sat. 6-9-56

WASHINGTON — (ANP)—Paul Robeson, famous concert artist, is scheduled to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee on June 12 to discuss his passport troubles.

Robeson's passport was recalled by the Department of State several years ago on the grounds that he "did not serve in the best interest of the U. S." when appearing in foreign countries.

The House Committee is now investigating the passport laws to determine whether they need strengthening or whether American passports have been misused.

ROBESON LOSES ANOTHER ROUND

New Orleans La.

Seeking to Regain Passport Lost in '50

Fri. 6-8-56

WASHINGTON, June 7 (AP)—Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, lost another round today in his court fight to regain the passport he lost in 1950.

P 19

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Robeson's right to travel abroad was revoked six years ago and the State Department has refused to renew it until he does something about its demand that he submit a non-Communist affidavit.

The singer, who has been identified with Communist causes over a period of years, has said he will never sign such an affidavit. He has called the requirement "an invasion of every constitutional liberty that I have."

Today's decision upheld the action of U. S. Dist. Judge Burnita S. Matthews in dismissing Robeson's suit to force issuance of a passport without the affidavit. Judge Matthews ruled last August she found nothing to indicate the State Department's stand was arbitrary.

The Court of Appeals said Robeson had "failed to exhaust his administrative remedies," meaning he had not complied with all state department procedures.

"We think he was required to do so," the court said, adding: "He did not ask for a hearing but instead asserted the invalidity of the regulation providing for one. We cannot assume the invalidity of a hearing which has not been held or the illegality of questions which have not been asked."

Anti-Red Pickets Jeer Rally-Goers

Herald Thurs. 11-15-56
Miami, Fla, P. 9-a

NEW YORK—(AP)—Jeering anti-Soviet pickets hurled ammonia-filled bottles, tomatoes, eggs and sticks at the entrance to a rally of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. No one was injured.

Negro singer Paul Robeson and controversial Brooklyn Rector William Howard Melish were special targets of the pickets.

3+a

About 200 demonstrators, most of them Hungarians and Hungarian-Americans, banded together outside the Pythian temple where the rally was conducted.

They shouted "Freedom for Hungary!" and "America will never be friends with murderers!" as hundreds of persons entered the building.

The pickets also booed other persons going into the building for meetings that had no connection with the rally of the American-Soviet group.

More than 250 patrolmen, mounted police and detectives kept the placard-waving demonstrators in check.

Policemen flanked Robeson when he arrived. A bottle of ammonia was flung toward him but splattered harmlessly on the pavement close by.

Robeson, who sang and made a speech at the rally, was booed as he left.

Loud boos also greeted the Rev. Mr. Melish when he arrived. The clergyman has been accused by some members of his congregation of holding allegedly left-wing views. The clergyman, rector of Holy Trinity Protestant Episcopal Church, has repeatedly denied any Communist link.

The rally was called to mark the 39th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union and the 23rd anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Russia.

PAUL ROBESON
. . . needed protection

Mr. Robeson is Right

Afro-American Sat. 6-23-56

Mr. Paul Robeson is a holder of the Phi Beta Kappa key, which stamps him as a scholar. P.1

While a student at Rutgers University, he was also named an All-American football player, which marks him as a great athlete. Baltimore, Md.

He is recognized the world over as a great concert singer and has been acclaimed for his outstanding performances as a Shakespearean actor.

When a man who is superior in all of these fields is compelled to submit to Jim Crow like an ordinary criminal his resentment is natural.

If he stands up before a Congressional committee and tells its members what colored people are saying all over the nation with reference to segregation, disfranchisement and discrimination on account of color, he's only doing in Washington what's being done in the rest of the United States by red-blooded Americans, white and colored. Afro-American P.2

If he becomes emotional in doing it, or even intemperate, the Eastlands and the Talmadges and the Byrneses and the White Citizens Council have certainly given him provocation enough.

If the House wants to make a martyr of him, it is welcome to do it.

But we agree with Mr. Robeson that its members could more profitably spend their time passing civil rights measures and bringing in for questioning such un-American elements as those white supremacist and manifesto signers who have pledged themselves to defy and evade the very Constitution they had previously sworn to uphold and maintain.

We are not Communists, nor do we follow the Communist line.

Moreover, we do not approve of some of the activities and statements attributed to Mr. Robeson.

But we do contend that if Mr. Eastland and Mr. Walters and members of the White Citizens Councils are entitled to freedom of speech, so is Mr. Robeson.

The First Amendment as well as the Fifth Amendment should apply with equal force to everybody.

Probe Calls Robeson

Herald Tribune New York Nov. 5-28-56 P.1

WASHINGTON, May 27 (U.P.)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities today announced it has summoned Paul Robeson to testify tomorrow in its investigation of passport irregularities by Communist sympathizers. Robeson, Left-wing Negro basso, has traveled as an honored guest in Soviet Russia.

The committee also announced that Henry Willcox and Otto Nathan will appear as witnesses. The committee identified Mr. Willcox as a sponsor of the New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; a member of the American sponsoring committee of World Peace Congress in Paris, April, 1949, and a delegate to the World Peace Conferences in Peiping and Vienna, 1953.

Mr. Nathan was identified as executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein, world famous scientist, and as a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York, 1949.

Robeson still fighting personal, world battles

Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat 11-17-56 P.13

WASHINGTON — Paul Robeson, world renowned actor-singer, told the AFRO this week that he would continue to fight for the renewal of his passport, which has been refused him by the State Department.

In an interview Monday, after the U.S. Supreme Court had refused to hear his arguments appealing from the U.S. Court of Appeals' decision on the grounds that he had not exhausted all admisistrative remedies provided for such cases in the State Department's regulations, he said he would go back to the State Department.

* * *

"THERE IS one thing I will do in hearings before the State Department," he said. "I will continue to refuse, under any conditions, to sign any kind of affidavit regarding my political beliefs."

(Mr. Robeson had been promised a passport if he signed certain affidavits regarding his affiliation with the Communist Party. He refused to do so and took his case to a Federal District court which ruled it had no jurisdiction in the case and was upheld by the Court of Appeals.)

Mr. Robeson said that if the State Department again fails to give him a passport, he will ask for a rehearing in the Appeals Court, which they will have to grant because he will have exhausted all administrative remedies open to him.

* * *

"THEY WILL have to face the substance of my case," Mr. Robeson said, "which has already been stated by the State Department."

He pointed out that he thought the substance was—that whatever he was politically—that he was of a radical tendency, that he helped the communist cause.

"It's precisely two ways," he continued. "Am I a so-called Communist?

"Two ways—first, that when I am abroad, unlike Rep. Adam C. Powell and many other colored Americans, I have criticized this country for its treatment of colored people.

PAUL ROBESON

"The second—from my own lips, I have been interested in and fighting for independence of the colonial peoples of Africa for many years, and that inteferes with the foreign policy of the United States.

* * *

"NOW, UNDER the Constitution, I don't see how they could sustain a refusal of a passport to me on those two grounds.

"I think when my attorneys raise those two questions in the Federal court, I don't see how any such court could say these are two reasons to kep me from traveling," he declared.

* * *

COMMENTING ON the recent presidential election, Mr. Robeson said he thought President Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate, were "pretty lax" on the civil rights issue.

He expressed himself as being sorry the Senate was not carried by the Republicans so that Senator Eastland would lose his chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee.

He said, however, that President Eisenhower certainly should have learned by the way colored citizens voted that he has been given the mandate to be much firmer on the question of carrying out the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision.

* * *

MR. ROBESON was forthright in his condemnation of the invasion of Egypt by Britian, France and Israel. "I would interpret this as a complete attack on the basic concept of Bandung," he stated.

"The nations are saying that 'we (the strongest western nations) do not accept the fact that colored peoples of the world — Africa, Asia and so forth—have any right to their independence.

"Anytime we feel they don't accept the fact, we'll step in and take it back.

"So," Mr. Robeson continued, "if they step back and wrest independence from Egypt, they could step back and wrest it from the Indians, could they not?

"They could step back into the Gold Coast and garner its cherished constitution, or Nigeria. So the colored nations would have no future at all if this can stand," he said.

* * *

MR. ROBESON pointed out that of all the great nations professing to defend the rights of the Bandung pact members, Soviet Russia stands out.

He said it is easy to understand the friendship of China, Burma, India and many of the neutral nations of Asia with the Soviet Union.

He said it was the pressure of the Soviet Union's friendship with the colored nations of the earth that had helped the Supreme Court arrive at its school integration decision here in the United States.

"I feel very much that one of our great friends — whether we have understood it or not —has been the Soviet Union," Mr. Robeson said.

"Certainly we understand if Bandung ceases to exist, our rights to a freedom of a certain kind in this country will be curtailed.

"WE UNDERSTAND the struggle of the African and Asian peoples. If they are destroyed, having no one to help them in their struggles, their pressure on America is gone, and we will be hopelessly lost in this country.

Switching to the Hungarian Crisis, Mr. Robeson interpreted it in this way;:

"Somebody entered Egypt and something started over in Europe in Hungary and Poland. This has been co-ordinated by somebody.

"So they would be the same forces to me."

* * *

MR. ROBESON and his wife was in Washington to attend the annual celebration given by the Soviet Embassy.

They reported that the Asian-African countries were well represented at the affair, that the Ethiopian delegation to the United States was there, but that they did not see anyone from the Liberian delegation.

'I Want Protection For My People . . .'

Afro-American Sat. 6-23-56

Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON (NNPA)—"The United States Government should go down to Mississippi and protect my people. That is what should happen. P. 1

"I stand here struggling for the rights of my people to be full citizens in this country. They are not in Mississippi; they are not in Montgomery.

"That is why I am here today. You want to shut up every colored person who wants to fight for the rights of his people."

That was the bold statement of Paul Robeson, singer and actor, which led to his citation for contempt by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee Tuesday morning during a stormy session.

* * *

THE FULL HOUSE Un-American Committee, Wednesday, voted 7-0 to ask the House to cite Robeson for contempt of Congress as a result of a stormy session Tuesday before the subcommittee.

Only two members, Rep. Harold H. Velde of Illinois and Donald L. Jackson of California, both Republicans, were absent.

Representative Walters said the decision to seek contempt proceedings against Robeson was prompted by three factors.

Afro-American

ROBESON also was asked by Arens did he know Benjamin J. Davis Jr., one of the top Communists who were sent to prison, a former New York councilman, and the son of the late Benjamin J. Davis of Atlanta, who was a Republican National Committeeman for Georgia. P. 2

He replied that Davis is one of his "dearest friends. Nothing could make me prouder than to know him. I say he is as patriotic an American as can be. You're the unpatriotic Americans and should be ashmed of yourselves."

Walters banged his gavel and shouted: "The hearing is now adjurned. I've took just about enough of this as I can."

"I think it (the hearing) should be and you should adjourn this forever," shouted Robeson.

The committee also voted Wednesday morning to cite Clark Foreman for contempt for failing to turn over his passport that he had been subpoenaed to produce.

* * *

WHEN TOLD of the citation, Milton H. Friedman, New York lawyer, who accompanied Mr. Robeson, said he did not believe it.

He pointed out that Mr. Robeson had expressed his contempt of the committee, but said this was no grounds for voting to have Mr. Robeson cited.

If the full committee approves of the action of the subcommittee, the House will be asked to forward the transcript of Mr. Robeson's testimony to the U.S. Attorney here with a view to his indictment and prosecution for contempt of the House.

The session at which Mr. Robeson appeared was stormy. The baritone, with his rich resonant voice and agile mind, outtalked three members of the House and the staff director of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

* * *

REPEATEDLY throughout his testimony Mr. Robeson invoked the Fifth Amendment when it served his purpose to do so.

At other times he attacked his inquisitors for mistreatment of colored people in the United States, particularly Mississippi, or launched into a hymn of praise for Soviet Russia.

With Mr. Robeson getting the better of the verbal exchanges, Rep. Frances E. Walters, committee chairman, suddenly and without notice, adjourned the hearing and postponed calling other witnesses until in the afternoon.

Mr. Robeson's wife, Mrs. Eslanda Robeson, and his son, Paul Robeson, Jr., sat in the audience as Mr. Robeston testified.

The hearing began on a quiet note as Richard Arens, director of the committee's staff, asked Mr. Robeson whether he had brought with him certain subpoenaed documents, including passports issued to him to travel ouside the United States.

* * *

MR. ROBESON has not had a passport since 1950. The State Department on Dec. 19, 1950 demanded that he surrender his passport. It invalidated the passport and instructed customs officials that he was not to leave the United States.

About a year ago restrictions on his travel were relaxed to permit him to cross the border into Canada for concerts. Passports are not required to go to Canada.

Since then, Mr. Robeson has repeatedly made efforts to get another passport. His applications have been rejected.

The State Department has insisted that he must sign an affidavit as to whether he is or has ever been a member of he Communist party before he will be given a hearing on his passport application.

* * *

RECENTLY THE U. S. Court of Appeals here ruled that Mr. Robeson must first exhaust his administrative remedies in the State Department before it will pass upon whether he is entitled, as a matter of right, to a passport.

Mr. Robeson told the committee that he had not been able to put his hands on the subpoenaed documents, but he will be glad to send them to the committee if he can find them. He said both he and Mrs. Robeson had looked for them.

Mr. Arens showed him a photostat of a passport application filed July 2, 1954. Mr. Robeson identified it as one he had made to go to France and the Scandinavian countries.

Mr. Friedman was permitted to protest the questioning of Mr. Robeson in regard to his passport applications because of pending litigation. Mr. Walters ruled that the ground of the protest was too nebulous.

* * *

MR. ARENS asked Mr. Robeson whether he had been requested to submit a non-communist affidavit.

Mr. Robeson replied that State Department officials had a long discussion with him and his counsel about such an affidavit and that he was "very precise that under no conditions would I think of signing such an affidavit."

"Did you comply?" Arens asked.

"I certainly did not and will not," replied Robeson.

"Are you now a member of the Communist party?" Arens asked.

"Please, please, please," Robeson responded.

Rep. Gordon H. Scherer (Rep. O.,) told Robeson to please answer the question.

Robeson wanted to know what was meant by the Communist party — whether the reference was to a "legal party" like the Republican and Democratic parties.

Arens repeated the question.

"Wouldn't you like to come to the ballot box and see how I vote?" Robeson asked Arens.

* * *

WALTERS DIRECTED the witness to answer the question.

"I stand upon the Fifth Amendment," replied Mr. Robeson.

(Under the Fifth Amendment no person can be compelled to give testimony which tends to incriminate him.)

Arens asked Robeson if he honestly believed that if he answered the question he would be supplying information that would be used against him in a criminal proceeding.

"I invoke the Fifth Amendment," Robeson replied. He told Arens it was none of his business what he believed.

Arens suggested that Robeson answer the question.

"Wherever I have been in the world—and I have been many places—the first to die in the struggle against Fascism were the Communists," Robeson replied.

He added that the Fifth Amendement "has nothing to do with criminality."

"HAVE YOU ever been known under the name of John Thomas?" Arens asked.

Robeson asked Arens whether he wanted to be prosecuted for perjury. "My name is Paul Robeson," he said. He added that everybody knew him by that name.

Arens rephrased the question to ask the witness whether "your Communist party name was John Thomas?"

"I invoke the Fifth Amendment," Robeson replied.

"Tell this committee whether or not you know Nathan Gregory Silvermaster?" Arens asked. (Silvermaster was one of the top Communists in a spy ring.)

Robeson laughed at the question.

"This is not a laughing matter," Scherer told him.

"It should be for you, all of this whole committee," Robeson remarked.

Robeson finally said he did not know Silvermaster. But he invoked the Fifth Amendment when he was asked whether he had ever known Silvermaster.

* * *

SCHERER ASKED Robeson to speak a little louder, implying that he spoke softly when he took the Fifth Amendment.

"I am an actor," Robeson said proudly. "I have medals for my diction. I am noted for my diction in the theatre."

"Do you know a woman by the name Louise Bransten?" Arens asked. (Mrs. Bransten was one of the richest contributors to Communist causes.)

"I invoke the Fifth Amendment," Robeson replied.

He also invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked whether he had attended a meeting in her home in San Francisco on Feb. 23, 1945 with Max Yergan, Fredeick Thompson, Dave Jenkins, Nancy Pitman, Dr. Lena Halpern and Larry Fanning.

He said he had not "the slightest idea" who Mr. and Mrs. Mikeev were, but he invoked the Fifth Amendment. Mikeev was formerly connected with Tass, the Soviet Union news agency.

* * *

ASKED WHETHER he had ever had any contact with one Gregory Kheifits, former USSR consul in New York City who was identified with Soviet espionage, Robeson said he thought he was there in connection with passports. He then invoked the Fifth Amendment.

He also invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked whether he knew John Victor Murra and Leon Josephson.

Asked whether he knew Manning Johnson, a communist who became an FBI informer, Robeson said he had read in the papers that Johnson said "Ralph Bunche was some kind of fellow" and that Johnson was dismissed by the FBI.

"He must be a low character to be dismissed from that," Robeson added.

Arens read testimony Johnson had given before the committee on July 28, 1949, that Robeson was a member of the Communist party and that members of the Negro Commission of the National Communist party had been told never to reveal that Robeson was a party member because his assignment was confidentitl and secret.

* * *

"COULD I protest this reading?" Robeson appealed to Walters.

"Tell us whether or not Manning Johnson was lying or telling the truth?" Arens asked.

"I invoke the Fifth Amendment," Robeson replied.

Robeson also invoked the Fifth Amendment when asked whether he had been chairman of the Council on African Affairs and whether he knew Yergan.

"Why don't you have these people here so they can be cross examined?" Robeson asked. "Is this legal?"

"This is not only legal, but usually by unanimous vote this committee has been instructed to perform this distasteful task, Walters said.

Robeson then accused Walters

of being the author of the immigration bill that is keeping colored immigrants from coming into the United States.

* * *

ARENS READ testimony of Yergan who had testified there was a Communist core in the African Council. Arens asked Robeson whether there was such a core. Robeson took the Fifth Amendment. He then asked to be permitted to read a prepared statement.

"Tell this committee under oath the Communist who participated in the preparation of that statement," Arens said.

Robeson then made the first of several short speeches he made during his testimony. He said the reason he was before the committee, as stated by the State Department, was that he should not be allowed to travel because:

"I have struggled for independence of colonial peoples of Africa" and because when he is abroad he speaks out against injustices to colored people in this country.

* * *

"I STAND here struggling for the rights of my people to be full citizens in this country," said Robeson.

"They are not in Mississippi, they are not in Montgomery. That is why I am here today. You want to shut up every colored man who wants to fight for the rights of colored Americans."

"You ought to read Jackie Robinson's testimony," Walters remarked.

Robinson was one of the witnesses who testified that Robeson did not speak for the colored people of the United States when the actor-singer was reported to have said in Paris that colored people in the United States would not fight against Soviet Russia.

Robeson said he was one of the last people to speak to the late Judge Kennesaw M. Landis, baseball commissioner, "to see that Jackie got a chance to play baseball like I played professional football."

* * *

ARENS ALSO read to Robeson the testimony of Thomas W. Young, publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, also saying Robeson was so far out of touch with colored people in the United States that he could not speak for them.

"Do you know the man who said that? Arens asked.

"I invoke the Fifth Amendment," replied Robeson. He asked whether he might then read from other articles, including the statement of Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, when he (Robeson) was awarded the degree of Doctor of Humanities.

"Would you mind reading from some of the citations you have received from Stalin?" asked Rep. Bernard W. (Pat) Kearney, Republican, of New York.

Robeson said he had never received any citations from Stalin. He said he had received medals from a high school and from the NAACP.

* * *

"IT WOULD seem that you gentlemen are trying to contravene the waging of a fight for peace by your President," Robeson said.

Robeson testified that the statement attributed to him that colored Americans would never go to war against Soviet Russia was taken out of context. He said he said "it was unthinkable to me that anybody would take up arms in the name of an Eastland against anybody.

"This United States government should go down to Mississippi and protect my people. This is what should happen."

Asked about a statement published in the USSR information bulletin quoting him as having said that Moscow is very dear and close to him and only there he felt like a real man with a capital M, Robeson said:

"In Russia for the first time I felt like a full human being; no color prejudice like in Mississippi.

"Why don't you stay in Russia?" asked Scherer.

"Because my father was a slave and helped build this country, and I am going to stay here just like you, and no Fascist-minded person is going to drive me from it."

* *

THE ONLY reason you are here," Scherer said, "is because you are espousing the Communist line."

Robeson said he had sent his son to Soviet schools in London and Moscow but not in New York. "He suffered no prejudice like he would here in Washington," he added.

Walters asked Robeson what prejudice was he talking about. He pointed out that Mr. Robeson is a graduate of Rutgers. "I remember seeing you playing football at Lehigh. There was no prejudice against you. Why didn't you send your son to Rutgers?"

Robeson replied that he had never measured his success in terms of colored people generally. He added that he has sacrificed hundreds of thousands of dollars for what he believed in.

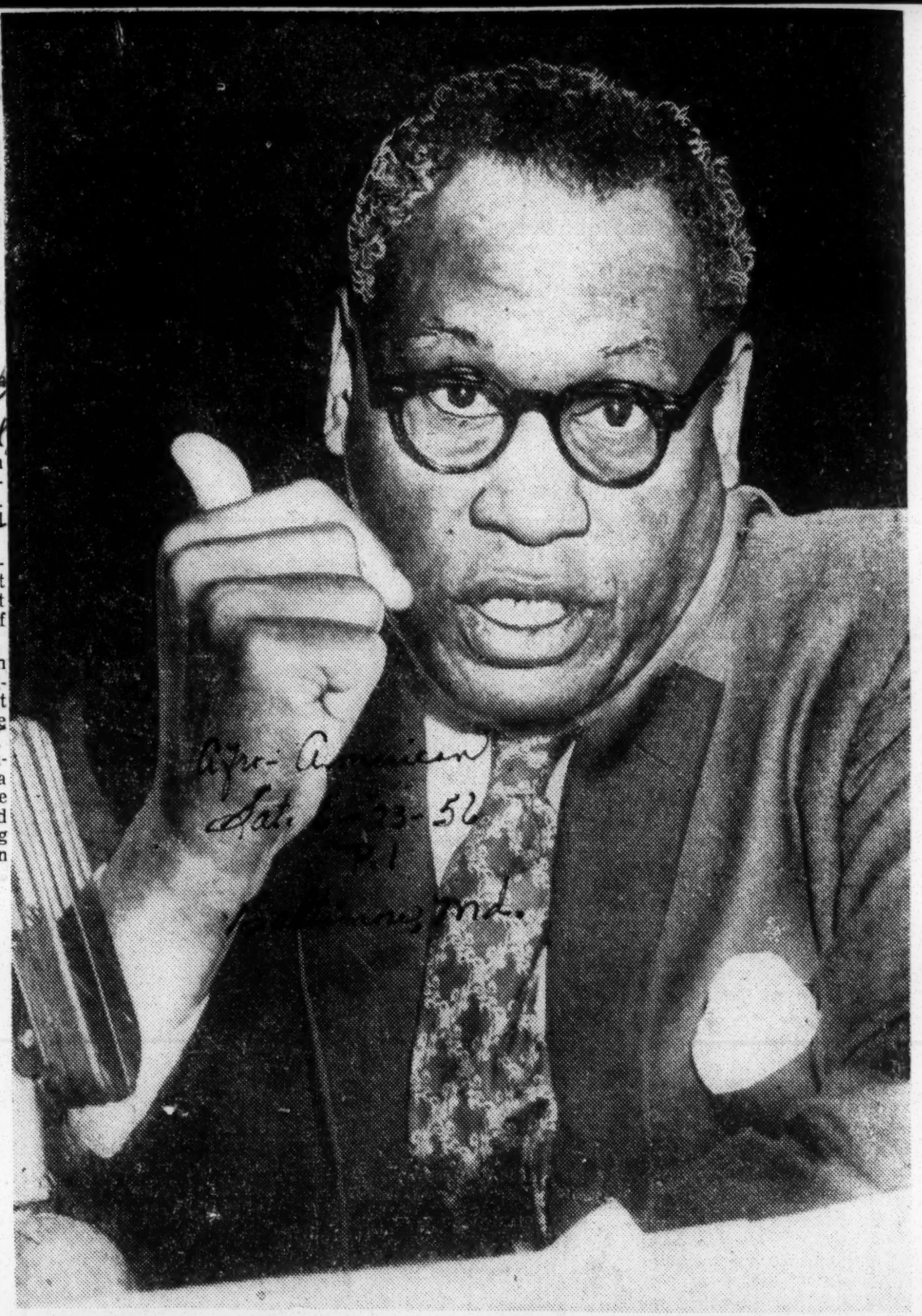
Robeson seeking passport again

WASHINGTON — Paul Robeson, noted singer, was back in the news again last week seeking a passport to travel abroad. This time, however, he appealed to the Supreme Court.

He had been denied a passport earlier in a decision that was upheld by the U. S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia last June 7.

The court held that Robeson had failed to exhaust his administrative remedies by not seeking a hearing from the passport officials.

Robeson contends that regulations which provide for a passport from the officials are invalid. The singer has declined to sign an affidavit concerning present or past membership in the Communist Party.



DENOUNCES CONGRESS — Singer Paul Robeson as he appeared before the House Un-American Activities Committee recently as a witness. Robeson pleaded constitutional immunity when queried about allaged affiliations and associations, but blossomed into full Robeson vocal form in a denunciation of bigots and the congressional committee. The investigators voted to cite Robeson for contempt of Congress.

34d 1956

Robeson Faces Group Action For Contempt

Advertiser P.9-C

WASHINGTON, June 13 (AP)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities has initiated contempt of Congress action against Paul Robeson after an uproarious session in which the Negro singer declared, "You are the bad Americans . . . You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

A flushed Chairman Walter (D-Pa) abruptly adjourned the group's public hearing after a table-thumping exchange with the left wing entertainer who was given a Stalin Peace Prize in 1952.

The committee then went into closed session and voted unanimously to recommend that Robesone be cited for contempt. Because the group technically was sitting as a subcommittee, it plans to meet again tomorrow to formally ratify its action.

RECOMMENDATION

A recommendation from the committee would go before the full House, which would decide whether to vote an actual contempt citation.

Walter said the committee was basing its action on Robeson's "entire conduct" at the hearing, "personal attacks on the committee" and "the smear on a senator."

The latter reference was to Robeson's mention of Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and an outspoken segregationist.

In denying he ever said U. S. Negroes would refuse to take up arms against the Soviet Union, Robeson added:

"In passing, I said it was unthinkable anybody would take up arms in the name of an Eastland."

DENIES CONTEMPT

Robeson later told a newsman, "There was no contempt. I answered every question. I was just standing my ground."

He did refuse to answer some questions, invoking the fifth amendment protection against possible self-incrimination. He declined to say whether he is a Communist Party member or whether he knows certain persons named by the committee.

Robeson was called before the group in its inquiry into possible use of American passports by Communists or fellow travelers. The singer is now making a court fight of his demand for a new passport, denied him after he collected the Stalin prize.

The witness testified his "fight for a passport is a struggle for freedom." He said he was being deprived of freedom "because (Secretary of State) Dulles, Eastland, Walter and their ilk oppose my views on colonial liberation, my resistance to oppression of Negro Americans, and my burning desire for peace with all nations."

CHARGES MURDER

Robeson repeatedly interrupted committee members and Staff Director Richard Arens when they sought to question him about his travels in Russia.

"I wouldn't discuss anything with people who murdered millions of my people—I won't discuss these things with you," he declared.

Asked if he has changed his opinion of Joseph Stalin, Robeson retorted:

"That is a question I will discuss among friends. It has nothing to do with you."

After saying that "in Russia I felt for the first time like a full human being," Robeson was asked why he didn't stay there.

"I came back to America to fight for my people," he said. "I'm not going to be driven out by Fascist-minded people."

Walter reminded Robeson of his popularity as a student and football player at Rutgers University and asked why Robeson's son wasn't sent there instead of to "Soviet schools" in Paris and Moscow.

"The success of a few Negroes like myself and (baseball star) Jackie Robinson can't make up for the thousands of Negroes living on $700 a year," Robeson replied.

The hearing reached its abrupt climax when the singer told his questioners:

"You are the bad Americans. You belong with the alien and sedition acts. You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

With that, Walter banged his gavel and declared the hearing adjourned.

House Unit Favors Citing of Robeson

New York

Associated Press Wirephoto

Paul Robeson testifying yesterday at House hearing.

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 12—Contempt of Congress proceedings were begun against Paul Robeson today as the upshot of a shouting, table-thumping and gavel-banging hearing at the Capitol.

The contempt action was voted by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities after the singer had clashed repeatedly with the chairman, Francis E. Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania. Mr. Walter said the action was based on Mr. Robeson's "general conduct" at the hearing, "personal attacks" on the committee and "the smear of Senator James O. Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi."

On different grounds, the subcommittee also moved to bring a contempt citation against Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of New York and president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Similar action was threatened against a third witness, Dr. Otto Nathan, Associate Professor of Economics at New York University and executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, the scientist.

Mr. Foreman and Dr. Nathan faced contempt citations for their refusal to surrender their passports in response to subcommittee subpoenas. Both volunteered to produce the passports for examination at the hearing without losing possession, but Mr. Walter ruled their action did not satisfy the subpoenas.

The group is investigating what Mr. Walter has called "the use of passports in the furtherance of the international Communist conspiracy."

He ordered a session of the full committee for tomorrow morning to carry forward the contempt proceedings against all three witnesses. The full committee is expected to ask the House of Representatives to cite them for contempt of Congress.

If voted by the House, the citations would go to the Justice Departmnt for presentation to a grand jury and possible prosecution. Conviction carries maximum penalties of one year in jail and a $1,000 fine on each count.

Mr. Robeson brought a stormy morning session to a sudden close by raising his resonant bass voice to shouting pitch and asserting:

"You are the non-patriots and you are the un-Americans and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

Represntative Walter banged his gavel and declared the hearing adjourned.

"I have stood just about as much of this as I can," he said.

He immediately conferred with three other members present, and they unanimously voted the contempt action.

Robeson Denounces Eastland

Before the final blow-up, Mr. Robeson angrily denounced the committee, Senator Eastland and others in response to questions about his activities and his travels to Soviet Russia.

He said the Government was trying to "gag me here and abroad" and told the committee it was "none of your business what I think."

"Are you now a member of the Communist party?" asked Richard Arens, staff director.

"What do you mean by Communist party?" Mr. Robeson demanded. "As far as I know it is like the Republican and Democratic party. Would you like to come to the ballot box and look at my ballot when I vote?"

When Representative Walter directed him to answer, he invoked the Fifth Amendment against giving testimony that might tend to be self-incriminating.

Unit Acts After Row

Post & Times Herald

House Probers Cite Robeson for Contempt

Wed. 6-13-56 P.1

Washington, D.C.

By Vincent J. Burke
United

A House Subcommittee on Un-American Activities voted yesterday to seek contempt action against Negro singer Paul Robeson after he accused the group itself of being "Un-American."

The left-wing baritone refused at a stormy hearing to say whether he was a Communist and told subcommittee members "It's none of your business what I think."

Robeson and Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) exchanged barbed remarks for several minutes before Walter finally banged down his gavel and declared the hearing adjourned.

"I've stood just about as much of this as I can," Walter said.

He and the other three members then voted unanimously to recommend that the House cite Robeson for contempt. Walter said the full nine-man committee will vote on the citation at 9 a. m. today.

The chairman said the subcommittee action was prompted by three factors: Robeson's "entire conduct" during the hearing, his personal attacks on the committee and his "smear" of a Senator.

The latter was a reference to Robeson's remark that it would be "untinkable that any people would take up arms in the name of an Eastland." Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is an outspoken foe of the Supreme Court's school integration ruling.

Robeson's attorney, Milton Friedman of New York, called the vote "strictly a headline maneuver." He predicted the recommendation will be rejected either by the House or the Justice Department, which must make the final decision on prosecution. P.9

Robeson, who has made several trips to the Soviet Union, was the first witness called as the subcommittee resumed hearings into charges that Communists have obtained American passports to make propaganda trips abroad.

Friendship for Soviet

He admitted having "a great, great friendship and great affection for the Soviet Union" but refused under the Fifth Amendment to say whether he was a Communist. He also declined to answer several other questions on grounds of possible self-incrimination.

Robeson, whose last passport application was rejected because he refused to say whether he was a Red, charged the Government is trying to "gag me here and abroad."

As for the subcommittee, he said "You are the nonpatriots and you are the un-Americans and you ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

He said the subcommittee, instead of questioning him, should "investigate the truly 'un-American' activities of Eastland and his gang."

Robeson asked how Eastland could "pretend concern over the internal security of our country while he supports the most brutal assaults on 15 million Americans by the white citizens councils and the Ku Klux Klan."

He characterized Walter, author of the controversial McCarran-Walter Immigration Act, as the author of "the law to keep people out."

"Only your kind," Walter retorted.

"You don't want any colored people," Robeson replied. ". . . You want to shut up every Negro who stands up for his rights."

Dodge Red Link Query

Asked by Richard Arens, subcommittee counsel, whether he was a member of the Communist Party, Robeson snapped:

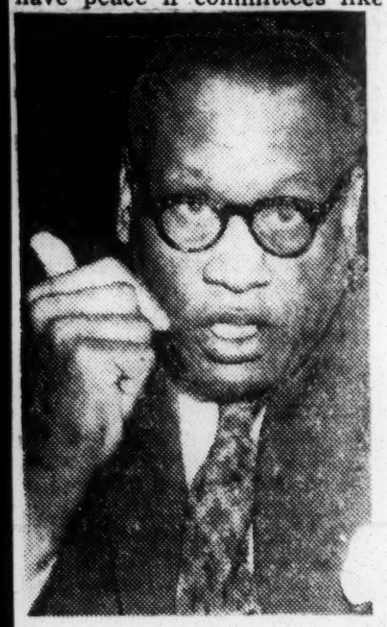
"What do you mean by Communist Party? As far as I know it is like the Republican and Democratic Party . . . would you like to come to the ballot box and look at my ballot when I vote?"

He also tangled with the subcommittee over Walter's refusal to put into the record a statement Robeson had prepared charging Secretary of State John Foster Dulles was "afraid to let me have a passport."

Rep. Gordon H. Schere (R-Ohio) asked Robeson why he didn't go to Russia and stay.

"No Fascist-minded people will drive me out," he replied. ". . . I came back to fight for my people here."

Robeson said he wants peace, the Soviet Union wants peace and President Eisenhower wants peace. "I hope we will have peace if committees like



International News

PAUL ROBESON
. . . clashes with committee

yours don't upset the apple cart," he said.

When Walter adjourned the hearing, Robeson stepped down from the witness stand with a parting shot at the subcommittee. "You should adjourn this forever," he said.

Robeson Called as Probe Of Passports Reopens

After June 6-12-56

Washington D.C.

By the Associated Press

Singer Paul Robeson said today his "fight for a passport is a struggle for freedom." P.6-A

Mr. Robeson was subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities to talk about his passport difficulties. He has been denied a passport to travel abroad.

The Negro singer and other persons were called as the committee resumed an inquiry, begun last month, into possible use of American passports by Communists or fellow travelers.

Charges Freedom Denied

In a statement prepared for the hearing, Mr. Robeson said:

"My fight for a passport is a struggle for freedom—freedom to travel, freedom to earn a livelihood, freedom to speak, freedom to express myself artistically and culturally.

"I have been denied these freedoms because (Secretary of State) Dulles, (Senator) Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi, (Representative) Walter, Democrat of Pennsylvania and their ilk oppose my views on colonial liberation, my resistance to oppression of Negro Americans, and my burning desire for peace with all nations."

Mr. Robeson said his "travels abroad to sing and act and speak cannot possibly harm the American people." He said he has invitations to perform in Israel, Russia, Australia, Sweden, France and England.

In a statement prepared for today's session, Chairman Walter said recent hearings have shown there was a pattern of procuring American passports for "Communists, those under Communist discipline and those used by Communists."

Mr. Walter said such persons would represent they were going to travel in certain countries of the free world and then use "devious methods" of circumventing travel restrictions "so that they could attend Communist-sponsored conferences and other propaganda efforts in the Iron Curtain countries."

Unwitting Tools of Reds

Mr. Walter said Communists use people who, though not actually party members, "are nevertheless witting or unwitting servants of the Communist cause."

Mr. Robeson has refused to sign a non-Communist oath and has been denied a passport. Just last week the United States Court of Appeals here affirmed its denial, saying the singer had failed to exhaust his administrative remedies.

The House committee said Mr. Robeson's passport was cancelled in 1949 on the ground that his travel abroad was not consistent with the best interests of the United States. After he wan the Stalin peace price in 1952, Mr. Robeson was denied a new passport nad took the matter to court.

ACTION AGAINST ROBESON TAKEN

Wed. 6-13-56 P.42

Senators Allege Contempt at Stormy Session

New Orleans

WASHINGTON, June 12 (AP)—The House Committee on Un-American Activities today initiated contempt of Congress action against Paul Robeson after an uproarious session in which the Negro singer declared, "You are the bad Americans . . . You ought to be ashamed of yourselves."

A flushed Chairman Walter (D-Pa) abruptly adjourned the group's public hearing after a table-thumping exchange with the left wing entertainer who was given a Stalin Peace Prize in 1952.

The committee then went into closed session and voted unanimously to recommend that Robesone be cited for contempt. Because the group technically was sitting as a subcommittee, it plans to meet again tomorrow to formally ratify its action.

Before Full House

A recommendation from the committee would go before the full House, which would decide whether to vote an actual contempt citation.

Walter said the committee was basing its action on Robeson's "entire conduct" at the hearing, "personal attacks on the committee" and "the smear on a senator."

The latter reference was to Robeson's mention of Sen. Eastland (D-Miss), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee and an outspoken segregationist.

In denying he ever said U.S. Negroes would refuse to take up arms against the Soviet Union Robeson added:

"In passing, I said it was unthinkable anybody would take up arms in the name of an Eastland."

'Standing My Ground'

Robeson later told a newsman, "There was no contempt. I answered every question. I was just standing my ground."

He did refuse to answer some questions, invoking the fifth amendment protection against possible self-incrimination. He declined to say whether he is a Communist Party member or whether he knows certain persons named by the committee.

Robeson was called before the group in its inquiry into possible use of American passports by Communists or fellow travelers. The singer is now making a court fight of his demand for a new passport, denied him after he collected the Stalin prize.

The witness testified his "fight for a passport is a struggle for freedom." He said he was being deprived of freedom "because (Secretary of State) Dulles, Eastland, Walter and their ilk oppose my views on colonial liberation, my resistance to oppression of Negro Americans, and my burning desire for peace with all nations."

Repeated Interruptions

Robeson repeatedly interrupted committee members and Staff Director Richard Arens when they sought to question him about his travels in Russia.

"I wouldn't discuss anything with people who murdered millions of my people—I won't discuss these things with you," he declared.

Asked if he has changed his opinion of Joseph Stalin, Robeson retorted:

"That is a question I will discuss among friends. It has nothing to do with you."

After saying that "in Russia I felt for the first time like a full human being," Robeson was asked why he didn't stay there.

"I came back to America to fight for my people," he said. 'I'm not going to be driven out by Fascist-minded people."

Walter reminded Robeson of his popularity as a student and football player at Rutgers University and asked why Robeson's son wasn't sent there instead of to "Soviet schools" in Paris and Moscow.

Success of Few

"The success of a few Negroes like myself and (baseball star) Jackie Robinson can't make up for the thousands of Negroes living on $700 a year," Robeson replied.

Robeson's Day in Court Sad

Herald P.19-A

Miami Fla.

Singer Loses Again In Passport Fight

WASHINGTON — (AP) — Paul Robeson, the Negro baritone, lost another round Thursday in his court fight to regain the passport he lost in 1950.

The U. S. Court of Appeals unanimously upheld a District Court order dismissing Robeson's suit against Secretary of State John Foster Dulles.

Robeson's right to travel abroad was revoked six years ago and the State Department has refused to renew it until he does something about its demand that he submit a non-Communist affidavit.

The singer, who has been identified with Communist causes over a period of years, has said he will never sign an affidavit. He has called the requirement "an invasion of every constitutional liberty that I have."

Thursday's decision upheld the action of Federal Judge Burnita S. Matthews in dismissing Robeson's suit to force issuance of a passport without the affidavit. Judge Matthews ruled last August she found nothing to indicate the State Department's stand was arbitrary.

The Court of Appeals said Robeson had "failed to exhaust his administrative remedies," meaning he had not complied with all State Department procedures.

"We think he was required to do so," the court said, adding

"He did not ask for a hearing but instead asserted the invalidity of the regulation providing for one. We cannot assume the invalidity of a hearing which has not been held or the illegality of questions which have not been asked."

Robeson, describing himself in his suit as a "loyal, native-born American citizen," contended a passport is the right of any American citizen.

In seeking renewal of his passport, Robeson said he wanted to fill signing engagements in Israel, England and possibly France and the Scandinavian countries. He also has expressed a wish to visit Russia.

The singer's present whereabouts were unknown. One of his lawyers, Robert Rockmore, said in New York that Robeson has been ill and was out of town.

Inside Labor—

ROBESON, THE SINGER, WRITES FOR REDS

Communist appeal

Pravda Articles Chant Soviet Praises

Mon. 2-16-56 P. 14 Memphis

SPEAKS HARSHLY OF U.S.

By VICTOR RIESEL

It is Paul Robeson's God-given right to expend his talents as he wishes. Apparently he wishes to stop singing and to begin writing —as an international correspondent, no less. So we find him now filling the pages of Moscow's Pravda, official newspaper—if you'll forgive the description — of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It's a shame. His latest piece praises prison-camp countries but speaks harshly of ours. He sees democracy behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains but goes politically blind when he scans our country.

Mr. Riesel

How much better Robeson would do for his country if he reported to his friends abroad that not since Babel has the Negro community done so well.

Might Test Freedom

Robeson might have tested Soviet freedom of the press by reporting that each year the United States Government hands out some six million contracts—which buy some 34 billion dollars worth of supplies running from wild life seeds to hydrogen war heads.

And under these contracts, every company selling a seed or a missile to the United States Government must agree in writing to give all persons equal employment opportunity, regardless might look at the nation's capital, where there never was as much discrimination against so many as there has been in Moscow, in and out of Lubyianka prison.

Robeson should report that no longer do Washington restaurants or hotels discriminate. Parks, playgrounds, swimming pools, tennis courts, golf courses and theaters are open to all. Schools are integrated. There are 147 public schools with racially mixed classes—in which Negro youngsters make up 64 per cent of the total, according to a Justice Department survey.

Troops Are Mixed

The bus and street car company hires competent men, regardless of color.

And throughout the land, ne- of color, creed or national origin.

He could, if he wished, criticize our Government by charging that it has failed here and there to follow through. There is, for example, not a single Negro among the flight personnel of the nation's airlines, which draw considerable funds for flying the mails and sundry other services.

But Robeson would have to add quickly that a special subcommittee of the President's 15-man Committee on Government Contracts has been set up under Secretary of Labor James Mitchell. It has met with the presidents and other executives of 11 airlines. They, in turn, passed the matter on to the Air Transport Association which is now discussing the hiring of non-flight personnel.

There Will Be Row

There will be a ruckus. The National Urban League will make a public issue of the fact that there is not one airborne Negro employe. But soon there will be.

Foreign correspondent Robeson, being an amateur newsman, might editorialize with a sentence or two by pointing out that's how we settle matters here. By argument, not decree.

And this new Pravda man goes and white troops train, eat, sleep, play and even swim together. And without incident.

Out on the military posts, all schools for soldiers' children have been integrated—which is a dreadful word—since last September. No longer do Negro boys and girls go to local off-base, segregated schools.

Soldiers can be sick, mend, and even die as equals in Government veterans' hospitals.

Civilian employes of the armed forces, in the heart of the South at the Richmond and Charleston naval bases, are now employed on an equal basis.

This list could roll on, but the words of Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell suffice. Recently he said: "Many of the civil rights bills which I used to introduce are no longer of any value" because there have been so many changes.

If Paul Robeson goes back to music, he should begin singing a different tune.

Robeson resumes public activity

Afro-American P. 1 Sat. 1-28-56

NEW YORK — "My plans for resuming my career as an artist are bound up, of course, with the matter of getting a passport; and I hope that soon this issue will be favorably resolved so that I will be able to accept the many offers that have come for concert, stage and film engagements in other lands."

So remarked Paul Robeson, Thursday, when announcing his return to public activity after an extended convalescence following a major operation he underwent last fall.

The actor has repeatedly been denied a passport by the U.S. State Department, although he has appeared in Canada, where a passport is not necessary.

Baltimore, Md.

IN A statement to the press, Mr. Robeson discussed his plans for resuming his artistic career and commented on recent domestic and world developments affecting the welfare of colored people in the United States.

"I am determined to be freed from the unjust restrictions which have for several years barred me from my career as an international artist — a career which began some 30 years ago," he declared.

"Meanwhile, I am looking forward to a major concert appearance on Feb. 11 at Massey Hall in Toronto, and to concerts later in the season in other Canadian cities.

Appeals Court weighs Robeson passport case

Afro-American Baltimore Sat. 3-17-56

The full U.S. Court of Appeals took under advisement Thursday, arguments on the failure of the State Department to issue a passport to Paul Robeson, noted baritone. P. 13

The case was appealed after District Judge Burnita S. Matthews denied a motion by Mr. Robeson's attorneys last Sept. for a preliminary injunction restraining the State Department from withholding the passport.

The jurist ruled that the singer had not exhausted his administrative remedies within the State Department before bringing the issue into the courts.

* * *

THURSDAY'S arguments before Appeals Judges Henry W. Edgerton, E. Barrett Prettyman, Wilbur K. Miller, David L. Bazelon, Charles Fahy, George T. Washington, John A. Dannaher, and Walter A. Bastian.

Mr. Robeson, who was in New York, was represented by Leonard Boudin, of New York, and James T. Wright, a local attorney. Benjamin Forman, and B. Jenkins Middleton were attorneys on behalf of John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, named defendant.

* * *

IN HIS argument, Mr. Boudin contended that Mr. Robeson was denied the passport because he refused to sign a non-communist affadavit. He asserted that such a requirement violates the constitution.

The attorney also pointed out that Mr. Robeson is the "lone" American also prohibited from travel in Mexico, Latin America, and other points on the western hemisphere where passports are not required.

Boudin declared that Communist allegations made by the State Department against Mr. Robeson, have never been proved.

* * *

THE GOVERNMENT however argued that though the State Department has no proof that Mr. Robeson is a Communist, his activigties are grounds for inquiry.

Mr. Forman said the State Department offered Mr. Robeson a hearing on the passport issue, but the singer declined the invitation. The government also stated that passports are forbidden members of the Communist party.

In an amici curiae brief, it was asserted by several prominent persons that:

1. The Robeson case involves the right to speak out against oppression of colored Americans.

2. That the struggle of the minority group against discrimination would be impeded if a colored American were lawfully penalized by administrative act of the Secretary for voicing grievances of that group.

3. The denial to Robeson of opportunities given to other Americans, if approved, poses a special threat to the minority race.

The friend of the court brief also charged that Mr. Robeson's passport is being denied primarily because of his efforts on behalf of the minority race and in support of colonial liberation.

"To characterize Mr. Robeson's travels, or his performances or his speeches as 'not in the best interests of the U.S. is not only a distortion, it is utterly false," the brief stated.

* * *

AMONG SIGNERS of the Amici Curiae brief were:

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Alphaeus Hunton, Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Eslanda G. Robeson, the Rev. Charles Hill, Dr. Samuel Sillen, Julius Heiman, New York, Dr. Harry K. Wells West Virginia, Charles Enoch Wheeler, Albert Maltz, Mexico City; Dr. Philip Foner, New York, Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac, New York, Eleanor Mulzac, New York, Lyndoors Grey, New York, Dr. Ulysses Campbell, Orange, N.J.; G. Murray Branch, Atlanta Ga.; William Harrison, Boston, Mass.; George H. Fisher, Wilmington, N.C. Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein New York, Dr. John. E. T. Campes, Baltimore; Mary P. Thompson, Newark; A. M. Trudeau, New Orleans; Francis H. Bartlett, Edwin Berry Burgum New York, Lloyd L. Brown, N.Y., Dr. Howard Selsam, New York.

Judges Study The Passport Of Paul Robeson Again

Daily World Tues 3-13-56 Atlanta, Ga. P.

BY LOUIS LAUTIER

Washington Correspondent, Atlanta Daily World and NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—May the Secretary of State require of an applicant for a passport an affidavit that he is not and has not been a member of the Communist party?

The entire eight-judge bench of the United States Court of Appeals has this question under consideration in the case of Paul Robeson, singer and actor of national and international fame.

The case is on appeal from the District Court where Robeson sought an injunction to keep the Secretary of State from denying him a passport. The District Court found that he had no exhausted his remedies and dismissed his complaint.

At a hearing in the State Department, Robeson had been advised to file an affidavit with respect to present or past membership in the Communist party. He refused on the ground that State Department regulations requiring such an affidavit were not authorized by law, conflicted with the mandate of Congress and were invalidly issued.

The arguments before the Court of Appeals encompassed all of the previous passport cases and also focused attention on a ruling by District Judge Luther W. Youngdahl last November criticizing "confidential" information from "the secret informer and faceless talebearer."

The decision in Robeson's case may turn upon clarification of a 1955 decision by the Court of Appeals that the right to travel "is a natural right subject to the right of others and to reasonable regulation under law."

The question is: If a regulation requiring a non-Communist affidavit a reasonable regulation.

Leonard B. Boudin, a New York lawyer, representing Robeson, contended that every American has "an absolute right" to a passport and that non-citizenship was the only disqualification.

Benjamin Forman, a Justice Department attorney, representing the Government, urged the court to uphold the passport regulations as having been properly applied in the Robeson case.

U.S. to permit Paul Robeson to travel

TORONTO, Canada — Paul Robeson will appear in a series of concerts in Canada in April and May.

He won from the State Department a partial lifting of the ban against his travel in foreign countries.

Paul Robeson Banned

OTTAWA, Ont., April 10 Paul Robeson, the singer, today was refused permission by the Canadian Government to enter Canada for a series of concert engagements. No reason was given.

Robeson Called Tuesday In House Passport Quiz

Associated Press

Paul Robeson, the Negro baritone with passport troubles, has been subpenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities Tuesday.

Robeson

Last week the Committee started an inquiry to determine whether the laws governing issuance of passports should be strengthened and whether American passports have been misused.

Robeson's passport was revoked in 1950 on grounds that his traveling abroad would not be in the interest of the United States. He was awarded a Stalin peace prize in 1952.

The Committee also subpenaed Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of Albert Einstein, to appear Tuesday. The Committee listed Nathan as sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York in 1949.

A third witness called for Tuesday is Henry Willcox.

The Committee said Willcox and his wife attended the October, 1952, peace conference in Peiping.

The Committee heard nine witnesses last week.

Most witnesses declined to answer the question of whether they had attended the conferences.

PAUL ROBESON IS CALLED

House Unit Is Investigating Passport Irregularities

WASHINGTON, May 27 (UP) —The House Committee on Un-American Activities announced today it has summoned Paul Robeson to testify Tuesday in its investigation of alleged passport irregularities by Communist sympathizers.

Mr. Robeson, left-wing basso, has traveled as an honored guest in the Soviet Union.

The committee also announced that Henry Willcox and Otto Nathan would appear as witnesses.

The committee identified Mr. Willcox as a sponsor of the New York Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, a member of the American sponsoring committee of World Peace Congress in Paris in 1949 and a delegate to the World Peace Conferences in Peiping and Vienna in 1953.

Mr. Nathan was identified as executor of the estate of Albert Einstein and as a sponsor of the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in New York in 1949.

Robeson sends message to L. A. festival

Paul Robeson, world-famous concert artist, regretted that illness had compelled him to cancel his concert at the 6th Annual Festival of Nationalities in Los Angeles on Father's Day, Sunday, June 17 in a message to chairmen Frances Williams today.

Robeson said: "As we press forward in our struggle to abolish jim crow laws and practices in our land, let us remember that racist legislation is not limited to the South. Indeed, the infamous concept of the 'master race' is given its widest scope in a federal law —the Walter-McCarran Immigration Law.

"It is good to see that large groups of democratically-minded Americans, including the Naacp. are demanding the repeal of this Hitler-like measure. Every decent American ought to get into this fight because none of us can remain free — or get free — with racism the law of the land."

Festival sponsors said Robeson is making available on tape 12 songs of freedom and friendship between people not yet commercially recorded, for inclusion in the Festival outdoor pageant and concert.

The festival in addition to demanding repeal of the Walter-McCarran Law, will voice the demand that Robeson be granted a passport so that he may be heard in concert in other lands.

The "Tribute to Paul Robeson" will include Frank Greenwood's actor's reading group, Mrs. Bilbrew's 20-member Interracial Chorus, an African drummer and a West Indian dance and song group.

Robeson Bid For Passport Again Misses

WASHINGTON, June 7 (AP)—Paul Robeson, the Negro singer, lost another round today in his court fight to regain the passport he lost in 1950.

The U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld a District Court order dismissing Robeson's suit against Secretary of State Dulles.

Robeson's right to travel abroad was revoked six years ago and the State Department has refused to renew it until he does something about its demand that he submit a non-Communist affidavit.

The singer, who has been identified with Communist causes over a period of years, has said he will never sign such an affidavit. He has called the requirement "an invasion of every constitutional liberty that I have."

Today's decision upheld the action of U. S. Dist Judge Burnita S. Matthews in dismissing Robeson's suit to force issuance of a passport without the affidavit. Judge Matthews ruled last August she found nothing to indicate the State Department's stand was arbitrary.

NON COMPLIANCE

The Court of Appeals said Robeson had "failed to exhaust his administrative remedies," meaning he had not complied with all state department procedures.

"We think he was required to do so," the court said, adding: "He did not ask for a hearing but instead asserted the invalidity of the regulation providing for one. We cannot assume the invalidity of a hearing which has not been held or the illegality of questions which have not been asked."

Robeson, describing himself in his suit as a "loyal, native-born American citizen," contended a passport is the right of any American citizen.

In seeking renewal of his passport, Robeson said he wanted to fill singing engagements in Israel, England and possibly France and the Scandinavian countries. He also has expressed a wish to visit Russia.

One of his lawyers, Robert Rockmore, said in New York that Robeson has been ill and was out of town.

House Probers To Cite Robeson

United

The House Committee on Un-American Activities voted 7 to 0 yesterday to seek contempt prosecution against Paul Robeson of because his behavior before a subcommittee Tuesday.

Foreman

The committee also affirmed the subcommittee's recommendation that Clark Foreman of New York be cited for contempt of Congress for refusing to obey a subpoena to turn over his passport to the group.

It voted to send the testimony of Leonard Boudin of New York to the Justice Department to determine whether he committed perjury in his qualified denial of membership in the Communist Party.

Action was deferred on the subcommittee's recommendation that Prof. Otto Nathan, executor of the estate of the late Albert Einstein, also be cited for contempt. He also refused to give up his passport.

All four men appeared before the subcommittee Tuesday in connection with its investigation of the issuance of passports to alleged Communists and their sympathizers.

Robeson, who refused to say whether he was a Communist, engaged in an angry shouting match with subcommittee members. Foreman is director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee which has been trying to help Robeson get a possport. Boudin is serving as the singer's attorney.

Segregation party formed in Montgomery

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 18—(AP)—A group of militant segregationists met here Saturday to organize a new political party which proposes to divert Alabama's electoral college vote from both major parties.

The organizers announced that a slate of independent candidates already qualified with the secretary of state would represent them in the November general election.

Approximately a dozen Montgomery County citizens, most of them former Democrats, were present to establish the Segregation Party. They adopted an emblem showing a map of the United States divided into the several states with a motto, "We Dare Defend Our Rights."

John Frederick Duggar III, a 34-year-old architect and graduate of Alabama Polytechnic Institute of nearby Hope Hull, was elected chairman of the new party.

The officers announced that they propose to file the proper papers with the secretary of state at least 60 days before the general election as required by law to have the party's legal status recognized.

The purpose

PURPOSE OF FORMING the party, said Duggar, is "to give Alabama voters a chance to express their feelings on the issue of segregation in a way not open to them through the Democratic or Republican Parties."

"Both major parties hold identical views completely contrary to those of a majority of the Southern people," he said.

Duggar said principles to which the Segregation Party subscribes are:

1. Seek to maintain segregation on th basis of the inherent power of the individual states as was originally conceived in the formation of a government by the original sovereign states.

2. Strive through laws enacted by Congress to limit the power of the Supreme Court to be a judge of its own powers.

3. Endorse the 10th Amendment to the Federal Constitution which declares that all powers not specifically reserved to the federal government rest with the states.

Other officers of the group are John C. Eagerton III, executive secretary; James S. Payne, treasurer, and William T. Johnson, member of the executive committee. All are from Montgomery.

Segregationists Organize Party

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 18 (AP).—A group of segregationists today organized a new political party which proposes to divert Alabama's electoral college vote from both major parties.

The organizers announced that a slate of independent candidates already qualified with the Secretary of State would represent them in the November general election.

Approximately a dozen Montgomery citizens, most of them former Democrats, established the Segregation Party.

John Frederick Duggar III, a 34-year-old architect of nearby Hope Hull, was elected chairman.

Purpose of forming the party, Mr. Duggar said, is "to give Alabama voters a chance to express their feelings on segregation in a way not open to them through the Democratic or Republican Parties."

Mr. Duggar said principles to which the Segregation Party subscribes are:

1. Seek to maintain segregation on the basis of the inherent power of the individual States as was originally conceived in the formation of a government by the original sovereign States.

2. Strive through Federal laws to limit the power of the Supreme Court to be a judge of its own powers.

3. Indorse the 10th Amendment to the Federal Constitution which declares that all powers not specifically reserved to the Federal Government rest with the States.

SEGREGATION BANNER

Secretary Of State Receives Splinter Party Credentials

By BOB INGRAM

A third political party was given official recognition in Alabama yesterday when the Segregation Party filed its credentials with Secretary of State Mary Texas Hurt.

The new party, which has as its major objective the preservation of segregation, will offer a slate of 11 candidates for presidential elector on the Nov. 6 general election ballot. All 11 elector candidates are from Montgomery County, and all are members of the local Citizens' Council chapter.

Llewellyn H. Duggar, Hope Hull, said the purpose of the party will be to win control of Alabama's 11 electoral votes as well as the electoral votes of other Southern states and thus be in a position "to bargain" when the electoral college meets in December to elect the next President.

"It is our hope to win sufficient electoral votes throughout the South so that we will constitute the balance of power when the electoral college meets," Duggar explained. "Then we would be in a position to bargain with both the Democratic and Republican party candidates. Through such bargaining we might be able to get one of the two parties to rescind any phase of its platform which is hostile to the South."

Duggar said that the Segregation party "at this time does not have a candidate of its own."

"If the party gains sufficient strength throughout the South and nation then it is foreseeable that we would have a candidate," Duggar continued. "Some of the names mentioned have included Sen. Jim Eastland of Mississippi, Sen. William E. Jenner of Indiana, Gov. Bracken Lee of Utah and T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue Commissioner under President Truman."

Duggar insisted that the purpose of the party was not to deadlock the electoral college vote and thus throw the election into the House of Representatives.

"Only in the last resort would we favor that, because we realize the South wouldn't stand a chance in Congress," Duggar explained. "If our electors were to be elected and we held the balance of power, we feel it would be throwing this power away if we sent it to a hostile Congress."

The 11 electors will appear on the ballot under the new party's emblem—an outline of the United States with the motto "We Dare Defend Our Rights."

The party's platform has but three basic principles:

"1. We subscribe to the maintenance of segregation on the basis of the inherent power of the individual states as was originally conceived in the formation of a government by the original sovereign states.

"2. We subscribe to laws enacted by Congress to limit the power of the Supreme Court to judge its own powers.

"3. We subscribe fully to the Tenth Amendment (of the U.S. Constitution) which states in effect that all powers not specifically mentioned in the Constitution are reserved to the several states."

The 11 presidential electors who will appear on the Nov. 6 ballot include Duggar, John C. Eagerton III, Edwin T. Parker, Jack S. Riley, William T. Johnson Russell Carter, Warren B. Marshall, John Frederick Duggar III, S. D. Watkins and M. L. Griffin.

John Duggar has been elected president of the new party while Eagerton is executive secretary.

Five of the candidates are officials of the local Citizens' Council—Johnson is chapter chairman, Marshall is vice chairman, while Llewellyn Duggar, Carter and Riley are members of the board of directors.

SEGREGATION PARTY FORMED IN ALABAMA

Aim Is To Divert Electoral Vote In November

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Aug. 18.—(AP)—A group of militant segregationists Saturday organized a new political party which proposes to divert Alabama's electoral college vote from both major parties.

The organizers announced that a slate of independent candidates already qualified with the secretary of state would represent them in the November general election.

A dozen Montgomery citizens, most of them former Democrats, were present to establish the Segregation Party. They adopted an emblem showing a United States map divided into the several states with a motto, "We dare defend our rights."

John Frederick Duggar III, a 34-year-old architect of Hope Hull, was elected chairman of the new party.

The officers announced they propose to file the proper papers with the secretary of state at least 60 days before the general election as required by law to have the party's legal status recognized.

Purpose of forming the party, said Mr. Duggar, is "to give Alabama voters a chance to express their feelings on the issue of segregation in a way not open to them through the Democratic or Republican parties."

Mr. Duggar said principles to whic hthe segregation party subscribes are:

1—Seek to maintain segregation on the basis of the inherent power of the individual states as was originally conceived in the formation of a government by the original sovereign states.

2—Strive through Federal laws to limit the power of the Supreme Court to be a judge of its own powers.

3—Endorse the 10th Amendment to the Federal Constitution which declares that all powers not specifically reserved to the Federal Government rest with the states.

Elector Candidates File For 'Segregation Party'

MONTGOMERY, Aug. 22 (AP)—Promising a vigorous campaign in Alabama to divert electoral college votes from both major parties, a group of independents today formally filed as "Segregation Party" elector candidates.

They previously had qualified with the secretary of state but asked today that their names go on the Nov. 6 general election ballot as representatives of the newly-organized party.

In filing their credentials, the 11 candidates also presented copies of the party's emblem — a sketch of the United States divided into individual states with the words "Segregation Party" and a motto, "We Dare Defend Our Rights."

A spokesman for the group, Llewellyn H. Duggar, young Montgomery County farmer, said the party prefers not to commit itself to any presidential candidate at this time.

"At a later date if we can get together with other Southern states on an acceptable candidate," he said, "we probably would join with them to present a solid front."

Duggar, one of the 11 candidates, said the Segregation Party candidates are pledged to withhold their votes from both major parties because "their platforms are equally objectionable to us."

"We hope that the election will be close enough so that we could use our votes as a bargaining weapon to get assurance that the next administration will not destroy our Southern way of life," he added.

Duggar said his group will seek to get Congress to pass legislation curbing the authority of the Supreme Court "to be a judge of its own powers."

Duggar said he has received hundreds of letters and telegrams, many from states as far away as California, congratulating his group for its efforts to defend the rights of the states to maintain racial segregation.

At least "two members of Congress" and "three state senators" have "given us a nod of approval" although they are not in position for their names to be made public, he said.

"Many politicians are deathly afraid to be drawn into our movement," he added, "although they secretly believe as we do."

All of the elector candidates are members of the Montgomery County White Citizens Council. Five of them are members of the council's board of directors and two are officers.

Those declaring as Segregation Party candidates besides Duggar were John C. Eagerton III, executive secretary of the new party; Edwin T. Parker, Jack S. Riley, William T. Johnson, Russell Carter, Warren B. Marshall, S. D. Watkins and M. L. Griffin, all of Montgomery, and John Frederick Duggar III, and J. S. Payne of nearby Hope Bull.

'Segregation Party' quits; eight on independent ticket

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Sept. 6 —(AP)—After just three weeks of life, the "Segregation Party" has decided to become inactive indefinitely.

Eight members who qualified for the November general election ballot as presidential electors on the party's ticket decided yesterday to join three other electoral candidates on an independent ticket.

"For the time being the party will be dormant," Llewellyn H. Duggar said. The party spokesman was one of the eight it qualified in an effort to win votes away from the Democratic and Republican national tickets.

THE INDEPENDENT SLATE will seek a mandate from Alabama voters to cast the state's 11 electoral college votes where they think they can best serve the pro-segregation cause. Democratic and Republican electoral candidates are pledged to vote for those parties' candidates.

Duggar, of nearby Hope Hull, said the party had decided "it is more important at this stage to work toward getting the 11 independent electors on the ballot and to put less emphasis on the party." About three weeks ago the 11 qualified for places on the ballot.

THE EIGHT CANDIDATES originally qualified by the party are Duggar, J. S. Payne and John F. Duggar III, all of Hope Hull, and John P. Eagerton III, Edwin T. Parker, Jack S. Riley, Russell Carter and M. L. Griffin of Montgomery.

The three joining them on an independent ticket are Tom C. King of Anniston and Joseph S. Mead and Thomas Bellsnyder of Birmingham.

SOCIALIST LABOR NAMES '56 SLATE

Eric Haas, '52 Candidate, Is Nominated for President at National Convention Here

An editor and a housewife were nominated yesterday by the Socialist Labor party to be its 1956 candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

At the party's national convention in the Henry Hudson Hotel, the delegates chose Eric Haas of New York to be its Presidential standard-bearer and Mrs. Georgia Cozzini of Milwaukee as his running mate.

Mr. Haas was the Socialist Labor party nominee for President in 1952. In that election he received 30,376 votes. This is Mrs. Cozzini's first try at national office.

The Socialist Labor party is the oldest active radical party in the nation. It was founded in 1890, and adheres to the principles of Karl Marx and Daniel De Leon. It seeks to establish collective ownership of industry, to be administered by trade unions.

Mr. Haas, who lives at 119 Payson Avenue, is editor of The Weekly People, the party newspaper. He is 51 years old and has been an active worker for the party since 1930. He was born in Lincoln, Neb., of German and Danish immigrant parents.

Mrs. Cozzini has a 19-year-old son and a 10-year-old daughter. Her husband is a knife-grinder. She was born in Springfield, Mo.

Mr. Haas said that both the Socialist and Communist parties probbaly would support the Democratic candidate for President, either directly or indirectly, making him the only true Socialist candidate.

Thirty-six delegates from twenty-one states have been attending the twenty-fourth national convention of the party, which began Saturday.

Party Candidates

Eric Haas
For President

The New York Time

Mrs. Georgia Cozzini
For Vice President

34d 1956

States Rights Tickets Given Strong Support

Evening Star Wash. D.C. 11-8-56 p. 12

By the Associated Press

Buried in the millions of votes for Eisenhower and Stevenson Tuesday were thousands which were cast for a third party led by T. Coleman Andrews, former Federal tax commissioner.

Just how many thousands will not be known until late December, when the official election tabulation is put together.

There are several reasons for the delay, the chief one being that in many counties of the several States where the Andrews ticket was entered, election officials did not bother to report votes except for the two major parties.

However, an unofficial tabulation of what reports were available—far from complete—showed today that Mr. Andrews and his running mate, former Representative Thomas H. Werdel, Republican of California, got at least 118,000.

Vote reports by States showed:

Virginia—41,436 in 1,857 precincts out of 1,876.

Louisiana—39,628 in 1,928 precincts out of 2,040.

Arkansas—An estimated total of less than 5,000, but many counties did not include the third-party ticket in their reports of election tallies.

Texas—10,420 in a partial count.

Tennessee—19,393 in partial count.

Wisconsin—Most counties did not report minor party totals. However, Andrews and Werdel polled 1,613 votes in Milwaukee County and 285 in Dane County (Madison).

North Dakota—Returns from 1,595 of 2,391 precincts gave the Andrews ticket 71 votes.

In Georgia, most of the 1790 write-ins reported when the State vote was two-thirds tabulated were for Andrews and Werdel, who were not on the ballot.

The Andrews-Werdel ticket was on the ballot under a variety of names; States Rights, Constitution, For America, Conservative and New Party.

But in South Carolina and Mississippi the States Rights title was utilized by backers of Senator Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, and Representative Williams, Democrat of Mississippi. This ticket polled 87,352 in 1,509 precincts of 1,577 in South Carolina, running behind Stevenson but ahead of Eisenhower. In Mississippi, 1,507 of 1,820 precincts gave the Byrd-Williams slate of electors 37,947.

In Kentucky the States Right ticket was in the name of Senator Byrd and Senator Jenner, Republican of Indiana, but returns for it were not tabulated.

There were no figures available for the Andrews-Werdel slate in New Mexico, Iowa, or New Jersey.

In Alabama there was a States Rights ticket not affiliated with those in any other States. Reports from 2,453 boxes out of 2,887 gave this ticket 17,948.

Third Party So Far Has 118,000

Post + Times Herald P. 14-a Fri. 11-9-56

Associated Press

Buried in the million of votes for President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson Tuesday were thousands cast for the third party led by T. Coleman Andrews, former Federal Tax Commissioner.

Andrews

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There are several reasons for the delay, the chief one being that in many counties of the several states where the Andrews ticket was entered, election officials did not bother to report votes except for the two major parties.

However, an unofficial tabulation of what reports were available shows that Andrews and his running mate, former Rep. Thomas H. Werdel (R-Calif.), got at least 118,000 across the Nation.

Andrews, of Richmond, Va., accepted the third party nomination Oct. 15, saying it would afford the public a choice to vote against what he called the socialistic trend of both major parties.

He called for re-examination and possibly ultimate elimination of the income tax; rigid adherence to states rights and deep cuts in domestic and foreign spending.

Vote reports by states show the following incomplete counts:

Virginia—41,482 in 1874 precincts out of 1876.

Louisiana — 39,628 in 1928 precincts out of 2040.

Arkansas—An estimated total of less than 5000, but many counties did not include the third party ticket in their tallies.

Texas—10,420 in a partial count.

Tennessee—19,393 in partial count.

Wisconsin — Most counties did not report minor party totals. However, Andrews and Werdel polled 1613 votes in Milwaukee County and 285 in Dane County (Madison).

North Dakota—Returns from 1595 of 2391 precincts gave the Andrews ticket 71 votes.

Georgia—Most of the 1790 write-ins reported when the state vote was two-thirds tabulated were for Andrews and Werdel, who were not on the ballot.

The Andrews-Werdel ticket was on the ballot under a variety of names: State Rights, Constitution, For America, Conservative and New Party.

But in South Carolina and Mississippi the States Rights title was utilized by backers of Sen. Harry F. Byrd (D-Va.) and Rep. John Bell Williams (D-Miss.). This ticket polled 87,352 in 1509 precincts of 1577 in South Carolina, running behind Stevenson but ahead of Eisenhower. In Mississippi, 1507 of 1820 precincts gave the Byrd-Williams slate 37,947.

In Kentucky the States Rights ticket was in the name of Byrd and Sen. William E. Jenner (R-Ind.), but returns for it were not tabulated.

There were no figures available for the Andrews-Werdel slate in New Mexico, Iowa, or New Jersey.

Demos Battle States Righters For Miss. Slate of Electors

Republicans, Their Ranks Divided, Eliminated as Serious Contenders

By KENNETH TOLER

Mississippi Bureau, The Memphis Commercial Appeal
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 27—Mississippi's presidential campaign is shaping up into a bitter contest between the strong Democratic forces and the independent-unpledged States Righters.

Gov. J. P. Coleman is in personal command of the Democrats.

State Sen. Earl Evans Jr., the third ranking state official as president pro tem of the Senate, heads the States Righters. He assumed that leadership after resigning as a Democfatic elector because of his opposition to the assertedly "anti-South" candidates and platform.

The States Righters were given a "shot in the arm" during the week when Rep. John Bell Williams (D.Miss.) announced his support for their independent-unpledged presidential electors. His five House colleagues and the two United States senators are voting Democratic.

Republicans Divided

The Republicans, with two slates of electors and many of their 1952 Democratic backers swinging to the independent-unpledged States Rights entries, are not serious contenders. At best, the two tickets are not given more than 15 per cent of the votes, in contrast to 40 per cent in 1952, when they fielded a single slate of independent electors composed of Democrats pledged to the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

As to the other 85 per cent, the Democrats and the States Righters admit there is a strong "silent vote." Even with that situation, Gov. Coleman is confident the Democratic electors will nail down 60 per cent of them.

In announcing his support for the independent-unpledged States Rights electors, Rep. Williams said he could not vote the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket because the candidates and their platform are inimical to the southern way of life.

Admitting his decision "might conceivably bring to an end my political career," the strong States Rights-Republican Fourth Congressional district Representative said:

"As an office-holder, I am expendable and if fate should decree that retirement should be the price I must pay for refusing to betray my conscience, then I shall return to private life with complete satisfaction that I have done that which I believe to be right and I shall have cause to apologize to no man."

Rep. Williams, the Democratic nominee for reelection in the Nov. 6 election over weak primary opposition, asserted that

MISSISSIPPI

the "candidates and platforms of both major political parties are dedicated, not only to a completely centralized form of government, but to the destruction of the integrity of white civilization in the South."

"Both Adlai Stevenson and President Eisenhower have resolved publicly they will use the full force of the executive branch to compel the integration of white and Negro children into one common public school system," he said. "They have given unqualified endorsement to the infamous Black Monday decisions and openly advocated a complete amalgamation of the races in this country."

Rep. Williams branded as "completely fallacious" the main contentions of state Democratic leaders that Mississippi congressmen and senators will lose their chairmanships and seniority "if we failed to go along with the party." He said "without the help of the Southern Democratic members of congress, it will be impossible for the party to organize the house and senate."

"And," he added, "if the Democratic leadership should resort to recrimination and reprisal against Southern members, surely we have a right to expect our colleagues from the South to rise to our defense, to protect our rights and the rights of our state."

Branded as 'Bolters'

"For them to fail to rally to the side of one being made a martyr to their own cause would render them unworthy to continued representation of the people," Williams said.

Gov. Coleman and Bidwel Adam, chairman of the Democratic executive committee, said Rep. Williams' decision will have "little effect on the election outcome."

Taking issue with the representative in calling the States Rights electors "independent Democrats," Gov. Coleman said they are "bolters who refuse to abide by decisions of the Democratic state convention."

"Mr. Williams is a personal friend of mine and it pains me to see him go off on a political snipe hunt," said Gov. Coleman. "We have known his views all along and we do not consider his decision as an important development in the campaign."

Earlier, the governor had said "any man who does not vote the Democratic ticket will be sealing his political fate in a statewide race." He admitted there are a "lot of Republicans and States Righters" in Rep. Williams' district which might not affect him in a district race.

Chairman Adam, a former lieutenant governor, said Rep. Williams has committed "a grave political error."

Asserting that "none of us has a monopoly on States Rights or segregation," Chairman Adam said "any right-thinking Mississippian subscribes to these principles, but Mississippians should assert their conservative views within the Democratic party."

Williams Is Target

The Democrats have begun a series of advertisements directed at Rep. Williams and Circuit Court Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, one of the organizers of the States Rights movement.

Based on Rep. Williams' statement that he has never voted for the Republican "party," the Democrats have challenged him to reveal whether he voted for the "independent electors" in 1952 pledged to the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

As to Judge McGowan, they have questioned whether he has neglected his judicial duties in favor of the States Rights cause. The Democrats have reprinted an editorial from the Yazoo City weekly newspaper accusing Judge McGowan of cancelling a Yazoo County Court term because of his interest in the presidential campaign. That issue could backfire on some state officials who may be similarly accused.

"Purely an economic fight between the vested interests, power trusts, big business, oil companies versus small business, the working people and the farmers in this nation.

"The Negro is merely being used by the States' Righters as an emotional issue to cloud the horizon and to hide from the people their real purpose."

Mr. Wilhite said T. Coleman Andrews, presidential nominee for the national States' Rights movement, plans to "replace the Federal income tax, which he proposes to abolish, with a Federal sales tax.

"This would eliminate the rich from paying taxes and put the burden upon the working man and cause the cost of living to skyrocket."

DEMOCRAT ATTACKS STATES' RIGHTS AIM

Says Negro Is Being Used As Emotional Issue

GREENVILLE, Miss., Oct. 18.—(AP)— Sam Wilhite, Mississippi campaign manager for the Democratic presidential ticket, Thursday charged the States' Righters are "using the Negro as an emotional issue to hide their real purpose."

Mr. Wilhite, conferring with Democratic leaders of Washington, Sunflower and Humphreys Counties, said the fight between States' Righters and Democrats is:

State Righters In Mississippi Back Byrd Slate

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 2 (AP)—Mississippi States Righters, backing a slate of unpledged electors, today promised to support the recently drafted Byrd - Williams presidential ticket.

W. B. Fontaine, a Jackson attorney and States Rights elector, issued a statement saying if his group carries Mississippi in Tuesday's election "We will urge. . . the support of Sen. Byrd (D-Va) for president and Congressman John Bell Williams (D-Miss) for vice president."

Both Byrd and Williams were drafted by the South Carolina independent (States Rights) organization. Neither has accepted or rejected the nomination but both said they had not sought it.

PRO-SEGREGATION PARTY

In Richmond, Va. former U.S. Commissioner of Internal Revenue T. Coleman Andrews accepted a pro-segregation States' Rights party candidacy for President. He called for reforms of tax laws, said the Supreme Court "has discarded its lawbooks for Communist novels." On the ballot in about a dozen states, the party may tip Virginia's close race to Stevenson.

T. Coleman Andrews, 'Deep Surgery' Candidate

T. COLEMAN ANDREWS, who will speak in Montgomery today, has been called a radical at least twice in the last few years.

In 1953, as Eisenhower's chief of Internal Revenue, Andrews was accused of "gestapo tactics" in the house-to-house canvass he ordered to ferret out people who had been cheating the tax collector. The 15,000 agents who knocked on doors across the nation were polite and helpful, and no one's rights were abused, but many accused Andrews of totalitarian methods. As a matter of fact, he had resorted to the device only as a psychological warfare attack on tax evaders. It worked: after reading of the visits, thousands of delinquents turned themselves in and coughed up.

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TODAY Andrews is a states' rights candidate for president in Virginia and a dozen other states and is again being called a radical—but for a very different reason. Today he says "Federal income taxes should be abolished." He calls the present federal tax laws "shameful," "discriminatory" and a serious threat to the continued prosperity of the nation. He believes the whole federal system of personal income taxes should be wiped off the books.

This seems like a glaring inconsistency. Actually Andrews was an avowed enemy of federal income taxes when he was working so energetically to collect them. (So hard did he work at his job as Internal Revenue Commissioner—6 a.m. to 10:30 p.m. many days — that he earned the label in Washington as "the most anonymous man in town.")

Long before he was tapped by Eisenhower, Andrews was known as a Jeffersonian Democrat of the Harry Byrd school who abhorred bureaucracy and high taxes. But his job in Washington was to enforce the law, not change it, and he did his work efficiently and well.

★

IN AN interview during the house-to-house canvass controversy, Andrews said:

> . . . We want every cent that's coming to us, but not one cent more, and if there is sufficient doubt we don't want it at all . . . We are not [the taxpayers'] bosses; they are ours. We are hired by them to assist them in discharging one of their duties as a citizen . . . As I see it, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in his enforcement of the revenue statutes must not only see that every dollar of taxes due under the statutes is collected, but also that not one dollar is collected that shouldn't be.

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ALL the while Andrews was opposed to the federal income tax structure, but he went about his job conscientiously and brought a new respect for the Internal Revenue Service which had suffered so in public esteem under Truman.

Having done his job, Andrews is stumping for tax reform. Of course he doesn't expect to be elected President. His campaign is only an effort to italicize and dramatize the need for overhauling the federal income tax. Like all good prosecutors, doubtless Andrews is deliberately overstating his case.

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NATURALLY his unorthodox candidacy has attracted a wide variety of nonconformists. Among them are Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School; industrialist John U. Barr of New Orleans; Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers; former Gov. Charles Edison of New Jersey; former Ambassador Spruille Braden of New York; former Ambassador Hugh Grant of Georgia. His supporters also include America-firsters, isolationists, tax reformers, McCarthyites, segregationists, supporters of the Bricker Amendment and others opposed, in one form and degree or another, to a strong centralized government.

Some estimates predict Andrews may get 20% or more of the vote in Virginia, which could determine whether Republicans or Democrats will get Virginia's electoral votes.

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ALTHOUGH he was a spectacular success as a Certified Public Accountant in Richmond, Andrews nursed until middle age the secret desire to be a surgeon. In Washington, when he succeeded in putting the tax bite on everybody the law said should pay, Andrews breathed with satisfaction: "This is deep surgery."

Today Surgeon Andrews is still chopping away. And, since some kind of tax reform seems inevitable, his efforts may have greater effect than scoffers now realize.

STRATEGY OUTLINED BY STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal Mon. 9-3-56

At Least Four Groups To Meet Here Sept. 14-15

Memphis Press

SEEK ELECTORAL VOTE

P. 21

A meeting of at least four constitutional government groups which will sponsor a slate of presidential electors against the Democratic and Republican Parties will be held here Sept. 14-15.

Headquarters for the meeting will be the Chisca, according to Willis Ayres, chairman here of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government.

A declaration of principle will be issued at the meeting dealing with "encroachments on the people by the Federal Government."

Candidate In Mind

He indicated the constitutional groups have a presidential candidate in mind but would not reveal his name.

Keynote speaker for the meeting will be Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the law school at Notre Dame University.

Mr. Ayres said the groups will use the "faults of the Electoral College" to their advantage because in this campaign neither Republicans nor Democrats will receive enough popular votes to have a majority of the electoral vote.

"By denying them the electoral vote in at least six states the election then would be thrown into the House of Representatives. There, instead of five or six Northern states having a dominant position as they do in the Electoral College they would have only one vote, putting them on the level with Mississippi, North Carolina or any other state with a low number of electoral votes."

On Mississippi Ballot

In Jackson, Miss., Mississippians for States' Rights announced yesterday they have more than enough signatures on petitions to put their slate of presidential electors on the Nov. 6 ballot.

States' Rights secretary Russell Moore of Jackson said more than 1,500 qualified voters have signed petitions, "on a voluntary basis without solicitation."

Only 1,000 names are needed to qualify the electors. The Mississippians for States' Rights now have until Sept. 26 to file the petitions at the secretary of state's office.

Mississippi law does not require the petitions identify the candidates for president and vice president. Will Wells, Jackson attorney who is a member of the steering committee, said he personally believes T. Coleman Andrews "would be an excellent candidate."

Already Endorsed

Mr. Andrews, former Internal Revenue Commissioner from Richmond, Va., has been endorsed by a number of states' rights leaders.

Mr. Wells said the Mississippi group intends to wage a vigorous campaign after the meeting in Memphis.

"Representatives of all the states which have qualified or are qualifying states' rights electors will attend the Memphis meeting and a definite platform and presidential candidate should be decided upon," Mr. Wells said.

Racial conflict over integrated schools in Mansfield, Texas, and Clinton, Tenn., has "added momentum" to their movement, said Mr. Wells, Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan and W. B. Fontaine of Jackson. Mr. Fontaine is chairman of the steering committee and Judge McGowan is a committee member.

'Going To Be Close'

Judge McGowan said, "We definitely think we have a chance of throwing this election into the House of Representatives because the election is going to be close." This would happen if the states' righters had enough of the Electoral College vote to deny either the Democrats or Republicans a majority.

States' rights leaders said nine states have already qualified states' rights electors, and three are assured of such electors although they are not yet qualified. They said slates already have been qualified in Washington, Iowa, Wisconsin, Connecticut, New Jersey, New Mexico, Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee. South Carolina, Texas and Mississippi were listed as being assured of states' rights electors. In addition, states' righters are "in the process of organizing" in Massachusetts, New York, Indiana, Florida, Arkansas and Virginia.

States Righters to kick off campaign tonight

Mem. Press Mon. 11-15-56 P. 18

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 15—(AP)—Sponsors hope for a turnout of 5000 persons here tonight (8 p.m. EST) at a rally touching off the campaign of an independent conservative presidential ticket and attracting leaders of the nation's most conservative political groups.

The candidates on the States' Rights-tax reform ticket, backed by a loose organization of small conservative parties in 14 states, are T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond for president and Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., for vice president. Andrews, staunch foe of the federal income tax, is a former director of internal revenue in the Eisenhower administration. Werdel is a former Republican congressman from California.

Tonight both men will be notified of their selection as candidates and will make their acceptance speeches. Werdel, who flew here yesterday, conferred with Andrews at supper.

ANDREWS IS scheduled to open his campaign swing Friday with a speech at Columbia, S. C. He also will speak in Shreveport, La.; Memphis, New Orleans, and at an Alabama city yet to be chosen.

Werdel will remain here after the rally for a meeting tomorrow of the Andrews-Werdel committee. Then he'll begin what was described as a vigorous speaking tour through Northern and Western states with a New Jersey address Oct. 17.

This third force in American politics is aimed at putting more conservatism into the two major parties rather than at putting its presidential candidate into the White House. The Andrews-Werdel ticket is backed in this state by the newly-formed States' Rights Party of Virginia. Indications were last week that the movement might determine whether Virginia goes Democratic or Republican this year by how deeply and which way the Andrews-Werdel ticket cuts into the vote for the major political parties.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER at tonight's rally will be Clarence Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame law school and a national co-chairman of the Andrews-for-President Committee.

Shortly after his arrival here last night Werdel issued a statement in which he said the federal government is exercising "the powers of a Caesar or a Cromwell. This power," he said, "is too much power for any good man to have—because it is too much power for any bad man to acquire."

Werdel went on record as vigorously supporting states' rights. He also supported the rights of states to exercise interposition in their effort to secure states' rights.

Werdel said that as he understood it, interposition "means simply that no person, or organization, can have greater powers than its creator—and remember that the states created the United States."

STATES RIGHTS UNIT WILL BE ON BALLOT

Commercial Appeal Sat. 9-29-56

Coleman Withdraws His Objections To Group

Memphis Press

FOUR SLATES CERTIFIED

Sat. 9-29-56

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 28.—Four slates of presidential electors were certified for the November general election ballot Friday after Gov. J. P. Coleman withdrew his objection to qualifying a States Rights independent, unpledged group.

Governor Coleman's reversal followed assurances given him by the unpledged electors that they have not been pledged to presidential candidates endorsed at the recent national States Rights Conference in Memphis.

Statement By Evans

The controversy developed after state Senator Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, States Rights leader, was quoted as saying the electors had agreed to vote for Coleman Andrews, former internal revenue commissioner, and Thomas Werdel, former California representative.

Senator Evans, the state's third ranking official as president pro tem of the Senate, denied the statement, saying he said the States Rights electors were "in accord" with the Memphis conference's action.

Senator Evans recently resigned as one of the eight Democratic electors because he said the candidates and platforms are in direct conflict with the segregation position of the state party.

Governor Coleman said at Friday's state Election Commission meeting that since the unpledged electors had assured him of no change in their status, "regardless of what Senator Evans said, I am willing for them to go on the ballot."

He voted that way with the other two members, Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson and Secretary of State Heber Ladner.

Coleman Position

Governor Coleman had taken the position that if the unpledged electors had since been pledged to certain candidates, they were representatives of a specific political party.

The independent, unpledged electors were qualified by a petition signed by more than 1,000 qualified electors under sponsorship of the Mississippians for States Rights in a move to throw the election in the national House of Representatives.

Governor Coleman also failed to get the other two members to accept his proposal that the manner in listing the unpledged electors be changed to how they are not pledged "to any party or candidate."

Atty. Gen. Patterson and Secretary of State Ladner said the word "unpledged" fully covered their status and was in line with the manner in which they were filed—"independent presidential electors, unpledged." That is the way they will be listed in fourth place on the ballot.

The commission was also unanimous in denying a petition of the Mississippi Republican Party seeking to eliminate the words "pledged to President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon" from the listing given the "Black and Tan Grand Old Party," the biracial wing of the same party.

Registration Law Cited

Atty. Gen. Patterson said under the state Party Registration Law which permits only one group to use a party name, the petition of the all-white group recognized by state law and headed by E. O. Spencer, hotel executive of Jackson, "has some merit." However, he voted with the other two members to deny the petition.

Both sets of Republican electors, and both showing they are pledged to the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket, were also approved for the ballot.

Approval of the eight Democratic electors pledged to Adlai Stevenson and Senator Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) was perfunctory by the three officials who hae announced their support for them.

Also on the ballot will be a constitutional amendment authorizing the Legislature to require the payment of motor vehicle privilege and ad valorem taxes at the same time, rather than months apart.

Voters will also ratify the recent Democratic primaries in which Mississippi's six United States representaties were reelected, along with four members of the state Supreme Court and two Chancery Court judges

States Rights Advocates To Form Party In Phenix

PHENIX CITY, Ala., Oct. 22—States rights advocates will meet here tomorrow night to form a new independent political party.

The Constitution Party, organized on a national scale and in a number of states, is designed to consolidate the efforts of numerous splinter parties and to provide participation in local government for Democrats now ineligible to hold office because of the present loyalty oath requirements.

Chairman of the rally is W. E. Calhoun, leader of the Russell County Citizens Council. The council, however, neither endorses nor opposes the Constitution Party, Calhoun said.

On a national level the Constitution Party is supporting T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia and Thomas H. Werdel of California on a presidential ticket.

The group organizing the party here is "cooperating" with leaders of the Segregation Party, organized in Montgomery several weeks ago, Calhoun said. He said Constitution Party members hope to persuade the independent electors—several are founders of the Segregation Party—to support Andrews and Werdel in an effort to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Several of the independent electors have been invited to speak at the rally at the Russell County Courthouse at 8 p.m. (EST).

Andrews Will Head States Rights Slate

By CHARLES E. EGAN

Special to The New York Times.

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 15—Representatives of splinter groups from both major parties tonight nominated a right wing ticket that they predicted would win several million voters.

By acclamation the 2,200 representatives chose T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia, former United States Commissioner of Internal Revenue, for President on their Independent States Rights ticket.

Thomas H. Werdel, an attorney of Bakersfield, Calif., was picked as Mr. Andrews' running mate.

Represented in the gathering that filled the main floor of Richmond's Mosque Auditorium were spokesmen for almost every degree of right-wing thought.

On hand were those advocating the end of the Federal income tax, rejection of the Supreme Court decision calling for integration of schools, and end to foreign aid, adoption of the Bricker amendment curbing the President's power in treaty making and suspension of liberal foreign trade programs.

School integration, abolition of the inrome tax and a turn toward isolationism, in the order named, brought the most vociferous outbursts from the audience, as the representatives went through preliminaries culminating in the selection of the ticket.

The nominations were carried out for the benefit of television cameras against a background made to look as much as possible like that of the major political gatherings held last summer. A speaker's podium projected thirty feet onto the "convention floor" provided the stand from which Mr. Andrews and Mr. Werdel accepted their nominations.

Setting the tempo of the gathering was a hymn, the words composed by Miss Amanda Worthington, 80 years old, of Greenville, Miss., and the music by George Watkins, Minister of Music at Richmond's Grove Avenue Baptist Church.

Singers Project Theme

Singers from the Grove Avenue Church sang the hymn "Our Flag of Stars" featuring one verse that started:

Let no thoughtless court decree
What our way of life shall be.

Another began:

Every star with equal light
Not one state a satellite.

In his acceptance speech, Mr. Andrews charged both parties had ignored the will of the people. The Supreme Court, he said, "has discarded its law books for Communist novels."

He termed the income tax "the worst thing that ever happened to the country" and deplored the stand of both parties on foreign aid and the liberal tariff policies of the Administration.

"I want to offer the hospitality of our home to some mighty fine Americans," Mr. Andrews told his cheering audience.

"I note that the President, Mr. Paul Hoffman, the Fund for the Republic and others are talking about writing off many loyal Americans as members of the Republican party," he said. "The news stories indicate that these include Republican Senators William E. Jenner of Indiana, George N. Malone of Nevada, Henry C. Dworshak of Idaho, Andrew S. Schoeppel of Kansas and Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, as well as Gov. Bracken Lee of Utah.

"I want to say these unyielding patriots that our door is open to them and that we can assure them that with us they will be safe from purge or liquidation. We welcome to our cause all who love their country and sincerely seek return to constitutional government and a genuine two-party system."

Manion Is Keynoter

Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the University of Notre Dame Law School, dismissed by the Eisenhower Administration in 1954 as chairman of the President's Commission to Study Federal State Relations, acted as keynote speaker at tonight's gathering. He warned that "the bipartisan aid give-away program is about to involve us in war in the Mediterranean."

SEGREGATION LEADER WILL ADDRESS RALLY

States' Rights Advocates To Hear Kentuckian

Waller Wright of Morganfield, Ky., States' Rights leader credited with organizing resistance to school integration at Clay and Sturgis, Ky., will be the principal speaker at a Shelby County States' Rights rally Monday night at the Rainbow Terrace, according to Willis E. Ayres Jr., Shelby County chairman.

Mr. Ayres said last night attempts are being made to get Thomas H. Werdel, candidate for vice president on the States' Rights ticket, to appear at the rally, which opens at 8 p.m.

States' Rights campaign headquarters will open at the Chisca today, Mr. Ayres said. He said headquarters, on the mezzanine, will be open daily from 8 a.m. until 5 p.m. until the Nov. 6 election. There will be a brief celebration at noon today.

Mr. Ayres said the Shelby County States' Rights Party is supporting the legislative ticket nominated in the Aug. 2 primary.

He earlier announced that T. Coleman Andrews, States' Rights candidate for president, will speak here Nov. 1 at Ellis Auditorium.

34d 1956

States Rights Conclave Hears Blast At Parties

Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Fri. 9-14-56

MEMPHIS, Sept. 13 (AP)—Leaders of a dozen splinter parties charted a "declaration of principles" in privacy today and polished up their oratory for the opening tomorrow of a national states rights conference.

Goal of the conference is to form a coalition third party strong enough to deadlock the November presidential election and throw it into the House of Representatives, where each state has a single vote.

To achieve the goal, states rights candidates would have to win enough electoral votes to prevent either the Republican or Democratic tickets from getting the required 266 electoral college majority.

John U. Barr, New Orleans industrialist and chairman of the federation for constitutional government, sounded a pre-convention keynote today with a blast at both major political parties.

Barr said he was taking a leading hand in the conference because "the federation is dedicated to support any legitimate effort to enable the voters of this nation to protect and defend themselves against the despotism of enforced political conformity."

"The composite platform of the Chicago political clambake that was adjourned on Aug. 17 and concluded a week later in San Francisco made this national states rights conference imperative, Barr's statement said.

His reference was to the Democratic and Republican conventions in Chicago and San Francisco.

An "illusion" of political competition was produced in 1952, Barr said, "but after all the shouting at the national conventions of 1956, that illusion was done to death by the dual and cooperative scramble of both for the bankruptcy of socialistic pap."

"Monopoly in business is dangerous—in politics it is deadly," the industrialist said, adding:

"Socialism served with vulgarity in Chicago and with possibly less vulgarity in Frisco is still socialism, and that's why this nation desperately needs a competitive political movement, and that is what we, with God's help, are determined to start here."

The conference, lasting through Saturday, drew some 200 delegates from about 20 states. They represent splinter parties with roughly identical views on states rights and other political issues.

The keynote speech will be delivered tomorrow night by Clarence Manion, South Bend, Ind., attorney and former dean of the law school at Notre Dame University.

The conference is expected to nominate T. Coleman Andrews, Richmond, Va., Democrat and former commissioner of the Internal Revenue Service, for president, and Thomas H. Werdel, former U.S. Republican representative from Bakersfield, Calif., for vice president.

PLATFORM POLISHED, STRATEGY IS SHAPED BY STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal
Sat. 9-15-56

400 Critics Of Two Major Parties To Endorse Own Candidates Today

Memphis Tenn

INCOME TAX ATTACKED

P. 1

Communism, Immigration Also Blasted At National Conference Here—Manion Stresses Constitution

By THOMAS MICHAEL

About 400 political long-shot players with a common abhorence of both the Democratic and Republican Parties will wind up a two-day conference at the Chisca today by endorsing a former Internal Revenue commissioner for president on a platform that calls for abolishing the income tax.

In sessions yesterday at the hotel and last night at the Auditorium, delegates to the National States' Rights Conference worked to further a scheme which they hope will send T. Coleman Andrews to the White House and make Thomas H. Werdel the vice president. Mr. Andrews, the former Internal Revenue commissioner and a nominal Democrat, is now an insurance executive in Richmond, Va. Mr. Werdel is a former Republican representative from California.

Strategy Is Outlined

The plan is to get enough votes to keep both the Republicans and Democrats from getting a majority of the electoral votes and thus send the election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have one vote. Thus they hope to get their man in.

In the keynote speech at the Auditorium, Clarence Manion, Indiana attorney and former dean of the Notre Dame Law School, termed the conference "a call to action."

He warned, "Unless we can here and now crystallize ways and means to revive popular respect and official enforcement of the constitutional rights of the states, communism will soon take over this country from the inside without firing a shot."

Lashes Administrations

Speakers during the afternoon session included Willis Stone of Los Angeles, president of the American Progress Foundation; Crete Anderson of Canton, Ohio, American Legion official and bitter foe of the present immigration setup, and Miss Vivian Kellums, Connecticul manufacturer and longtime opponent of the Federal Government in a running battle over withholding taxes.

The cheers were loud and frequent for Mr. Stone as he characterized the present and recent administrations in Washington as being communistic in thought and purpose. He said abolishment of the income tax laws, in addition to restoring freedom to America, would result in a net porfit to the Government through decreased expenditures.

Commercial Appeal

The crowd was less attentive and responsive to Mr. Anderson as he built up a case against allowing immigrants to come into this country and help carry it further along the road to communism. "We have enough socialist-minded people here already—we don't need to import any," he said. He also stood against letting in those who are not socialist-minded, on the grounds that they are needed where they are to keep down communism in their own countries.

Miss Kellums had the crowd up and cheering before she even began to speak. They rose and cheered as permanent chairman Earl Evans of Canton, Miss., announced her topic would be "The Tyranny of Texes."

She's A Fiery Speaker

Demure in appearance but a fiery speaker, Miss Kellums had them cheering louder still as she described the American people as "tools and chattels of the Federal Government . . . whose property can be confiscated at will' through income taxes.

The conference has delegates from 25 states, and about that many extreme right-wing organizations are represented. But all are of one mind as concerns contempt for the two reigning political parties, the unconstitutionality of the 16th Amendment (income tax), and states' rights.

One of the more active and vocal groups in attendance is the Constitution Party of the United States, which ran Gen. Douglas MacArthur for president and Miss Kellums for vice president in 1952. They convened last month in San Antonio and nominated Mr. Andrews and Mr. Werdel. The party and the States' Rights Conference have "complete unity of purpose," according to national chairman Philip Lee Eubank of San Antonio.

STATES' RIGHTERS SEEKING COALITION IN MEETING TODAY

Commercial Appeal P. 1
Fri. 9-14-56

Will Effect Tieup Here To Support Independents In Presidential Election

Memphis, Tenn

MANION IS KEYNOTER

P. 1

Group Will Concentrate On 25 States In Effort To Throw Issue Into House Of Representatives

By MOLLEY BYRD

States' righters from all over the nation are in Memphis today effecting a coalition to support independent candidates in the coming presidential election.

Leaders of the National States' Rights Conference—which gets under way at 11 a.m. at the Chisca—carefully avoid any mention of a third party.

The independent candidates will be 'endorsed' rather than nominated. A statement of principles will be drafted instead of a platform. Otherwise the meeting—in its early stages—had all the earmarks of a small but orderly political convention.

25 States Eyed

Plans are being made to get electors pledged to the independent candidates on the ballots of "at least 25 states." And in the lobby of the Chisca policies of the two major parties were being discussed in unflattering terms.

T. Coleman Andrews, a Virginia Democrat and former commissioner of internal revenue, is mentioned frequently as a candidate for president. Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., former Republican member of Congress, is being talked up as his running mate.

Leaders of the conference believe they have a good chance of throwing the election into the House of Representatives by preventing nominees of either major party from receiving a majority in the November election.

If this should happen, each state would have only one vote and the independent candidates could possibly win a compromise victory, States' Righters feel.

Even if their candidates don't win, they say, the conference is "certain to have a profound and lasting influence on Congress, and on the future policies of the old-line parties."

Manion Is Keynoter

The conference will move from the Chisca to Ellis Auditorium tonight and Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the School of Law at Notre Dame, will deliver the keynote address at 7:30.

Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport, La., attorney and chairman of the States Rights' Party of Louisiana, will preside over the opening session this morning.

After the participants have been welcomed to the city by Commissioner Claude Armour, Mr. Chandler will turn the meeting over to Earl Evans Jr., state senator from Canton, Miss., who will serve as permanent chairman.

The verbal fireworks will follow. Senator Evans, who recently resigned as a Democratic presidential elector in Mississippi "rather than vote for Stevenson and Kefauver," said he will "discuss states' rights doctrines in a general way."

Others To Speak

Other speakers expected to be more specific in their criticism of the Democrats and Republicans are William E. Stone of Los Angeles, president of the American Progress Foundation; Crete Anderson of Canton, Ohio, chairman of the Immigration subcommittee of the Americanism Commission of the American Legion; and Miss Vivien Kellems, independent candidate for the Senate in Connecticut.

John U. Barr, New Orleans industrialist and a leader of the conference, said action on the endorsement of candidates and adoption of the statement of principles will be taken either tonight or tomorrow morning when the confeernce will be reconvened at 10 a.m.

State Right Rally Rips Ike, Adlai

Constitution
Sat. 9-15-56
Atlanta Ga.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14 (AP)—The keynote speaker at the national States Rights Conference today accused the federal government of wrecking the Constitution through the power to tax and spend.

Sec. P. 2

Both the Republican and Democratic parties were condemned by Clarence E. Manion of South Bend, Ind., in a talk prepared for delivery in Municipal Auditorium.

It was the climax of a day of speeches attacking the two major parties as "socialistic" look-alikes and urging a coalition campaign aimed at capturing the presidency.

200 DELEGATES

The meeting brought together some 200 delegates from a dozen

splinter parties that, though their titles may vary, are agreed on the doctrine of states' rights.

States Righters argue that the federal government has grown too big and has usurped many of the "rights" that they say belong to the individual states under the Constitution.

"We are now living timorously in the shadow of a towering unconstitutional federal giant that defies limitation through the processes of law that were set up by the founding fathers for the perpetuation of our republican form of government," Manion said.

CHARGE ADLAI, IKE

"The presidential candidates of both major parties are frantically bidding against each other for an opportunity to further inflate the already overinflated magnitude of federal power."

Manion, a lawyer and former dean of the Notre Dame law school, urged the crowd to "rally around those courageous leaders who have rebelled against this taxing, spending spreading destroyer of our liberties."

"RIGHTS" CANDIDATES

"Leaders," he added, "like the former commissioner of internal revenue, T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia, and Thomas H. Werdel of California."

Andrews, a Richmond Democrat, is the States Rights candidate for president. Werdel of Bakersfield, a former GOP representative, is the candidate for vice president.

Unless "popular respect and official enforcement of the constitutional rights of the states" is aroused, Manion said, "communism will soon take over this country from the inside and without firing a shot."

States Righters Will Meet To Set Up Party Platform

MEMPHIS, Sept. 9 (AP)—A collection of splinter parties get together here next week to try to bind themselves into a big political stick.

The occasion: the National States Rights Conference, Sept. 13-15, with delegates expected from 20 states.

The goal is the presidency of the United States through the longshot strategy of winning enough electoral votes to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Main conference business will be to set up a sort of third party platform in a "general statement of principles" which all factions present can endorse.

Kent Courtney of New Orleans handling advance arrangements said all parties concerned already had agreed on these candidates:

T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va. for president and Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., for vice president.

Andrews, a Democrat, was once commissioner of internal revenue. He has advocated "eventual" repeal of the federal income tax. Werdel is a former Republican representative.

The strategy of trying to throw the election into the House is not new. The States Rights party tried and failed in 1948 when it carried four Southern states.

Willis Ayres, Memphis chairman of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, estimates victory in six states could turn the trick in November.

He based this on the expressed belief the Democrats and Republicans will run a close race in which the loss of a few states to a third paty would prevent either from gaining an electrical college majority of 266.

If the election were thrown into the House, each state would have one vote—instead of being represented according to population The choice would be from among the three top presidential candidates.

States' Righters Meet Today To Plan Platform And Rules

By ROY JENNINGS

The preliminaries of a conference designed to establish a solid political front of states' rights supporters in the November election will get under way at the Chisca today with sessions by two significant committees.

The declaration of principles committee of the National States' Rights Conference will seek to draft a platform from sets of principles sent here by participating organizations, leaders said.

The committee on rules and resolutions, which lists Joseph Evans of Memphis among its members, will draw up rules to govern the conference.

An estimated 400 delegates from 12 states are expected for the two-day conference which actually starts tomorrow morning at the Chisca.

Designed For Conservatives

Among immediate goals of the conference is the endorsement and recommendation of T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue Service commissioner, for president, and Thomas H. Werdel, Bakersfield, Calif., Republican, for vice president.

R. G. Chandler of Shreveport temporary chairman, said a new political force is expected to emerge from the conference, which will "express the views of the conservative voters who are against socialism as endorsed by the two major parties."

Conference leaders said their platform will not contain a plank on civil rights. That will be covered in principles on states' rights.

A long-shot aim of the group is to win enough electoral votes to toss the presidential election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have one vote.

Conference leaders expressed the belief that the Democrats and Republicans will run a close race in which the loss of a few electors to a third party would prevent either major party from gaining an Electoral College majority of 266.

Manion Is Keynoter

Spokesmen for the conservatives reported their organizations are on the ballots of 11 states which command 120 electoral votes. They indicated they would be pleased to capture 48 of them.

The keynote address will be given tomorrow night at Ellis Auditorium by Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame School of Law. His topic is "States' Rights Prevents [illegible]"

MISSISSIPPI SPLIT RECEIVED MILDLY

States' Righters Challenging Democrats—G.O.P. Toils to Get Out the Vote

Special to The New York Times.

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 18 — Mississippi's Presidential campaign remained in the lukewarm stage today with only the Democrats and the states' righters debating the issues, and on a rather small scale at that.

The State Democratic party has a touring state-wide campaign manager in Sam Wilhite. He recently worked directly with Adlai E. Stevenson, Presidential nominee, on a South-wide basis, with the emphasis on Florida.

Mr. Wilhite has been waging a small-scale debate with State Senator Earl Evans of Canton, a key Mississippi states' rights leader.

Most of the argument has been whether the Democratic party satisfies the needs of Mississippi and the South in regards to the segregation problem.

Most of the speaking has been done before civic, business or professional clubs.

On Sunday, the states' rights group bought television time and another state-wide leader, State Senator W. B. Alexander of Cleveland, revealed that if the states' rights electors — unpledged on the ballot — carried enough states, "we could elect a states' rights President."

Mr. Alexander declined to identify any particular states' righter but he said T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia was not the man. Mr. Andrews has accepted the nomination of the states' rights national convention.

The Republican group, always a minority in Democratic Mississippi, has had little to say so far in the Presidential race.

Most of the G. O. P. comment has been confined to getting out the vote for President Eisenhower. Many Mississippi Democrats voted for General Eisenhower in 1952.

None of Mississippi's Democratic candidates for state office has opposition.

However, Representative John Bell Williams of the Fourth District is engaged in a well-received "report to the people" on the recent Congressional hearings on integration of public schools in Washington, D. C.

Reports are widespread that Mr. Williams may announce his support publicly for the states' rights movement. He told the Lions Club here last week he "could not vote for Eisenhower and Nixon and also could not vote against my conscience."

The "against my conscience" comment is taken to mean he may not vote for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket because of the liberal position the Democratic candidates have taken on the Supreme Court desegregation ruling.

Mr. Williams said he would make "an important announcement Monday" on the matter.

Young Democrats Active

Meanwhile, the Democratic campaign is receiving active support from the newly organized Young Democrats of Mississippi.

Chapters have been organized in Jackson and at the university in Oxford. Charles D. Huspeth, president of the Jackson Young Democrats, said other chapters would be organized in a dozen other Mississippi towns next week.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, asserting that the Mississippi Democratic party had restored itself to national respect and admiration by its conduct at the national convention in Chicago, issued a strong warning to dissident Democrats at his news conference Tuesday.

With obvious reference to the rumor of Mr. Williams' support of states' rights, Governor Coleman said, "any man in public life in Mississippi who fails to support the Democratic party this year will be finished politically."

STATES' RIGHTS AIDE SEES GOOD SHOWING

Special to The New York Times.

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 14—A leader of the state's rights movement believes its presidential candidate has "an excellent chance" of carrying most of ten Southern states.

The estimate was made today by John U. Barr, New Orleans industrialist, who is here for the start of the group's national convention tomorrow night. Mr. Barr is national co-chairman of the unit's Presidential campaign committee.

He did not specify which states he thought carried the best chances for the candidates. They will formally accept a draft as independent conservatives at the rally of states' rights and tax reform groups.

The presidential candidate will be T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, former head of the Internal Revenue Service under President Eisenhower. His running-mate will be Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., former Republican Congressman.

The candidates will be listed on ballots in Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia. Independent electors supporting states' rights will be on ballots in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina.

34d 1956

States' Righter Charges US Is Wrecking Constitution

Power to Tax and Spend Attacked

Sat. 9-15-56

By BILL CRIDER

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14 (AP)—The keynote speaker at the national States' Rights Conference today accused the federal government of wrecking the Constitution through the power to tax and spend.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties were condemned by Clarence E. Manion of South Bend, Ind., in a talk prepared for delivery in Municipal Auditorium.

It was the climax of a day of speeches attacking the two major parties as "socialistic" look-alikes and urging a coalition campaign aimed at capturing the presidency.

The conference called together 317 delegates from a dozen splinter parties that, though their titles may vary, are agreed on the doctrine of states' rights. The delegates represented 25 states.

"We are now living timorously in the shadow of a towering unconstitutional federal giant that defies limitation through the processes of law that were set up by the founding fathers for the perpetuation of our republican form of government," Manion said.

Urges Support of Leaders

Manion, a lawyer and former dean of the Notre Dame law school, urged the crowd to "rally around those courageous leaders who have rebelled against this taxing, spending spreading destroyer of our liberties."

Unless "popular respect and official enforcement of the constitutional rights of the states" is aroused, Manion said, "communism will soon take over this country from the inside and without firing a shot."

The first general session was gaveled to order this morning by R. C. Chandler of Shreveport, chairman of the States' Rights party of Louisiana.

Chandler then turned the gavel over to the permanent chairman, Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, president pro-tem of the Mississippi Senate.

John U. Barr, retired New Orleans industrialist, chairman of the Federation for Constitutional Government, said "independent" electors pledged to States' Rights candidates will be on the ballot in "at least 25 states," under present plans.

STATES' RIGHTS MEETING IS SET

Times-Picayune

New Orleans, La.

Shreveport Lawyer Will Preside in Memphis

Sun. 9-4-56

MEMPHIS, Sept. 3 (AP)—A Shreveport, La., attorney, Robert G. Chandler, Sunday night was named temporary chairman of the National States Rights Conference which will be held here Sept. 14-15.

Willis E. Ayers Jr., arrangements chairman for the conference, said about 2,500 delegates are expected. They will represent states which have qualified or are qualifying States Rights electors.

The conference was called by combined States Rights groups with the announced intention of forming a third party strong enough to prevent either the Democrats or Republicans from winning a majority of electoral college votes in the November election.

Want House to Elect

If neither ticket received the required 266 electoral votes, the election of a president and vice-president would be thrown into the House of Representatives where each state would have only one vote.

A number of States Rights leaders have endorsed T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va., former commissioner of internal revenue, as the coalition's candidate for President.

Chandler, here for a conference planning session, said a "national figure" would be named permanent chairman of the Memphis meeting.

"We will agree," he said, "on a common declaration of principles and a common endorsement of candidates."

He added:

"There are a great many groups in this country, all dedicated to preserving our Constitution and the identify and autonomy of our states. These groups all feel that if the present trend continues, the states will be reduced to mere geographical expressions.

'No Two-Party System'

"We feel that we no longer have a two-party system. We feel we have Socialist party A and Socialist party B, one being a little less radical than the other."

Main purpose of the conference, Chandler said, will be to effect a coalition of the vatious States Rights groups "so that their influence will be felt."

"We are not claiming that we will win the presidential election in the Electoral College. But we do believe that we can throw the election into the House."

Kent H. Courtney, chairman of the conference's publicity committee, said nine states already have qualified States Rights electors. He listed the states as Washington, Iowa, Wisconsin, Connecticut, New Jersey, New Mexico, Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee.

South Carolina, Texas and Mississippi, he said, are assured of such electors, although they are not yet qualified.

STATE RIGHTERS FILE ELECTORS

Times-Picayune

1400 Miss. Voters Sign Petitions

Fri. 9-14-56

(The Times-Picayune Capital Bureau)

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 13 — The "Mississippi for States' Rights" Thursday filed with Secretary of State Hebert Ladner their slate of independent presidential electors backed up by a petition bearing names of 4000 Mississippians.

Russel D. Moore, secertary of the States' Rights group, said that only 1400 out of the 4000 names on the petition were certified by county circuit clerks as qualified electors.

The certified petitions were from only eight counties, while signers were received from 53 counties, Moore said.

State election laws provide that an independent slate of presidentia electors can be put on the ballot by a petition of 1000 qualified voters.

Asst. Secretary of State James V. Carr, acting in the absence of Secretary of State Ladner, immediately turned the papers over to Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson to determine whether they are sufficient to qualify the slate under the law.

Paterson said he would have to take the petition "on its face value." If it is sufficient, he added, "I don't see why we can't go ahead and put them on the ticket."

If the independent electoral slate goes on the ballot, it will bring to four the number of electoral slates which will appear before Mississippi voters in the November 6 presidential election.

The Mississippi Democratic party has qualified its slate of electors to Adlai E. Stevenson and Estes Kefauver. Two slates have been filed as pledged to President Eisenhower and Vice-President Nixon.

One Eisenhower slate belongs to the Mississippi Republican party (Lily Whites) which is the faction reorganized as a party by the state government. The other slate belongs to the "Black and Tan Grand Old Party," A wing of Republicans in Mississippi led by Perry Howard, Negro attorney of Washingtin and Jackson.

The unpledged slate of electors was proposed by the "Mississippians for States' Rights" because of their dissatisfaction with the two major parties. They are nominal Democrats who have opposed the endorsement of Stevenson and Kefauver by the state's regular Democratic party machinery.

The MSR group has said its electors will be independent agents, pledged to vote only for persons who support segregation and states' rights "principals."

STATES RIGHTERS MEET IN MEMPHIS

Times P. 7

Parley Opens With Attacks on Democrats and G. O. P. —Income Tax Scored

Sat. 9-15-56

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14—The National States Rights Conference opened a two-day meeting here today with the avowed purpose of influencing the outcome of the Presidential election on Nov. 6.

There were 317 registered delegates from twenty-five states at the opening session. About 150 other persons attended either as spectators or interested workers for a states rights political movement.

Throughout the day speakers denounced Democratic and Republican party leadership, the Federal income tax, "world give-away programs" and "usurption" of state and individual liberties by the Federal courts.

They extolled the provisions of the Bricker Amendment, which would limit the treaty-making powers of the President, and scored Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York and United Nations Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. for wresting control of the "true Republican party" from the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

Clement Under Attack

Although a number of those present were persons prominently identified with Southern organizations working to maintain racial segregation, there was no special reference to interracial problems during the business sessions. For the most part this was handled by speakers as a problem stemming from Federal court "usurpations."

However, pro-segregation organizations distributed literature in the hotel lobby where the meeting was held. Also, a petition was circulated for the "impeachment" of Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, who ordered National Guard troops into Clinton, Tenn., two weeks ago to restore law and order after mob violence erupted from the integration of the local public high school.

The effort to accommodate the sectional problems confronting North-South delegates with respect to attracting voters to their cause was underscored in a message read to the conference from Charles E. Edison, former Governor of New Jersey.

Mr. Edison's two-page letter urged the meeting to "set a wise course of action" that would be "worthy of support throughout the width and breath" of the country.

Manion Is Keynoter

At a night rally at Ellis Auditorium the delegates heard keynote speaker, Dr. Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame University School of Law, declare that "unless we can hear and now crystallize ways and means to revive popular respect and enforcement of the constitutional rights of the states, communism will soon take over this country from the inside and without firing a shot."

In February, 1954, Dr. Manion resigned as chairman of the Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations at the request of Sherman Adams, the assistant to the President.

Mr. Manion's ouster was attributed variously to his espousal of the Bricker Amendment, his recommendation in a television interview that the Tennessee Valley Authority be sold to private interests and charges that he was frequently absent from commission headquarters.

The conference hopes to get independent electors on the ballots of "at least twenty-five states." If President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson have a close race, it is hoped the independent electors could either force the choice of President into the House of Representatives or else trade for concessions from the major parties.

It is expected that tomorrow the conference will recommend that independent electors in the various states agree on the acceptibility of T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and Thomas H. Werdel, former Republican Representative of California, as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, respectively.

The states represented were Alabama, Arkansas, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and Wyoming.

STATES RIGHTS PARLEY

Times P. 16

Third Party Group to Draft Platform Tomorrow

Thurs. 9-13-56

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 12 (AP)—The resolutions committee of the National States Rights Conference will try to draft a third party platform tomorrow.

Conference leaders expect no great difficulty. The twelve separate organizations to be represented are united on one major point: a vast distaste for the Democratic and Republican parties.

New York

R. G. Chandley of Shreveport, La., a lawyer and the temporary conference chairman, predicted today that a new political force would emerge from the meeting.

The States Rights candidates are T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va., former Democrat, and T. H. Werdell of Bakersfield, Calif., a former Republican Representative.

—Associated Press WIREPHOTO.

MISSISSIPPI AND LOUISIANA delegates have top positions at the National States' Rights Conference being held in Memphis, Tenn. State Sen. Earl Evans Jr. (left) of Canton, Miss., permanent chairman of the conference, and Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport, temporary chairman, are pictured at the rostrum Friday. Delegates from some 20 states are attending the conference.

STATES' RIGHT PARLEY DRAFTS ITS PROGRAM

National Conference Opens Here Friday

400 DELEGATES DUE

The program of the two-day National States' Rights Conference which starts Friday at the Chisca was drafted yesterday to include the names of several Memphians.

City Commissioner Claude Armour will give the welcoming address to the anticipated 400 delegates from 12 states. Dr. R. Paul Caudill, pastor of First Baptist Church, will pronounce the invocation at the opening session.

Seek Common Aim

Conference leaders said they hope to bring together here all the independent political organizations with presidential electors and adopt a common declaration of principle based on strict enforcement of the Constitution "according to the original intent."

A second goal is to suggest to the states that they have their electors vote for T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue chief, for President and Thomas H. Werdell, onetime congressional representative from Bakersfield, Calif., as Vice President.

Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport attorney and temporary chairman of the conference, said he expects a new political force to come out of the conference that "will express the views of the conservative voters who are against socialism as endorsed by the two major parties."

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. F. Kearney of Immaculate Conception Catholic Church will give the invocation at the Friday night session at Ellis Auditorium.

Manion To Speak

Principal speaker will be Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Universit yof Notre Dame Law School. His talk is expected to revolve around the thought of states' rights as the heart and soul of the Constitution, conference planners said.

Dr. A. W. Dick of Second Presbyterian Church will open the Saturday morning meeting by giving the invocation. Earl Evans, furniture parts manufacturer of Canton, Miss., will be named permanent chairman of the conference.

Delegates from 12 organizations are expected to attend. They are the New Party of New Mexico, the Constitution Parties of Arkansas, Tennessee and Texas, American Constitution Pahty of Iowa, States' Rights of Louisiana, Mississippians for States' Rights; Independent Electors of Alabama, South Carolina, Virginia and Kentucky, States' Rights Council of Georgia and Conservatives of New Jersey.

STATES RIGHTERS MEET IN MEMPHIS

Parley Opens With Attacks on Democrats and G. O. P. —Income Tax Scored

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14—The National States Rights Conference opened a two-day meeting here today with the avowed purpose of influencing the outcome of the Presidential election.

There were 317 registered delegates from twenty-five states at the opening session. About 150 other persons attended either as spectators or interested workers for a states rights political movement.

Throughout the day speakers denounced Democratic and Republican party leadership, the Federal income tax, "world pive-away programs" and "usurption" of state and individual liberties by the Federal courts.

The extolled the provisions of the Bricker Amendment, which would limit the treaty-making powers of the President, and scored Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr., former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York and United Nations Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. for wresting control of the "true Republican party' from the late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio.

Clement Under Attack

Although a number of those present were persons prominently identified with Southern organizations working to maintain racial segregation, there was no special reference to interracial problems during the business sessions. For the most part this was handled by speakers as a problem stemming from Federal court "usurpations."

However, pro-segregation organizations distributed literature in the hotel lobby where the meeting was held. Also, a petition was circulated for the "impeachment" of Gov. Frank G. Clement of Tennessee, who ordered National Guard troops into Clinton, Tenn., two weeks ago to restore law and order after mob violence erupted from the integration of the local public high school.

The effort to accommodate the sectional problems confronting North-South delegates with respect to attracting voters to their cause was underscored in a message read to the conference from Charles E. Edison, former Governor of New Jersey.

Mr. Edison's two-page letter urged the meeting to "set a wise course of action" that would be "worthy of support throughout the width and breath" of the country.

Conference leaders emphasized repeatedly that they were not trying to form a third political party but were trying to effect a coalition of "conservatives" who view the Republican and Democratic parties as offering "a choice between Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum in the fight against Fderal Government ncroachmnt."

"You can get a whole lot of socialism under party A and a little less socialism under party B and that's it," declared Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport (La.) lawyer and temporary chairman of the conference.

Manion Is Keynoter

At a night rally at Ellis Auditorium the delegates heard keynote speaker, Dr. Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame University School of Law, declare that "unless we can hear and now crystallize ways and means to revive popular respect and enforcement of the constitutional rights of the states, communism will soon take over this countxy from the inside and without firing a shot."

In February, 1954, Dr. Manion resigned as chairman of the Commission on Inter-Governmental Relations at the request of Sherman Adams, the assistant to the President.

Mr. Manion's ouster was attributed variously to his espousal of the Bricker Amendment, his recommendation in a television interview that the Tennessee Valley Authority be sold to private interests and charges that he was frequently absent from commission headquarters.

Dr. Manion said here that it is now time to offer the voters a Presidential candidate, whose primary campaign promise is not to provide something for nothing for everybody in the world.

He called the Democratic and Republican Presidential nominees "carbon copy candidates" who declined to introduce "critical issues into the political market place."

The conference hopes to get independent electors on the ballots of "at least twenty-five states." If President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson have a close race, it is hoped the independent electors could either force the choice of President into the House of Representatives or else trade for concessions from the major parties.

It is expected that tomorrow the conference will recommend that independent electors in the various states agree on the acceptibility of T. Coleman Andrews, former Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and Thomas H. Werdel, former Republican Representative of California, as Presidential and Vice Presidential candidates, respectively.

States Righters plan conference

MEMPHIS, Sept. 7 — (AP) — States Rights leaders will meet here next week in a national conference designed to form a third political party and nominate their own candidates for president and vice president.

About 300 delegates are expected to attend the coalition meeting next Friday and Saturday. Clarence E. Manion, South Bend, Ind., attorney and former dean of the Notre Dame University law school, will deliver the keynote address.

Announced intention of the combined States Rights groups is to win enough electoral college votes in the November election to prevent either the Republicans or Democrats from gaining the necessary 266 majority.

If successful, the election of a president and vice president would be thrown into the House of Representatives where each state would have only one vote.

Leaders here indicated the conference would nominate T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va., as the States Rights candidate for president. Andrews is a former commissioner of internal revenue.

Nine states already have qualified States Rights electors and three other states are expected to qualify a slate.

'3D PARTY' TICKETS ABOUNDING AGAIN

Times P.44-L

The Presidential Year Draws Out 11 Slates Supported by 17 Minor Groups

Sun. 10-21-56

By RICHARD P. HUNT

The "third parties," those hardy perennials of Presidential politics, are blooming in profusion this year.

Some seventeen or more parties of all hues have nominated or endorsed at least eleven separate tickets for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency. Three nominees are Senators; one is a tavern-keeper, one a grocer and one a retired professor of history.

Perhaps the most significant candidate is T. Coleman Andrews, formerly President Eisenhower's Commissioner of Internal Revenue, who was drafted for the Presidency on Monday at a States Rights rally in Richmond, Va.

As most minor party candidates, Mr. Andrews and his running-mate, former Republican Representative Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., are not too sanguine about their prospects of election.

But they hope, in the long tradition of American minor parties, to muster a protest vote that can become significant in the years to come.

Factor in 5 Elections

Third parties have taken part in each of the thirty Presidential campaigns since 1836. In five elections they have been a major factor in determining the outcome, although none has ever elected its own candidates.

Many historians credit minor parties with denying the Presidency to Henry Clay, Whig, in 1846; Lewis Cass, Democrat, in 1848; Stephen A. Douglas, Democrat, in 1860; James G. Blaine, Republican, in 1884, and William H. Taft, Republican, in his bid for re-election in 1912.

Yet the most successful candidate, Theodore Roosevelt, the "Bull Moose" nominee of 1912, polled only 4,127,788 votes, or 27 per cent of the total popular vote. In 1952 all the independents together drew only 309,000 votes, or one-half of 1 per cent of the total.

Mr. Andrews, chosen as a "conservative," has the endorsements of the Constitution Party and the For America Party, as well as other states' rights and constitutional government groups.

Strategy of Party

The strategy is to elect independents to the electoral college, in the hope that both the Republican and the Democratic candidates can be prevented from gaining the necessary clear majority of 266 electoral votes. Then the House of Representatives would choose the President.

Three of the other tickets are also headed by conservatives. They are:

¶Senator Harry F. Byrd, Democrat of Virginia, and Senator William E. Jenner, Republican of Indiana, endorsed for President and Vice President, respectively, by the States Rights Party of Kentucky.

¶Senator Byrd, endorsed for president by the South Carolinians for Independent Electors, who have not yet chosen a vice presidential candidate.

¶Senator Jenner and Gov. J. Bracken Lee, Republican of Utah, endorsed by the Texas Constitution party.

Also in the field are three left-wing tickets. These were entered by the Socialist party, the Socialist Labor party, a group that advocates "industrial unionism" on the principles of Karl Marx and Daniel de Leon, and the Socialist Workers party, a Trotskyite group listed as subversive by the Attorney General.

The Socialist Labor candidates are Eric Hass of New York, editor of the party newspaper, and Mrs. Georgia Cozzini, a Milwaukee housewife.

This is the second part of a three-part section consisting of 124 pages. The news summary and index will be found on Page 95. Society news begins on Page 88 and obituary articles will be found on Pages 86 and 87.

The Socialist Worker nominees are Farrell Dobbs, a former truck driver who has served a prison term for conspiracy to create insubordination in the armed forces, and Mrs. Myra Tanner Weiss, formerly a California cannery worker.

The Socialist party, which criticizes the Eisenhower Administration for failure to meet "the new Soviet threat," has nominated its candidates of four years ago, Darlington Hoopes of Reading, Pa., and Samuel H. Friedman of New York.

The other three tickets were put up by the Greenback party, which has been campaigning for "money reform" since 1874, the American Third party, which stands for free beer and less income taxes, and the Prohibition party, which is the oldest continuous third party.

The Greenbacks have chosen Fred C. Proehl, a 75-year-old grocer from Edmonds, Wash., who says he will not campaign much because his customers dislike to talk politics, and Edward Kirby Meador, a Boston book publisher.

The American Third party slate is headed by Henry Krajewski, proprietor of a tavern called "Tammany Hall" in Secaucus, N. J., and Mrs. Ann Marie Yezo, a North Bergen, N. J., housewife.

States' Rights Ticket Polled 289,801 Votes

Star Sun. 12-2-56

By the Associated Press

Official returns from 13 States show States' Rights presidential tickets polled 289,801 votes in the November 6 election. South Carolina's independent electors gathered in about 30 per cent of the total.

Washington Post

Figures from at least half a dozen other States are expected to raise the figure beyond the 300,000 mark, but it will still fall far short of the 1,169,021 amassed by the 1948 States' Rights ticket headed by Strom Thurmond of South Carolina.

This year the various independent elector slates were not organized behind one candidate as was the case in the third party drive in 1948. Some favored T. Coleman Andrews of Virginia, former Federal tax commissioner. Others indorsed Senator Byrd, Democrat of Virginia. Another slate — which polled 20,147 in Alabama—was not committed to anyone, even informally.

Diversified Issues

Another difference this time was that the States' Righters opposed both major party candidates on segregation and other issues. Eight years ago the movement was directed almost solely against President Truman's civil rights program.

Of the 13 States with official returns tabulated, 10 on November 6 gave Mr. Andrews and his running mate, Thomas H. Werdel, former Republican House member from California, 138,342 votes.

They were Arizona 303; Arkansas 7,008; Colorado 759; Florida 1,348; Louisiana 44,520; New Hampshire 111; Tennessee 19,820; Texas 14,951; Virginia 42,964; Wisconsin 6,918. Those in Arizona, Colorado and New Hampshire were write-ins.

Two States, whose independent elector slates had indorsed Senator Byrd and Representative John Bell Williams, Democrat of Mississippi, rolled up 131,312 for these two strong pro-segregationists. They were South Carolina, 88,346, and Mississippi, 42,966.

Alabama's 20,147 for an uncommitted slate was the 13th State to report.

STATES' RIGHTS VOTES 289,801

James Marquis

Sen. Byrd Wins 30 Pct. at S. Carolina Polls

P-30

D. HAROLD OLIVER

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Mon. 12-3-56

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However, the pro-Byrd electors in South Carolina this time did top the Republican vote for President Eisenhower, 88,346 to 75,513. Democrat Adlai Stevenson won the state with 137,820. Former Gov. James F. Byrnes of that state supported the states' righters this time after backing Eisenhower in 1952.

Byrnes opposed both Eisenhower and Stevenson because, he said, there was "little to choose between" them on the civil rights issue.

Sen. Byrd said he felt honored by the suggestion of his name for the presidency, but he told his supporters in October he was not a candidate for any office.

Andrews accepted the States' Rights nomination and campaigned for several weeks prior to the election. He is a Richmond insurance man, and was a supporter of Eisenhower in 1952 while a Democrat.

Associated Press wirephoto

INDEPENDENT CONSERVATIVE CANDIDATES CHOP IT UP
. . T. Coleman Andrews (right) and Thomas Werdel head the conservative ticket. Werdel is the vice presidential candidate.

States Rights bid accepted by Andrews

RICHMOND, Va., Oct. 16 — (AP) — T. Coleman Andrews, who served for three years as chief tax collector of the Eisenhower administration, set out today to present his own presidential candidacy as "a new home for the orphaned members of both the old parties."

The Richmond conservative, 57, designated to carry the States' Rights-tax reform third party banner at a whooping rally here last night, arranged a morning press conference to discuss his campaign plans.

Andrews and his running mate, former Republican Congr. Thomas H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., are on the ballots in 14 states. And in Virginia, at least, where both major parties regard the outcome of the election doubtful, Andrews' States' Rights candidacy could tip the result one way or the other. Virginia went for Eisenhower in 1952 by an 80,000-vote margin.

THE FORMER TAX CHIEF, an Eisenhower Democrat in 1952, told some 3000 supporters last night he didn't know whether his candidacy would draw strength mainly from President Eisenhower or Adlai Stevenson.

"But I do know it wouldn't make any difference which of the two old parties won because we would have a continuation of socialistic government in either case," he said.

Andrews, Werdel and other speakers—notably Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the Notre Dame Law School and co-chairman of the National Andrews-Werdel Committee—received frequent cheers with their sharply-worded attacks on Democrats and Republicans.

DEMANDS FOR THE federal government to leave the states free to operate their schools as they saw fit won the loudest applause and the heaviest boos went to Chief Justice Earl Warren. Andrews referred to Warren as "the great Republican chief justice and integrationist, Earl Warren."

One of Andrews' sharpest jabs at his former boss, Eisenhower, came after Manion and Dan Smoot, Texas radio commentator and writer, referred to the endorsement of the president by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, Negro Democrat of New York.

Powell was quoted by Smoot as having said in a filmed television speech (CBS) Sunday night that he had asked Eisenhower what the president would do if a school district refused to obey Federal Court school desegregation orders.

IN REPLY, the president was quoted as saying: "Mr. Powell, I advocate that the Federal Court should take action with federal marshals, swear in deputies if they need them, go out and arrest anyone that refuses to obey their order, bring them before the court, try them for contempt, and if they're guilty, put them in prison."

Andrews referred to Eisenhower "scooping up" Powell's support and said:

"I wonder how my Democratic friends supporting the Republican candidate feel now after this switch from peaceful persuasion to deputized force to compel compliance with presumptuous sociological dictum.

"Is that some of the 'peace and prosperity' that they propose to forsake their states and friends for?"

ANDREWS, AN accountant by profession, had Virginia training for his role as head of the Internal Revenue Service. As state auditor he uncovered shortages in the accounts of 42 of the 100 Virginia county treasurers and sent several to jail.

He resigned from the Eisenhower administration last year to become president of an insurance firm here.

The independent ticket is known as the States' Rights Party on the Virginia ballot and by a variety of other names on the ballots of 13 other states.

States' Rights Tickets Drew 289,801 Votes In 13 States

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Supporting States' Rights

It is generally recognized that modern conditions are producing many problems which make for broader central government able to act on the national level. Yet it is evident that increased centralization may mean encroachment on states' rights and added dangers to individual liberties. Just what are the sound limits of the spheres for the federal and state governments respectively and how they can best cooperate in furthering national and state interests are highly important questions.

Attention was focused again on this continuing problem at the annual meeting of the Alabama State Chamber of Commerce yesterday by Eugene F. Rintz, research director of the Council of State Chambers of Commerce. Mr. Rintz said that when the Eisenhower administration first took office "there was reason to believe that the two-decade trend of increasing centralization of government and control of our lives from Washington would be stopped and possibly reversed." But he maintained that "actually, the best that can be said is that centralization has been slowed down in some areas of activity, but it has not been stopped." Many state Chambers of Commerce, he said, are so concerned that the council has agreed to make the fight for states' rights the keystone of its program this year.

No hard and fast line can be drawn defining permanently the two areas of action. The sound approach is to deal individually with each problem which presents an issue as to whether federal or state government should act. But it is well that an organization like the Council of State Chambers of Commerce should maintain an alertness to the problem, seeking to preserve for the states control over those matters which they can best handle.

Gov. Collins Dissolves Legislature Deadlocked by States' Rights Fight

TALLAHASSEE, Fla., Aug. 1, (AP) — Gov. Leroy Collins, in an unprecedented action, dissolved the special session of the Florida legislature today when he said it appeared to be hopelessly deadlocked on the proposition of final adjournment.

Gov. Collins

Collins advised both houses of the legislature by letter he was using his prerogative under the Constitution to adjourn the legislature when the two houses are disagreed on the question of going home.

The surprise action came in the midst of heated House debate on a broadened interposition resolution which would declare "all illegal encroachments on the rights of states" null and void.

The Senate has passed several resolutions calling for final adjournment but the House has consistently refused to pass them.

The House, which had adjourned for 20 minutes to try to work out a satisfactory interposition resolution, was called back into session five minutes ahead of time by speaker Ted David.

He said he had information which "will make further action rather nebulous."

Then he read the governor's proclamation to a startled House He commented as he left the rostrum "I've experienced everything now."

The Senate, which has been trying to adjourn since yesterday, endorsed the governor's action.

Veteran state officials said that the constitutional provision allowing the governor to adjourn the legislature had never before been used.

The legislature already has enacted the five-phase program recommended by Gov. Collins for heading off integration in the public schools and other facilities.

It provides for assignment of teachers and students to schools to which they are considered best suited by school boards, gives the governor extraordinary powers to deal with emergency situations and draw up regulations covering such situations and includes a resolution criticizing the U. S. Supreme Court for its alleged encroachments on states' rights.

Some legislators have attempted to strengthen the state's position in efforts to prevent race mixing by offering an interposition resolution and other segregation measures.

These legislators concentrated on the resolution by Bryant which sought to declare "null and void" actions of the U. S. Supreme Court "encroaching on states' rights."

Opposition came from House Speaker David and Rep. John Crews of Baker County, both of whom objected to any declaration that the U. S. Supreme Court's rulings can be held void by a state.

States Rights Party Formed In Louisiana

SHREVEPORT, La. — A new political party, dedicated to the protection of states' rights, has been organized in Louisiana, according to Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport attorney and chairman of the organization's executive committee.

The independent party, which has taken the name "The States Rights Party of Louisiana," has begun a drive to name a slate of candidates for presidential electors on the Nov. 6 general election ballot.

The party held its first political rally last week and heard a talk on "states rights and the Constitution" by Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the law school at Notre Dame university and a strong proponent of states rights.

Chandler said the party will not support Republican or Democratic presidential candidates as long as either party supports the civil rights legislation now pending in Congress.

He said a full slate of States Rights presidential elector nominees were chosen July 1 in an organizational meeting at Alexandria, La. The 10 nominees consist of one each from eight congressional districts and two at large.

The party has not yet picked presidential and vice presidential nominees, but Chandler said it is expected that electors will be committed by the time elections come up in November.

STATES RIGHTS GROUP TO MEET

To Set Up Permanent Organization Saturday

The Louisiana States Rights party will meet in New Orleans at 10:30 a. m. Saturday at the Monteleone hotel to set up a permanent organization.

The announcement was made Monday by Robert G. Chandler, of Shreveport, temporary chairman of the executive committee of the party.

Chandler said some 50 members of the executive committee of the party will elect a permanent chairman and other officers at the meeting, and will adopt additions to its declaration of principles.

He said letters, calling attention to the meeting, were sent Monday to committee members, to the party's 10 presidential electors and others interested in the party.

He indicated one of the additions to the declaration of principles would favor state ownership of disputed tidelands oil areas. A declaration protesting government competition with private enterprise will also be considered, said Chandler.

The party was qualified by the attorney general's office in July to appear on the Nov. 6 general election ballot.

Southern break from the Demo party is seen

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 9— (AP)—An official of the Louisiana States Rights Party believes a Southern break from the Democratic Party is possible this year and plans are in the making "so the South won't be alone like it was in 1948."

Kent Courtney, acting secretary of the Louisiana group, said co-ordinated States Rights movements range from Massachusetts to California.

In addition to nine Southern sates, Courtney said, there are 17 states which have an independent party framework to catch dissident voters.

Courtney, who said he had been appointed "co-ordinator of new parties for the national committee for a new party," said the States Right movement plans to put up presidential and vice presidential nominees. The action will be taken, he said, regardless of what Southern Democrats do at the national convention in Chicago next week.

He said leaders of the movement plan to meet at Chicago's Palmer House Sept. 12 to formally open a States Rights national headquarters.

SEGREGATION MOVE

Mississippi States Righters Plan Separate Elector Slate

JACKSON, Miss., July 24 (AP) — Mississippi States Righters announced plans today for a presidential elector slate sympathetic toward segregation and pledged to neither the Democratic nor Republican nominee.

Plans to give voters "some choice other than the lesser of two evils" were announced by the sterring committee for Mississippians for States Rights headed by Jackson Attorney W. B. Fontaine.

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan, one of the orginators of the 1956 States Right movement in Mississippi, has said the goal of an independent eloctor movement in the South is to throw the election of the president into the House of Representatives.

Fontaine declined to comment on this after today's meeting.

In the House, each state would have but one vote. To attain their objective, the South's independent elector movement would have to hold the "balance of power" among the nation's presidential electors, depriving both the Republicans and Democrats of a majority.

Today's States Rights action runs counter to the wishes of Gov. J. P. Coleman, a party loyalist who believes the South's "way of life" can survive within the Democratic Party.

Coleman, equally opposed to any breakdown in color bars and proud that "Mississippi hasn't given an inch on segregation," will head Mississippi's 22-vote delegation to the Democratic convention in Chicago August 13.

Coleman put down a States' Rights rebillion at the state Democratic convention earlier this month. The States' Righters wanted the convention to set a date for a recess convention at which Mississippi could size up presidential nominees of both parties — and, obiviously, bolt the Democrats if their nominee is "unacceptable."

Other states fostering States Rights movements this year include Alabama, where an independent presidential elector slate already has been put together, and Louisiana. Louisiana States Righters organized only recently and have not yet named a presidential elector slate.

STATES' RIGHTER SPOT IS ASSURED

Will Be on Miss. Ballot with Three Others

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 28 (AP)— Mississippians will have a choice of four presidential elector slates on the Nov. 6 ballot.

The State Election Commission, after some fussing over the wording, voted today to put on the ballot the regular Democratic slate, the Mississippi (Lily White) Republican slate, the Black and Tan Grand Old Party, and the unpledged slate offered by the States Righters.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman of the three-man commission with final authority over what goes on the ballot, had said he would not vote to put the States' Righters on because they list themselves as unpledged.

The governor said Sen. Earl Evans of Canton, who quit as a Democratic presidential elector to become a States' Righters leader, had said publicly the States' Rights electors would vote for T. Coleman Andrews and Rep. Werdel (R-Cal).

Letters of Assurance

Coleman told the commission, however, that seven of the eight electors had written him letters assuring him they are in truth independent. Secretary of State Heber Ladner, who with Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson completes the makeup of the election commission, said the eighth had offered similar assurance.

That satisfied the governor as to their eligibility to go but he then tried to get their ballot heading changed to add the phrase: "Unpledged to any candidate or party."

Coleman has argued that the States' Rights electors, being independent, can actually vote for anyone they please in the electoral college—including Eisenhower.

Patterson and Ladner, however, insisted that the heading "independent candidates for presidential electors, unpledged" was sufficient.

"I appear to be out-voted," Coleman said.

State Rights Parleys Merge

CHICAGO, Sept. 3 (AP)—A state's rights convention which had been planned for Chicago has been merged with one to be held in Memphis.

Robert Bent Taft, chairman of arrangements for the canceled Chicago meeting, said today the change was made to assure a unified national meeting of conservatives.

The Chicago meeting had been scheduled to open tomorow. It was sponsored by the Grass Roots Assn. and the Independent Elector Plan Assn., both of Chicago. The combined meeting originally planned by groups of Southern conservatives, will be held at Memphis Sept. 14-15.

States Rights Electors Filed In Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 13 (AP)— Mississippians for States Rights, an offshoot of the Democratic party, today qualified an independent slate of electors pledged only to states rights and segregation.

The secretary of state's office said three attorneys, states rights secretary Russell Moore and Sebastian Moore of Jackson and John McLaurin of Brandon, filed the papers which included a 1,400-signature petition.

The eight electors were identified as Dr. Monte Q. Ewing of Amory, John Ben Perry of Grenada, State Sen. Thomas Williams of Lexington, W. B. Fontaine of Jackson, John C. McLaurin of Brandon, Dudley W. Conner of Hattiesburg, J. H. Peebles of Greenwood and Clay Tucker of Woodville.

The States Rights group now must qualify under the state's Subversive Activities Act by swearing it does not plan to overthrow the U.S. government by force. The state attorney general must approve the slate for printing on the ballot for the Nov. 6 general election.

The States Righters are holding their national convention in Memphis, Tenn., under the permanent chairmanship of Mississippi State Sen. Earl Evans of Canton who resigned as a Democratic elector because he could not support Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver.

Gov. J. P. Coleman and most of Mississippi's Democratic state officials have announced support of the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. They expressed belief the States Rights movement would not carry Mississippi.

RIGHTISTS ASSURED SUPPORT IN BOLIVAR

Campaign Managers Picked For County Race

ELECTORS NOT PLEDGED

Special to The Commercial Appeal

CLEVELAND, Miss., Sept. 21. Bolivar County States' Righters were all set Friday to wage an all-out campaign to carry this Delta area for a slate of independent, unpledged, presidential electors in the November general election.

Co-managers to handle the campaign in the precincts began organizing following Friday night's opening rally keynoted by state Senator Earl Evans Jr. of Canton.

Managers Named

Named for those assignments were Mrs. Florence Sillers Ogden, newspaper columnist of Rosedale and sister of House Speaker Walter Sillers, and former Sheriff J. W. McClellan of Cleveland.

Frank Wynne, county prosecuting attorney, was chairman of the rally at which W. B. Alexander Jr., attorney and son of the state senator, was named secretary of the Bolivar County organization. Ben Mitchell, accountant of Cleveland is treasurer.

Senator Evans, third ranking state official as president pro tem of the Senate, has taken the lead in a campaign designed to throw the presidential election in the national House of Representatives by winning enough unpledged electors to prevent the two major parties from gaining the required majority.

Senator Evans said the States' Rights electors remain unpledged despite reports quoting him that they had been pledged to T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue commissioner, and Thomas Werdel, former Republican representative of California.

Coleman's Threat

Gov. J. P. Coleman, member of the three-member state board of election commissioners, said if the States' Righters electors are pledged he will vote to keep them off the ticket. He said their affidavits show they are unpledged and if there has been a change they fail to comply with statutes requiring political parties to select electors in legally constituted conventions.

Senator Evans said the electors were in accord with the principles of states' rights, state sovereignty and segregation as outlined at a national States' Rights meeting in Memphis last week, but they have not been pledged to the two candidates endorsed by that organization.

STATES RIGHTERS PONDER 3D PARTY

Move at Memphis Meeting Gains Momentum Despite Efforts of Leaders

By JOHN N. POPHAM

Special to The New York Times.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 15— Delegates to the National States Rights Conference became embroiled today in a behind-the-scenes controversy over whether to start a formal third party for this year's Presidential elections.

The conference opened a two-day meeting yesterday for the avowed purpose of influencing the outcome of the Presidential election Nov. 6. Attending are 317 delegates from twenty-five states.

Conference leaders emphasized repeatedly at yesterday's session that they were not trying to form a third political party but were trying to effect a coalition of "conservative" organizations that view the Democratic and Republican parties as "carbon copies of socialistically inclined governmental philosophies."

This morning, however, a series of speakers unexpectedly injected third-party recommendations into the business session. Their remarks were greeted with loud cheers of approval. Momentum mounted swiftly in support of a third-party movement.

John U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist who has been active in dissident political movements in the South in the last three Presidential elections, sought to check the third party development.

The center of controversy shifted from the business session to the hotel corridors and rooms, where group leaders were sharply divided over the issue.

Seeks to Block 3d Party

Mr. Barr told newspaper men: "If they set up a formal third party they're dead." He said he was urging others that "the parties must remain separate if independent slates of electors are to be effective."

Some of the Southern state leaders made the point that "in this region the Democratic party is like a Bible and the people vote a straight ticket, which means a third party at this time has no chance for acceptance."

Those supporting the third-party suggestion largely took the position that the conference was "a real grass-roots meeting with great enthusiasm and demanding a call to action that will present our cause to the country in dynamic terms."

The controversy became so heated and widespread that it slowed down the scheduled progress of the meeting. It had been expected that the conference would conclude at about noon with the endorsement of a Presidential candidate and a "statement of principles."

Because of the prolonged wrangling, however, the conference adjourned for lunch and officials indicated that the afternoon session would be protracted. Some of the delegates had made travel reservations for early in the afternoon.

Harmony Move Debated

In the afternoon session a move was made to attain harmony by proposing that the delegates endorse a resolution describing the proceedings as having formed a "new party" rather than a "third party," with emphasis on the theme that the Republican and Democratic parties are "really just one party."

Late in the afternoon the proposal still was being debated.

The stated goal of the conference is to get independent Presidential electors on the ballots "of at least twenty-five states." If President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson have a close race, it is hoped that the independent electors might win in enough states to deny either of the two principal candidates a majority of the electoral votes.

In that event, the conference leaders believe they could obtain "concessions" on Governmental policies from the major parties by threatening to cast their ballots for an independent candidate and thereby force the choice of President into the House of Representatives.

'Acceptable' Candidates

The conference agenda called today for the "endorsing" of T. Coleman Andrews, Richmond, Va., business man and Commissioner of Internal Revenue in the Truman Administration, and Thomas H. Werdel, former Republican Representative from California, as "acceptable" candidates for President and Vice President.

Speakers today continued to attack the Democratic and Republican parties as proponents of confiscatory income taxation, "world give-away programs" and "usurpation" of state and individual liberties by Federal courts.

A Texas delegate described the conference today as "just like the Democratic and Republican national conventions, full of enthusiastic people trying to hammer out a policy that will harmonize conflicting views."

COLEMAN CONSIDERS STATES' RIGHTS BAN

He Threatens To Keep Them Off Nov. 6 Ballot

'INDEPENDENCE' IS ISSUE

By The United Press

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 20.— Gov. J. P. Coleman threatened Thursday to keep a so-called States' Rights slate of electors off the Nov. 6 ballot if they insist on supporting T. Coleman Andrews for president.

But W. B. Fontaine, chairman of Mississippians for States' Rights and one of the disputed electors, denied they were committed to anybody.

'Independent' Slate?

The slate was qualified as "independent and unpledged."

"I'm not going to perpetuate a legal fraud by putting them on as unpledged if the truth is they are pledged," Governor Coleman told a press conference.

The Governor is chairman of the election commission which must approve the general ballot before it is submitted to the people. Other members are Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson and Secretary of State Heber Ladner.

Governor Coleman said he was speaking only for himself. He said he would approve the States' Rights slate if they submit sworn statements saying they are unpledged.

He made the statement after he was informed that state Senator Earl Evans of Canton had said in a television interview that all eight of the "independent" electors had agreed to support former the internal revenue commissioner as President and former California Representative Thomas Werdel as vice president.

Some Came To Memphis

Senator Evans pointed out that some of the electors attended the national States' Rights conference in Memphis which endorsed Mr. Andrews and Mr. Werdel. He said the others told him later they would vote for the States' Rights candidates. Senator Evans said the only reason the electors were listed as unpledged was that it was not known at the time who would be elected to carry the States' Rights banner.

Mr. Fontaine said, however, Mr. Evans may have conveyed the wrong meaning.

"My thought is that we are not pledged to anybody," he said. "We did not commit ourselves to support anyone at that conference. It was just recommended that we cast our vote for those two men."

Just Against Democrats?

But Governor Coleman said "the whole thing is that these people are against the Democratic Party and they don't want to plead guilty before the people to being Republicans.

"They call themselves independents to get on the ballot and States' Righters to get the support of the public."

The election commission will meet after the next Thursday deadline for qualifying electors to approve the ballot.

Two Slates Of Electors Offered 'Ike' Backers

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 20.— (UP) — Mississippi's vote for President Eisehower and Vice President Nixon Thursday appeared certain to be split between at least two tickets in the Nov. 6 election.

Gov. J. P. Coleman, chairman of the state election commission, told his news conference he will oppose consolidation of the vote as was done under in independent Citizens for Eisenhower slate in 1952.

Governor Coleman said he will object on legal grounds the withdrawal of either of the two slates of electors already qualified. They are the rival "Lily White" and "Black and Tans" slates, both pledged to Mr. Eisenhower and Nixon.

In 1952, both groups withdrew in favor of the compromise slate pushed by Jackson hotelman E. O. Spencer which captured 110,000 votes.

Mississippi Roundup—

Post-Herald
Birmingham, Ala.
May 5-21-56

States Rights Group Calls Meeting May 30

JACKSON, May 20 (U.P.)—Mississippians for States Rights, a group to name a slate of presidential electors pledged to principles instead of candidates, have announced a state-wide meeting here May 30.

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan, temporary chairman, said a permanent organization would be set up at the meeting set for 2 p.m. at the Heidelberg. He said "a group from Alabama" will present "and plans are being laid to have a group from three or four other Southern states where plans are under way to put up unpledged electors."

If both parties come up with candidates and platforms unsuitable to the South, the group hopes to throw the election into the House of Representatives where Southerners would be able to bargain for segregation and states' rights.

McGowan said the group hopes to "set up state, county and district committees of Mississippians for State Rights whose chief function will be to make available to every voter in this state information concerning the presidential campaign as it develops."

"We positively refrain from provoking any feud or fight between Mississippians," he said. "We simply want the people to have all the information before making a choice."

RIGHTS BILL STIRS ATTACK IN HOUSE

Times P. 19-C

7 Southerners of Judiciary Committee Also Criticize the Supreme Court

Sun. 5-22-56
New York N. Y.

WASHINGTON, May 21 (U.P.)—Southern members of the House Judiciary Committee denounced President Eisenhower's civil-rights program today as a threat to states' rights.

They also criticized the Supreme Court, charging that the justices had overturned "so many sound decisions" that their rulings no longer could be accepted as "settled law."

The Southerners listed their objections in a minority report on the four-point civil-rights bill approved by the Judiciary Committee earlier this month. The majority report has not been released.

They said a great deal of "punitive" civil-rights legislation already was in force. The new bill, they added, would open "a pandora's box" of additional regula-regulation.

The group said the Federal Bureau of Investigation was kept so busy investigating civil-rights complaints that "we wonder whether or not the F. B. I. has been able to diligently pursue and investigate the cases involving the national security."

The Administration bill would create a bipartisan commission to study civil rights, establish a civil-rights division in the Justice Department, empower the Attorney General to bring such cases directly into Federal courts and strengthen Federal laws protecting voting rights.

The report was signed by six Democrats and one Republican.

Democratic signers were Representatives E. L. Forrester, Georgia; Woodrow W. Jones, North Carolina; Robert T. Ashmore, South Carolina; James B. Frazier Jr., Tennessee; William M. Tuck, Virginia, and Edwin E. Willis, Louisiana. The Republican was Representative Richard H. Poff of Virginia.

The report said the bill would make the Federal Government "parent and guardian of all groups covered by this legislation, and the pursuer of all other citizens."

It said creation of a civil-right divisions under an Assistant Attorney General would permit the Government to "invade" state and local governments in matters involving segregation, schools and elections.

"Certainly this would be a Frankenstein and a constant threat to any state or local government and to virtually every officer and agent of such governments," the report said.

The group also charged that the committee had taken testimony only from supporters of the bill. They said much of the testimony had been "completely hearsay, rumor, wild and unsubstantiated chargesd."

STATES SEE PERIL IN SEDITION EDICT

Times P.5-C

Senate Unit Told High Court Ruling Could Undermine Local Governments

Sat. 5-19-56

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 18—A spokesman for the National Association of State Attorneys General said today that a Supreme Court ruling giving the Federal Government exclusive control of prosecutions for sedition could undermine state and local governments.

Graydon M. Smith, Attorney General of Idaho, told the Senate Judiciary Committee that the court's recent ruling that the Federal Government had "preempted" the right to try sedition cases could be carried to an extreme. He said it could give men accused of the Brink's robbery in Boston an air-tight defense.

He offered this as an "extreme example" of the type of abuse that might arise. He urged Congress to pass companion bills sponsored by Senator John L. McClellan, Democrat of Arkansas, and Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia. These would declare that no act of Congress pre-empted a field of jurisdiction from the states unless the act specifically asserted that intention.

The Idaho official noted that in the Brink's case the statute of limitations as far as Federal charges were concerned had expired, making it impossible to bring the accused to trial in Federal Court. The men now are awaiting trial in Massachusetts courts for the $1,219,000 robbery.

'A Distinct Possibility'

"If I were the defense counsel," he said, "I would vehemently contend that Congress has preempted such field [for prosecution] * * *. If our courts should determine that Congress had preempted that field to the exclusion of state law, the persons who have now been arrested * * * in the Brink's robbery case would have to be released and could go their way unmolested."

Mr. Smith said that while he did not think that would happen, it would be "a distinct possibility" if the court's reasoning were followed to its logical conclusion.

Unless Congress blocks the theory that Federal laws preempt a field, he said, all law enforcement "will emanate from Washington."

Thomas B. Gay, speaking for the American Bar Association, also endorsed the McClellan-Smith bill as a "needed reform."

The Justice Department is backing a separate measure that would specifically restore to the states the right to prosecute sedition cases.

MISSISSIPPI TO FORM STATES RIGHTS GROUP

Commercial Appeal

Independent President Slate Of Electors Is Goal

Sun. 5-20-56

JACKSON PARLEY MAY 30

Memphis Tenn.

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., May 19.—A permanent statewide organization of "Mississippians for States Rights" will be set up here May 30. It will qualify an independent slate of presidential electors pledged to the principle of constitutional government rather than an individual.

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, temporary chairman of the initiating group, announced the statewide meeting Saturday. It will be at 2 p.m. at the Heidelberg Hotel.

Committees To Form

He said the May 30 meeting will also set up state, county and district committees "whose chief function will be to make available to every voter information concerning the presidential campaign as it develops."

"We plan to let the people know just how each candidate stands on the principles of states rights, constitutional government and segregation which we believe must be preserved if we are to survive as a free people," judge McGowan said.

"We will positively refrain from provoking any feud or fight between Mississippians," he explained. "We simply want the people to have all of the information before they make a choice, because when people are compelled to make a choice between two evils, it is a sure sign that someone has failed them somewhere along the line."

Cites Powerful Forces

Asserting "this is no rash and intemperate move," the circuit judge said "powerful forces are at work over the country, both North and South, to bring about the election of such a large number of unpledged electors that neither major party candidate will receive a majority of the electoral votes."

"For the first time in more than a century, disturbed people all over the nation are looking to the South for leadership," he asserted.

Judge McGowan said success of the movement would be "a terrific impact upon the decadent political structure of the country" and the "power of the socialists, the big city bosses and the vicious racial minorities would be broken overnight and a new day would dawn in the political history of this country."

Last week, in announcing plans to set up the organization, Judge McGowan said, "It is to be thoroughly understood that the movement is not the formation of a third political pary." He said it is intended solely to give Mississippians an opportunity to select electors who are not pledged to the nominee of either the Republican or Democratic parties but pledged only to the principle of states rights.

State Vote Cited

Judge McGowan said if the presidentiol election could be thrown in the national House of Representatives each state would have one vote "and it is easily conceivable that a Southern Democrat would be elected President for the first time in more than a hundred years."

Meanwhile, there is a movement under way in Democratic state party circles to give the voters "flexibility" in determining their course in the presidential election. It calls for recessing the July 16 state convention until after the August national convention and then a reconvening to weigh the latter's actons.

Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson has stepped out on the recessed convention proposal, stating it should be approved in view of present positions of national party leaders to ignore Southern customs in the selection of the candidate and drafting of the platform.

Several members of the Democratic State Executive Committee favor the convention recess plan. That was the course taken by Mississippi in 1951, although when the delegates returned in session after the national convention, they agreed to back the party nominees.

Coleman Views Told

Gov. J. P. Coleman is not completely sold on the recess plan as an individual state action. He said he would favor it if other Southern states followed that pattern, rather than leave "Mississippi as a whipping boy of other states which won't stand hitched."

Governor Coleman said the national convention delegates should be sent as "free agents" to barter for favorable consideration. He said he will not be a delegate if "strings are attached to the credentials."

Davis Predicts Constitution Chaos, Bitterness From Rights Bills

Atlanta Ga.
Wed. 6-27-56

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 26 — Rep. James C. Davis of Georgia went before the Senate Judiciary Committee today to oppose vigorously the several civil rights measures now being considered by that body.

Asking the committee to refuse to report the bills, he said the hearings so far had revealed "with unmistakable clarity" that the principal support for such legislation comes from minority racial organizations.

P. 28

"I am convinced there is absolutely no need for any additional civil rights legislation," the Stone Mountain congressman told the Senate committee.

"If civil rights measures of the nature described in the bills before your committee are enacted, they would only result in chaos, bitterness and turmoil in areas which now enjoy harmony and unity. In addition, I am satisfied that the vast majority of right-thinking people of the country are opposed to legislation of the kind."

Secret Rally Paves Way For States Rights Ticket

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 24 (AP).—States Righters who don't like either the Republican or Democratic ticket will meet next month in Memphis, Tenn., to work out their own presidential campaign plans.

Indications the States Righters seek to broaden their scope were seen in the absence of mention of segregation and other regional issues in the announcement after a secretive conference here yesterday.

The States Righters still aren't saying who their standard bearer will be. The Louisiana faction has indorsed former Internal Revenue Commissioner T. Coleman Andrews. A Tennessee man said Mr. Andrews, who now advocates abolishing the income tax, was among prospective nominees discussed at Jackson.

The unannounced Jackson meeting was at a downtown hotel. Reporters were not admitted and most men leaving and entering wouldn't give their names or say what the meeting was about.

Statement Given

At its windup, however, Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson typed a statement for reporters.

It said the meeting brought together representatives of seven Southern States "interested in placing on th ballot on November 6 presidential electors pledged to support candidates for President and Vice President who are dedicated to States rights and constitutional government.

South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee and Arkansas had representatives there for that purpose, he said. He added. without explaining why they were listed separately, that "Virginia and Florida had authorized representatives present."

The September 14-15 Memphis meeting was called "to co-ordinate the efforts of all of the States, both North and South, which have already or are now preparing" to join the splinter movement.

Shun Racial Issue

Judge McGowan's announcement made no reference to segregation, heretofore the rallying cry for the States Righters. He is a member of the steering committee of Mississippians for States Rights.

"A general declaration of principles" will be adopted at the Memphis meeting, he said.

Jack Kershaw of Nashville, executive secretary of the Constitution Party of Tennessee, said "between 20 and 25" States now plan presidential elector slates pledged to nominees sympathetic with States Rights. He said Mr. Andrews was among a number of men under consideration.

Judge McGowan has said the States Righters hope to gain a "balance of power" in the electoral college and throw the presidential election into the United States House of Representatives, where each State has one vote.

4 STATES WILL JOIN STATES' RIGHTS UNIT

Observers Going To Jackson For Dixie Qualifying Of Electors Today

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 20.—Representatives from three Southern states will meet here Tuesday with Mississippians for States' Rights in a movement to qualify independent presidential electors in opposition to those of the major parties in the November election.

W. B. Fontaine of Jackson, chairman of the Mississippi group seeking to throw the presidential election in the national House of Representatives, said the states to be represented are Arkansas, Louisiana and Tennessee.

Johnson Coming

The Arkansas representative will be Jim Johnson, who was recently defeated for Governor on a segregation platform.

Mr. Fontaine said the Mississippi group will announce the eight electors who will be pledged to the principle of states' rights and no particular candidate.

He said the states' righters hope to gain support from Democrats who oppose the national party platform as well as its candidates. Those Democrats who deserted the party in 1952 to vote for the Republican ticket also will be welcomed into the organization, he said.

Meanwhile, Gov. J. P. Coleman and other state officials who attended last week's Democratic National Convention in Chicago prepared to support the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket. They said they feel that course will help secure the important congressional chairmanships for Southerners.

Governor Coleman said he will issue a statement afetr the states' righters meeting, possibly Wednesday. He said he feels Mississippi and the South were successful in beating down a strong civil rights plank through defeat of a proposal calling for enforcement of the Supreme Court's school integration decisions.

Parley In Doubt

Reconvening of the Democrati State Convention for considera tion of the Chicago action was i doubt Monday after Bidwel Adam of Gulfport, chairman o the state committee, said he hac no plans for calling that grouj in session "at this time." Hc had considered calling the committee immediately to determine whether a majority of the 18 members favored reconvening of the state convention.

Before returning to his home Monday after a week-end visit here, Mr. Adam indicated it was doubtful a majority of the committee favored reconvening of the convention.

The other recourse for the second state convention is through petition by 20 per cent of the 280 delegates. A movement is under way to gain sufficient signatures on a recall in event the state committee does not call it.

On another front, E. O. Spencer, hotel executive of Jackson whose Lily-White delegates to the National Republican Convention were denied full recognition, said his course will be determined shortly.

The San Francisco convention refused to unseat the delegates of the Black-and-Tan faction headed by Perry Howard, Negro attorney of Washington and Jackson. Instead, it gave the Spencer delegates seven seats and the Howard wing eight.

"I am thoroughly disappointed in the decision of the contest committee and the Republican National Committee to seat both delegations," Mr. Spencer said. "These committees sacrificed some of their real friends in Mississippi for political expediency in order to cater to minority pressure groups in other states."

Mr. Spencer's delegation was all-white, while the Howard faction was a bi-racial group.

Despite the action, Mr. Spencer said a concreted effort was made to get his delegates to remain in the convention, offering them segregated seating, as well as patronage in the appointment of a sergeant-at-arms and two pages.

Mr. Spencer said Mrs. J. Balfour Miller of Natchez, his group's national committeewoman, and L. B. Jones of Minter City, were named on the platform committee and "immediately joined the other Southern states in protest against the original draft of the civil rights plank."

Mr. Spencer, who also heads the Mississippi Citizens for Eisenhower, made up of many party in 1952 to back the Republi- Democrats who bolted their cans, plans a meeting of that organization soon to decide their future course of action.

He did not state in his prepared release whether he would continue to back the Republican ticket. Since the Republican victory in 1952, the Spencer forces have handled Federal patronage in Mississippi.

State Righters Pick Electors In Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 21 (AP)—Mississippians for States Rights, at a mass meeting which drew a crowd of from 150 to 200, today blasted nominees of both major political parties as "obnoxious" and selected their own presidential electors.

Despite the states' righters' strong stand for segregation and the Southern way of life, their eight presidential electors were pledged to vote only "their conscientious feelings" in choosing a president and vice president.

The delegates girded themselves for the task of obtaining the necessary 1,000 signatures on the petition to place their electors on the Nov. 6 general election ballot.

The eight electors are: Dr. Monte Q. Ewing of Amory, John Ben Perry of Grenada, State Sen. Thomas Williams of Lexington, W. B. Fontaine of Jackson, John C. McLaurin of Brandon, Dudley W. Conner of Hattiesburg, J. H. Peebles of Greenwood and Clay B. Tucker of Woodville.

Strong Third Party Movement Urged

It is clear that neither major party will condone the South's way of life. Both are committed to larger federal government and baseless spending. The Republicans lean more to states' rights (the real issue), but only the States' Rights Party seems dedicated to the preservation of these rights.

Within this coalition of states rights and constitutional government parties, there may be room for all who are dissatisfied with both major parties. By uniting all splinter groups into this movement(now strong in some 30 states), we might return control over local affairs to local governments and wrest control of the federal government from the party "professionals" whose creed is "spend and elect."

A. M. GARRISON.

States Rights Party opens long-shot drive

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Sept. 14—(AP)—The National States Rights Conference to open its ambitious drive today to lay the framework for a third political party.

About 200 delegates from a dozen splinter parties in 20 states were on hand for the first general session.

The three-day conference got off to a quiet start last night with committees laboring over rules and resolutions and a "declaration of principles" — a sort of third party platform.

THE COMMITTEES worked behind closed doors with no hint of the planks being smoothed out.

The long-shot goal of the meeting is to form a coalition strong enough to deadlock the Electoral College in November, throwing the presidential election into the House of Representatives, where each state would have a single vote.

To do this, States Rights candidates must win enough electoral votes to keep either the Republicans or Democrats from getting the required 266 electoral maorjity.

Chairman Earl Evans Jr., of Canton, president pro tem of the Mississippi Senate, presided at today's session.

THE KEYNOTE address comes tonight when Clarence E. Manion, a lowyer from South Bend, Ind., takes the floor at municipal auditorium.

Adoption of the "declaration of principles" comes tomorrow, when all parties represented will be urged to support their candidates:

For president, T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, Va., a Democrat and former commissioner of the U. S. Internal Revenue Service; for vice president, T. H. Werdel of Bakersfield, Calif., a former GOP representative.

STATES' RIGHTS UNIT LISTS PLANS

New Orleans, La.

Claims to Be Part of Nationwide Effort

Jun. 5-30-56

By KEITH FULLER

JACKSON, Miss., May 19 (AP)—Mississippians for States' Rights claimed today they are part of a nationwide effort to either throw the presidential election into the House of Represenatives in November or bargain votes for concessions with the Democrats and Republicans.

In a statement of plan and purpose, the movement said theirs is "no rash and intemperate move. Powerful forces are at work over the country, both north and south, to bring about the election of such a large number of unpledged electors that neither of the major party candidates will receive a majority of the electoral votes. . . ."

The announcement called for a public meeting May 30 in Jackson to be attended by an Alabama delegation and probably "three or four more Southern states."

The announcement said bluntly that if the effort to deny both the Republicans and Democrats a victory in November is successful the unpledged electors could:

Coleman Views

"A. Demand and obtain a return to constitutional government or,

"2. Throw the election into the House of Representatives by casting their electoral vote for some great Southern Democrat like, for instance, Sen. Harry Byrd (D-Va.) or Sen. Richard Russell (D-Ga.)."

Thus far, the week-old organization called Mississippians for States' Rights, has had only one name connected to its organization, that of circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson.

McGowan released the statement of policy and pointed out that if neither the Democrats nor Republicans received a majority of electoral votes the election would go to the House of Representatives where each state would cast one vote for a president and vice-president.

"It is easily conceivable that a Southern Democrat could be elected President for the first time in more than 100 years."

Gov. J. P. Coleman, titular head of the Democratic party in traditionally Democratic Mississippi, has indicated he will have none of this planning. He stated this week he intends to go to the Democratic convention in Chicago in August "with no strings attached by the state Democratic convention" to play the situation by ear. He has asked for an uninstructed delegation.

Strength Test Indicated

The extent of the strength—or lack of it—of the States' Righters may be revealed at the public meeting here May 30.

McGowan's release said "we positively refrain from provoking any feud or fight between Mississippians. We simply want the people to have all of the information before they make a choice. When people are compelled to make a choice between two evils, it is a sure sign someone has failed them along the line."

The States' Righters want Mississippi to elect a set of presidential electors not pledged to either major party.

Their ultimate aim they say is to return to constitutional government as "opposed to bureaucratic socialism and particularly federal interference in the internal affairs of the several states, specifically integration or race mixing."

ORGANIZATION SET UP BY STATES' RIGHTERS

Commercial Appeal

Official 1959

Fontaine Succeeds McGowan As Chairman

Memphis Press

DECLARATION IS ADOPTED

Thurs. 5-31-56

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., May 30.—Two 1955 candidates for governor and nine legislators were among an estimated 250 Mississippians who met here Wednesday to set up a permanent States' Rights organization.

It will challenge presidential candidates of the major parties who favor integration, civil rights and broader Federal powers at the expense of state sovereignty.

Committee Named

The "Mississippians for State's Rights" authorized appointment of a steering committee to qualify indeepndent presidential electors pledged to that principle rather than an individual in event the July 16 Democratic state convention fails to instruct its electors to oppose candidates and platforms favoring integration and civil rights.

The group will also form committees in the 82 counties to inform the voters "as to the true record and political philosophies, intent and purposes of each presidential nominee, the nature and context of the platform on which he runs and what might be expected of him in matters touching our liberties and freedoms."

W. B. Fontaine, Jackson attorney and administrative assistant to the late Gov. Fielding L. Wright, was named permanent chairman of the State's Righters, succeeding Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, who spearheaded the statewide movement.

A declaration of principles based on the "immediate urgency of a return to constitutional government and state sovereignty" was adopted as the battle cry of the State's Righters.

Among those attending the meeting were leaders in the Citizens Councils "dedicated to preservation of segregation" from Alabama, Arkansas and Louisiana, along with W. J. Simmons of Jackson, secretary of the Jackson council.

Barnett, Mrs. Cain Speak

Brief addresses were made by Ross R. Barnett of Jackson and Mrs. Mary D. Cain of Summit, candidates for governor last year.

Mrs. Cain was the only speaker who mentioned Gov. J. P. Coleman's name in the meeting, although several allusions were made to his opposition to the organization.

Governor Coleman, titular head of the Democratic Party in the state, characterized the meeting as an effort to "confuse and destroy" the approaching Democratic state convention. He said it was not necessary since the people can depend on the national convention delegates as well as presidential electors to fight for Southern customs and traditions.

Governor Coleman has urged the convention to send an uninstructed delegation to Chicago in August so its members will be in position to "bargain" for favorable consideration.

Mrs. Cain, editor of a weekly newspaper which was seized by Federal agents for non-payment of self-employed Social Security taxes, said Governor Coleman should heed the fate which faced a legendary personage "who sought to appease friends who later hanged him."

Legislators Attend

Members of the Legislature who attended the meeting in the face of Governor Coleman's request that his friends stay away included Senators W. B. Alexander of Cleveland, Mitchell Robinson of Jackson and T. M. Williams of Lexington, and Representatives Richard Birchett of Yazoo County, Chris Faser of Montgomery County, Jimmy Morrow of Rankin County, Joe Moss of Hinds County, T. J. Montgomery of Holmes County and the Rev. J. T. Weems of Jasper County.

Curt Copeland of Hot Springs, who said he was assistant director of the Arkansas Citizens Councils, addressed the group and criticized Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas for his stand on segregation. He said he is campaigning for the gubernatorial candidacy of Jim Johnson of Crossett.

Luther Ingalls of Montgomery, leader in the Alabama Citizens Council movement, headed a six-member delegation from that state. He said Alabama has already qualified independent electors. He was critical of Gov. James Folsom's position on segregation.

Others from Alabama included Jack Riley, Russell Carter, Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Syfreet and Warren Marshall, all of Montgomery.

Robert G. Chandler, president of the Shreveport Citizens Council, announced plans for qualification of independent electors in Louisiana. Also from Louisiana was Kent Courtney of New Orleans, who said about 15 states nave either qualified electors or are in that process, some above the Mason-Dixon iLne.

Big Delegation

Possibly the largest Mississippi delegation was made up of representatives of the 500-member Grenada County Committee for State's Rights, headed by Bradford Dye Sr. In that group were John Ben Perry and John Lake, business leaders of Grenada.

Johnny May, former mayor of Bruce who campaigned last summer for Paul B. Johnson, was present. Others included Capt. Tom Gibson of Friars Point; former Senator Pat Bridges of Belzoni; former Senator L. B. Porter of Union; Dr. E. A. Copeland, onetime candidate for governor; S. E. Moreton of Brookhaven, president of the Mississippi Forestry Association.

A. K. Farrar, former Wilkinson County legislator; Hugh Gillespie, former Hinds County district prosecutig attorney; Lee Prisock of Jackson and J. O. Hollis of Carthage, former candidate for attorney general; Editor Oliver Emerich of McComb; Weaver Gore of Jackson, former member of the Democrattic State Executive Committee.

George Crawford of Madison, former candidate for United States representative from the Fifth Congressional District; Dr. D. L. Perkins of Jackson, onetime candidate for United States representative from the Fourth Congressional District, Mayor Charles Dorrough of Ruleville and former commissioner of the state Penitentiary; Webb Overstreet Jr., law partner of the ate Governor Wright, and A. S. Coody Sr. of Jackson, retired secretary of the State Tax Commission.

Resolutions Offered

Resolutions setting up the organization werep resented by Will S. Wells, Jackson attorney and leader in the 1952 Democrats for Eisenhower organization.

Named to a committee to select a 12-member steering committee were Mr. Fontaine, Senator Alexander, former Senator Porter, Mr. Dye and Clay B Tucker, former district prosecuting attorney of Woodville.

One of the resolutions stated, "The matter of segregation is a social problem that shoudl be deterimned at the state level."

A unanimously adopted ressolution declared:

"We believe that the most effective way to secure and preserve the principles of states' rights, constitutional government and state sovereignty is to elect and send to the electoral college fearless and courageous electors, unpledged to any individual, that they may be free to choose and elect men to serve as president and vice president who will support these principles."

Judge Brown, in opening the meeting, said that "principles cannot be comrpomised," and declared that has been the technique of the opposition to segregation and constitution gevernment.

STATES RIGHTS MACHINERY SET

Times-Picayune

No Compromise Group Meets in Jackson

Thurs. 5-31-56

By W. F. MINOR

(Times-Picayune Jackson Correspondent)

JACKSON, Miss., May 30 — A group of "No-compromise" states' righters formed here Wednesday standby machinery to put independent presidential electors on the November ballot if they are dissatisfied with nominees of both major parties.

Keynoting the meeting, Circuit Judge M. McGowan, Jackson, said that the plan was "to give the people of Mississippi the right to vote their conscience and not choose between two evils."

In quick succession, the group:

1. Adopted a declaration of principles setting out anti-civil rights and pro-states' rights specifications they will expect in order to vote for a nominee of the Democratic or Republican parties.

2. Formally named themselves "Mississippians for States' Rights," with a steering committee to set up county organizations and select a slate of presidential electors pledged only "to the principles of states' rights."

3. Authorized the steering committee to get the slate in readiness for placement on the November ballot.

'Wait and See Attitude'

4. Adopted a "wait and see" attitude on developments at the state Democratic convention here

July 16 in binding Democratic electors of the state to principles they set out.

They applauded and cheered when one speaker said "I hope J. P. Coleman will remember that" in charging that the state could not afford to compromise with other factions of the Democratic party to retain its seats in the national convention.

Governor Coleman earlier in the week charged that the meeting was aimed at "confusing and destroying" the state Democratic convention, and he called on his "friends" to stay away.

The governor, as head of the state Democratic party machinery, has called for naming an uninstructed delegation to the national Democratic convention and putting "no strings" on the delegation's credentials.

Precinct, County Meetings Detail Convention Program Of Mississippi Democrats

Decide National Delegation Is To Go Uninstructed But Must Remain Adamant On Segregation Policy

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., June 16.—For the first time since the hey-day of the States Rights movement in 1948, Democratic precinct and county conventions have set the stage for the presidential year state meeting.

Usually the preliminaries are no more than that, with the issues reserved for the state convention.

This year, however, the controversies were "beat out" on the grass roots level and settled in advance of the July 16 state convention.

About all that is left for the state convention will be a lot of "talk." A minority group will speak out for an instructed delegation to the Chicago convention, but the votes are against them.

Mr. Toler

Mississippi's National Convention delegates will go to Chicago without any "strings" on their credentials and given a free hand to bargain for considerations favorable to Southern traditions.

That doesn't mean they will be scot-free to take whatever is offered in Chicago. They will have some iron-clad principles to use as a gage for their bargaining.

A resolution setting out Mississippi's "no compromise" position on segregation, along with its interposition mandate against Federal usurpation of the sovereignty of the states, will be adopted at the July state convention as the "rule and guide" of the delegates. It will be within that framework that the delegates, headed by Gov. J. P. Coleman, will dicker for position.

Segregation Stand Stays

Governor Coleman feels that the "free hand" given the delegates is a 'must' if they are to be seated. He does not look on it as any tempering of Mississippi's position on segregation.

Another factor in the uninstructed proposal is that there will be no excuse given for those hostile to Southern traditions to slight the seating of the delegates in the credentials committee. Such an issue could seriously affect the status of the state's Congressional delegation should the delegates be refused recognition. It could open the way for a challenge of the committee posts held by the state's Democratic congressional delegation.

Because of the situation involving the congressional delegation, many state party leaders, who otherwise would tie strings to the national convention delegates, are taking the lead for an uninstructed representation. That favor had more to do with the overwhelming action of the county conventions in favoring uninstructed delegates.

Another controlling issue was the fact that all leaders, including Governor Coleman, favor a "recess" of the state convention for an after-Chicago meeting.

Governor Coleman originally had looked with disfavor on the recess proposal unless a sufficient number of Southern states were willing to do likewise.

Governor For Change

However, the Governor has now agreed to support a change in convention rules under which 25 per cent of the state executive committee members can petition for reconvening of the state convention. That was more or less his compromise with some of those who had favored an instructed delegation to Chicago. Incidentally, it provides the avenue for a "check" on the Chicago delegates and also an opportunity for state Democrats to decide their course in the light of the National Convention actions.

There will be one issue on which all the party members will be in agreement at the July convention, the preservation of segregation. They will join hands in a re-dedication of that position by resolution without tieing it to the credentials of those selected to attend the national convention.

Check Put On Delegates

The "ties" are to be left on the local level through the medium of the proposed recessed state convention.

With other Southern states holding out for segregation and state sovereignty, Mississippi should have plenty company in Chicago. Despite that outlook, it seems that Northern party members opposed to the Southern sentiment are centering their attack on Mississippi. It could be they plan to use Mississippi as the opening wedge against other Southern states.

The Northern integrationists are being blinded to the fact that it was the Southern states that remained "loyal" four years ago. The only thing that will open those eyes is a united Solid South which the threat of integration may bring about before it is too late.

States Rights Talk Heard At Mississippi Meeting

JACKSON, Miss., July 25 (AP).—The State's rights movement glowed with the flicker of a new, uncertain life today—eight years after it swept four Southern States from the Democratic Party.

In 1948 the State's Rights Party sought to prevent either the Democratic or Republican ticket from winning a majority of electoral votes and thus toss the presidential election into the House of Representatives.

The State's rights ticket was headed by J. Storm Thurmond, then the Governor of South Carolina, and the late Mississippi Gov. Fielding Wright. It carried only four States, each in the deep South—Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Hope for Stalemate

This year reports have it that the States Righters again hope for the South to win a "balance of power" among presidential electors—enough of a showing in the electoral college so that neither the Democrats nor the Republicans would have the necessary majority.

The law in that case calls for the presidential election to be thrown into the House, where each State would have a single vote.

W. B. Fontaine, Jackson attorney, declined to comment on this yesterday when the steering committee for Mississippians for States Rights held a meeting here. Mr. Fontaine is chairman of the steering committee.

But Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, one of the originators of the 1956 States Rights movement in Mississippi, has said the ultimate goal is to hand over to the House the job of naming the President.

Mr. Fontaine announced plans for a presidential elector slate in Mississippi sympathetic toward segregation but pledged to neither the Democratic or Republican nominee. He said the slate would be composed of "men and women who stand uncompromisingly for States rights, constitutional Government and segregation of the races."

Want Wider Choice

He declined to say whom the presidential electors would support for President except to say his group wants Mississippi voters to have "some choice other than the lesser of two evils"—the nominees of the two major parties.

Mr. Fontaine said he was satisfied Mississippi will not find the Democratic nominee acceptable.

The States Rights movement has no support from Gov. J. P. Coleman, a militant segregationist but a party loyalist who feels the south's "way of life" can survive within the Democratic Party.

Gov. Coleman will head Mississippi's 22-vote delegation to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. He reportedly favors Adlai Stevenson, who carried Mississippi in 1952, and opposes both Gov. Averell Harriman of New York and Senator Kefauver, Democrat of Tennessee.

STATES' RIGHTS GROUP MEETING IN JACKSON

Mississippians May Wait On Convention Action

JACKSON, Miss., July 23.—(AP)—All members but one will be on hand when the steering committee for the Mississippians for States' Rights meets here Tuesday.

W. B. Fontaine, Jackson attorney who heads the steering committee, said Bradford Dye of Grenada, also an attorney, has to be in court.

"We're trying to get organized," Mr. Fontaine said when asked what is expected to come up at the 9 a.m. meeting. "The situation is the same as last week."

Mr. Fontaine said last week "we may just meet, have lunch, and adjourn until after Chicago," refering to the Aug. 13 Democratic National Convention. "If what they do at Chicago is acceptable, we'll go along with them."

Asked if he had talked with Louisiana citizens who have organized a states' rights movement there, Mr. Fontaine said he had not.

Other members of the steering committee are Senator W. B. Alexander of Cleveland; L. B. Porter of Union and Clay B. Tucker of Jackson.

States' Righters Convene Today In Mississippi

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 21 (AP).—Mississippi States' Righters hold their first State-wide meeting today to circulate petitions for presidential electors pledged neither to Adlai Stevenson nor President Eisenhower.

W. B. Fontaine, chairman of the party's steering committee, said the party would do its work under the watchful eyes of States' rights observers from Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee.

The States Righters want to withhold electoral votes from the Republican and Democratic nominees so neither party can gain a majority in the electoral college.

If that happens, the presidential election would be decided by the House of Representatives, where each State would have one vote, strengthening the South's position.

The States' Righters planned to release the names of their electors and circulate petitions to qualify them for the November ballot.

No specific candidate would receive a pledge from these electors. These men would be pledged to support any candidate who favored States rights and segregation.

There is a possibility that the Mississippi Democratic Party may do the same thing.

The office of Gov. J. P. Coleman said he might have a statement soon on whether the State Democratic Party should reconvene and choose electors unpledged to the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Lt. Gov. Carroll Gartin, chairman of the State convention, yesterday said:

"We made some progress in Chicago. That cannot be denied. We are still in the party, and even though we were extremely disappointed in the nomination of Senator Estes Kefauver—one of the most unpopular men in the Democratic Party as far as the South is concerned—our wisest course is to wait and see where his nomination fits in our overall problem."

Mississippi's New Party Echoes '48

States Rights Slate Revived

By KEITH FULLER

JACKSON, Miss., May 30 (AP)—A group called Mississippians for States' Rights organized today in a noisy, cheering meeting and pledged to qualify independent presidential electors to oppose both Republicans and Democrats.

Delegations from Alabama and Louisiana reported on their similar plans.

AGAINST BOTH PARTIES

The movement was created in Mississippi in opposition to both national parties anticipating neither will present candidates nor platforms accepable to the South.

Backers of the movement hope that by pledging electors to neither major party candidate, enough electoral votes will be diverted to prevent either from gaining a majority. This would throw the election into the House, where a compromise candidate would have a chance, or where the diverted electoral votes could be bargained to force one party to endorse states rights.

The movements do not have the backing of any of the governors of the states involved. Rather, Govs. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi, James Folsom of Alabama, Earl K. Long of Louisiana and Orval Faubus of Arkansas all were sharply criticized for what was called the lack of leadership against federal encroachment of states' rights.

LIKE WRIGHT PARTY

The movement was reminiscent of the 1948 States' Rights party which broke off from the Southern Democratic party in a third party. The late former Gov. Fielding Wright of Mississippi was a vice presidential candidate on that ticket.

Today, W. B. Fontaine, Jackson, former administrative assistant to Gov. Wright was elected permanent chairman of the new group.

Arkansas was represented by Curt Copeland who is under permanent federal injunction against making inflammatory speeches on the race issue.

The Alabama Delegation reported their electors already qualified and will be on the ballot in November. A Shreveport, La., attorney and Citizens Council official, Robert Chandler, said a slate of independent electors would be qualified for Louisiana.

Mississippi Roundup—

Woman States' Righter Plans Stiffer Fight

SUMMIT, June 6 (U.P.) — Mrs. Mary Cain predicted today that her states' right forces "will do better" in their push for a segregation-pledged presidential candidate at the Pike County Democratic convention.

She conceded that her group was outmaneuvered at Tuesday's precinct meeting but she scotched a report that she had lost out as a candidate for the county meeting next Tuesday.

Gov. J. P. Coleman's supporters, just as they were in most of the precincts over the state, were in control and won three of the five precinct delegates from the Summit precinct.

Mrs. Cain was one of the two states' righters who were named as delegates, but she said her group "made a blunder" by not staging a pre-convention caucus on picking the slate.

"We had 14 people at the meeting against 10 pro-Colemans but the Coleman forces wound up with three of the five delegates," she said.

Twice an unsuccessful candidate for governor, Mrs. Cain was accused of deserting the Democratic ranks last week by Gov. Coleman when she met with a states' rights group in Jackson to work for an unpledged slate of presidential electors. The move seeks to throw the election in the House of Representatives, giving the South a strong voice in picking the winner.

MEETING HERE EYED BY STATES' RIGHTERS

Nationwide Gathering Set Tentatively Sept. 14-15

GROUPS TALK IN JACKSON

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss. Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 23. — A nationwide meeting of the states' righters sponsoring an independent slate of presidential electors in opposition to those of the major political parties has been tentatively set for Sept. 14-15 in Memphis.

Announcement of the Memphis meeting was made here Thursday at a conference attended by states' righters from nine Southern states, including Arkansas and Tennessee.

Co-ordinate Efforts

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan of Jackson, one of the backers of the movement to throw the presidential election in the national House of Representatives, said the Memphis meeting will seek to co-ordinate efforts of all states preparing to qualify independent electors.

Coleman opposes the move as futile along with another attempt to give the state delegation to the national Democratic gathering iron-clad instruction to back nothing less than a segregationist candidate.

Coleman, who contends an uninstructed delegation would give the state room to maneuver for concessions, was "highly gratified" by the apparent vote of confidence he received in the hundreds of precinct meetings.

The next step is the county meetings and Mrs. Cain, as did other administration opponents, indicated a stiffer fight is in store for the governor's backers.

Mississippi states' righters are now circulating petitions to secure 1,000 signatures for qualification of their slate of independent electors, pledged to that principle and state sovereignty, and no particular candidate.

Some of those attending Thursday's meeting discussed the possibility of the independents backing T. Coleman Andrews, former Internal Revenue Commissioner, for the Presidency. The Louisiana states' rights party, headed by Robert Chandler of Shreveport, has already endorsed Mr. Andrews.

Citizen Council Guests

The states' righters were luncheon guests of directors of the Association of Mississippi Citizens Councils "dedicated to preservation of segregation". Council members explained there was no connection between the two groups, and the luncheon invitation was extended as a "courtesy".

States represented were Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, Tennessee, Arkansas, Virginia and Florida.

Those present said between 20 and 25 states have already qualified independent electors on the November general election ballot.

Tennesseans Present

Present from Tennessee were Jack Kershaw of Nashville, executive secretary of the Constitutional Party, and L. V. Dubose, also of Nashville, who said he was an "observer."

John U. Barr of New Orleans, chairman of the Federation for Constitutional Government, was in attendance, as was Olin Horton of Birmingham, Ala., president of the American States Rights Association, Inc., a research organization.

Those present were reluctant to reveal their identities.

STATE'S RIGHT PARTY TO NAME ELECTORS

Mississippi Independents Will Enter Own Slate In November

By KENNETH TOLER

From The Commercial Appeal Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 26 — Independent presidential electors to oppose those entered in the November election by the tow major political parties are slated for announcement at a statewide meeting here Tuesday of the Mississippians for States' Rights.

Petitions to secure the necessary 1,000 signatures for qualifying the electors with Secretary of State Heber Ladner have been printed and are ready for distribution.

More Names Assured

Backers of the states' rights movement said several thousand more names than required have been assured.

The electors of the recently-formed Mississippi organization will be pledged only to the principle of states' rights and no particular candidate. The plan is designed to throw the presidential election in the national House of Representatives.

The Mississippians said similar states' rights slates have been qualified in Alabama and Louisiana and efforts are being made to get other states to join in the "withholding" of electors from candidates.

Reaction Awaited

The Tuesday meeting of the states' righters, called by W. B. Fontaine, Jackson attorney who is chairman, will be held at 2 p.m. at the Heidelberg Hotel. Editor Oliver Emmerich of McComb may keynote the meeting.

Among those mentioned for the eight presidential electors posts have been Mr. Fontaine; Mayor John McLaurin of Brandon; J. Ben Perry of Grenada; W. B. Alexander Jr., of Cleveland; Hugh Gillespie Jr., of Raymond; and Dudley Conner of Hattiesburg.

Meanwhile Democratic Party leaders, just back from the national convention in Chicago, are awaiting local reactions before deciding whether to reconvene the state convention.

States Righters to pick slate on Wednesday

JACKSON, Miss., Aug. 13—(AP)—The Mississippi States Righters said they will announce their slate of presidential electors on Wednesday.

The political group intends to follow the announcement with circulation of petitions to put the electors on the November ballot.

Circuit Judge M. M. McGowan, a member of the group's steering committee, said the States Righters want to elect enough electors so that neither the Republican or Democratic presidential candidate gets a majority in the electoral college. The House of Representatives, with each state delegation having one vote, then would decide the election.

THE STATES RIGHTERS, expected to announce a full plan of action Saturday, instead attacked pre-convention activities of the Democratic Party in Chicago.

In a statement, the States Righters said in part:

"We feel that the people of Mississippi are tired and disgusted with this type of so-called party harmony.

"There is no compromise on the issue of segregation. You are either for it or against it."

presidential and vice presidential candidate.

No date was mentioned, but spokesmen said the convention might be held in New Orleans.

Robert Chandler of Shreveport, the new chairman of the party's executive committee, said he could not reveal the identity of the other states. But he did say the States' Righters in Louisiana were working with three other Southern states and possibly two others in calling for a convention.

State Senator Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, one of the Democratic presidential electors, has called for the "after Chicago" session of the state convention. He has announced he will resign his electoral post in opposition to the Democratic candidates as well as the party platform.

Bidwell Adam of Gulfport, chairman of the State Executive Committee, in Jackson Sunday said he would take no action until after Tuesday's meeting of the states righters.

Under provision for recall of the state convention it can be ordered by a majority of the 18-member State Executive Committee or 20 per cent of the delegates.

Coleman Stand Told

Gov. J. P. Coleman, who headed the delegation to the Democratic National Convention, can be expected to wait and see whether the committee or delegates call for reconvening of the state convention. Since the delegation to Chicago stayed in the convention and participated in its actions, its leaders are to support the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket in November.

A few of the delegates indicated they would not back the national party candidate.

Administration forces will likely oppose any effort to have the state convention, if reconvened, select two slates of presidential electors—one pledged to the party's candidates and the other unpledged. They feel obligated to stand with the national party and if another slate is qualified it should be by other than the state convention.

The state convention has already named the Democratic electors, although two of them are resigning. Their posts will be filled by the State Executive Committee.

Two Are Listed

The two are Senator Evans and Brinkley Morton, attorney of Senatobia. Mr. Morton, a former state legislator, is to enter the Episcopal ministry.

Indications are there will be four slates of electors on the November ballot. The regular Democrats, the States Righters, the state-recognized Republicans named by the "Lily White" faction and those designated by the Black-and-Tan wing of the Republican Party.

Louisianans Seek States' Rights Party

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 19.—The Louisiana States' Rights Party reports it is negotiating with other Southern states to call a convention to name a

34d 1956

New States' Rights Party Organized in Virginia

Evening Star p. 31-A
Washington, D.C.

BERRYVILLE, Va., Feb. 9 (AP) —The States' Rights Party of Clarke County has been formed with the intention of its organizers to establish "a political party at the national level."

The party would "offer candidates for President and Vice President dedicated to re-establishing constitutional government. . . ."

A group of 30 citizens adopted a declaration of purposes at the party's organization meeting Tuesday.

"We deem it unrealistic and illogical to seek redress from those who have wrought the havoc in constitutional government," said the document.

"The past 30 years have proven the hopelessness and futility of this course. We therefore disassociate ourselves from the National Democratic Party."

Col. James M. Thomson, former Norfolk and New Orleans newspaper publisher, and his wife are leaders in the movement. She is the daughter of Champ Clark, Congressman from Missouri, who was Speaker of the House from 1911-19.

Mrs. Thomson was author of the declaration of purposes.

G. Kenneth Levi, publisher of the weekly Clarke Courier, was named party chairman. Brig. Gen. Pleas B. Rogers (United States Army, retired) was named vice chairman. Both held the same offices in the temporary party formed December 9.

MOVE ON STATES RIGHTS IS URGED

Times-Picayune
Sat. 2-25-56
New Orleans, La.

Shivers Wants Referendum on Interposition

AUSTIN, Feb. 24 (AP)—Gov. Allan Shivers has suggested that Texas voters be given a chance to express their views on interposition and possibility of amending the constitution to bolster states' rights.

The governor made the suggestion for a referendum this year in letters to George Sandlin, chairman of the State Democratic Executive committee and to Will Crews Morris, chairman of the Texas Advisory Committee on Public School Segregation.

Interposition is a legal doctrine being urged in the South to combat the U. S. Supreme Court's desegregation decisions. Under it, a state seeks to halt federal action which the state feels violates rights reserved to the states.

Assert Sovereignty

Under the interposition theory now being urged by several southern governors, the states would seek to assert their sovereignty and try to have such issues as desegregation settled by constitutional amendment.

Shivers in a written statement said the question of federal encroachment on states' rights is broader than the problem of segregation or integration in the schools.

"I feel that a question of this magnitude and importance—transcending as it does any specific conflict between the federal and state governments—should be referred to the people," the governor said in his letter to Sandlin.

Proper Subject

Shivers added that he thought that interposition "would be a proper subject for discussion and possible action by resolution at the precinct, county and state conventions in May."

The question there, he said, would be whether or not to place the proposition on the ballot.

"Eventually, of course, the expression of the voters would be a guide to the Texas Legislature in the preparation of proper interposition resolutions," the governor said.

Vinson Offers States' Rights Amendment

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Feb. 1-27-56

Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Jan. 26 — Rep. Vinson of Georgia introduced a constitutional amendment in the House today reaffirming the "several states' rights to manage their own internal affairs."

Declaring he was "shocked" by the Supreme Court's segregation decision, Vinson, a veteran of 41 years in Congress, told the House in a speech:

"I know from my association with literally thousands of other representatives from all the states of the Union, over these many years, that the doctrine of so-called states' rights is not one peculiar to the beliefs of the people of my state and my section."

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Vinson's proposed amendment declares:

"Nothwithstanding any other provision in this Constitution, or any amendment thereto, the states of the United States have, and shall forever have, the right to manage their own internal affairs with respect to any matter not expressly forbidden by the Constitution."

He said further:

"No one believes more firmly than I do in the doctrine of states' rights—that is, the right of the sovereign states of the Union to manage their own internal affairs in all respects, except such as are expressly forbidden to them by the Constitution.

WAS SHOCKED

"Therefore, no one was more shocked than I at the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States of May 17, 1954 (segregation decision)."

He said his proposed amendment "to my mind states the law as it really exists today and simply reaffirms principles of constitutional government which are as old as the Constitution itself."

STATES RIGHTS PARTY

GRIFFIN WILL SPEAK TO SEGREGATIONISTS

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.

Court Rule To Be Discussed By Georgia Governor

RALLY IS IN LITTLE ROCK

By The Associated Press

LITTLE ROCK, April 22.—Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia will speak at a "States' Rights Constitutional Rally" here Saturday, former state Senator James Johnson of Crossett said Sunday.

Mr. Johnson, director of the Arkansas White Citizens Council, said the rally "is planned for the sole purpose of acquainting the people of Arkansas with the solutions to the problems caused by the desegregation decisions of the United States Supreme Court."

Laney To Speak

Other speakers will include former Gov. Ben Laney.

Mr. Johnson said he will explain his proposed amendment to the state constitution designed to nullify the Supreme Court's integration decision. He said petitions seeking to place the measure on the ballot of the November general election also will be distributed.

Special invitations to the rally will be sent to members of the Arkansas Legislature, legislative candidates, members of the state's congressional delegattion and to the committee which recently reported to Gov. Orval Faubus on its study of steps being taken in Virginia to maintain segregation.

Master Of Ceremonies

Mr. Laney, he said, will act as master of ceremonies. The former governor also heads the arrangements committee which includes state Senator W. E. Buck Fletcher of Scott and Dr. George Branscum, a Little Rock dentist.

Mr. Johnson said the meeting is endorsed by his organization and White America Inc. but not sponsored by them.

"Our goal in Arkansas and the South is for total and complete segregation and enforcement of the Constitution both as to the spirit and the letter of the law," he said.

STATES SUPPORTED ON SEDITION LAWS

James P.T.C
Pub. 5-18-56

Administration Backs Bill to Nullify Court's Ruling Barring Action in Field

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, May 17—The Eisenhower Administration registered its support today of a bill to nullify the Supreme Court's ruling that the Federal Government has exclusive jurisdiction over sedition cases.

William P. Rogers, Deputy Attorney General, endorsed the measure on behalf of the Administration in a letter to Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Mr. Eastland, a Mississippi Democrat, presided over hearings on the bill, which is sponsored by Styles Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, and ten other Senators.

The court's 6-to-3 decision, handed down April 2, had the effect of invalidating state laws against sedition, treason and subversive activities. It set aside the conviction of Steve Nelson, a Communist leader, who had been posecuted under a Pennsylvania sedition law.

Amity Is Foreseen

The Bridges bill would restore to the states the power to prosecute violators of their sedition laws. A similar bill has been introduced in the House of Representative Howard W. Smith, Democrat of Virginia.

Mr. Rogers recalled that the Justice Department had taken the position in the Nelson case that "the available direct evidence strongly indicates that Congress intended to leave state legislation unaffected" when it enacted Federal legislation in the sedition field. The Supreme Court disagreed.

The Bridges bill, he said, would express the intent of Congress "that the states may exercise concurrent power" to punish acts of sedition within their borders. That is its constitutional prerogative, he added.

"It is the view of the Department of Justice," Mr. Rogers reported, "that in the fields of sedition and subversion, the Federal and state governments can work together easily and well, supplementing each other * * *.

"This legislation would clearly express the Congressional intent that such cooperation between the Federal and state governments in this field is to be encouraged. The Department of Justice favors enactment of the bill."

Mr. Rogers noted that his report to the committee had been cleared by the Budget Bureau. This is the usual way of saying that views expressed in a communication to Congress represent Administration policy.

Concern Intensified For Maintaining State Rights

While Southerners are deeply concerned about the issue of maintaining segregation and opposing forced integration, behind much debate focusing on the problem is an intensified concern for the maintenance of state rights in general.

It seems increasingly clear that leaders of Southern opposition to the Supreme Court decision over-turning the separate-but-equal rule intend to fix major attention not merely on simple defense of traditional segregation. Rather they hope to win increasing numbers of "allies" in other regions by appealing to them to consider the threat, as they see it, to state rights by a high court which has moved more and more into a position they construe as challenging to both the legislative powers of Congress and the rights reserved for the states.

Even apart from the issue of segregation, it is evident that there is genuine reason for paying strict attention to their argument. It is, indeed, a seeming fact that bit by bit the federal Supreme Court has extended its virtual dominance in certain areas of law, and law enforcement, previously subject to the control of states.

Speaking in the Senate recently, Sen. Harry F. Byrd of Virginia cited several instances—apart from any segregation judgment—in which the high court had in his opinion pre-empted state rights. One of these was the case of Cloverleaf Co. vs. Patterson, in which the court held that "the state of Alabama"—Byrd's words — "was powerless to enforce its own laws for the protection of the health of its citizens." A more recent case was that involving the state of Pennsylvania, in which the high court very questionably ruled that only the federal government had the prerogative in cases involving sedition. At the time of that ruling, this paper expressed concern that *only* the federal government should have this power. It seemed to us that, at the least, there might wisely be left a duality of responsibility.

In making its arguments nationally—and they are receiving more and more attention, regardless of whether any Northern minds are being changed—the South now seems most carefully to be soft-pedaling the older defenses of our traditional way, perhaps keeping in mind the fact that these arguments are, to that North, largely "old hat." But since 1952, as is everywhere evident, there has come to the fore a new consciousness of the need of people to keep government sufficiently close to them to prevent excessive federalism from threatening a historically-proved good relationship of individual states to the parent federal government. The Southern leaders now speaking up are seeking, with considerable shrewdness, to utilize a growing concern for state rights in other parts of the country. Obviously the purpose is to prevent sharp changes in the Southern pattern of society. But it would be an error to assume that this is the sole concern and objective. The South historically has been a foremost defender of the rights of states. The rest of the country has not been so alert, and now Southerners are clearly hoping that a country obviously thus far substantially favoring the Eisenhower type of moderation in all governmental affairs will reconsider what it is that has been happening in the relationship of states to federal government. This is, therefore, a new campaign, and not just a refurbishing of an old Southern position.

In all candor it can be said, too, that the South believes, and believes deeply, that there are on the high court some justices who too lightly view this issue. The South, too, has a basis for assuming that the high court is being increasingly questioned by non-Southerners, if not on the basis of the segregation decision, then on other rulings and the general tenor of the court's inclinations.

It is simply not to be denied that the Supreme Court has tended in recent years more and more to limit state powers. It is a legitimate question whether the country generally realizes this, and the South is skillfully using the great problem involving races now thrust upon it to urge a greater attention to court tendencies. This therefore becomes something more than just one region's challenge of one decision.

STATES' RIGHTERS OK FREE ELECTOR SLATE

Mississippians To Put Eight Unpledged Names On November Ballot

By The United Press

JACKSON, Miss., July 24.—A states' rights group searching for a staunch pro-segregation presidential candidate agreed Tuesday to offer a slate of independent electors in the November election.

Jackson attorney W. B. Fontaine, chairman of Mississippians for States' Rights, said the group's steering committee unanimously agreed to proceed with its plan to place eight unpledged electors on the ballot.

Segregation Backers

"They will be men and women who stand uncompromisingly for states' rights, constitutional government and segregation of the races," he said.

Mr. Fontaine's group, which has been marking time until the Democrats and Republicans hold national conventions next month, expressed doubt that the South will find an acceptable candidate in either party.

A slate of unpledged electors would be aimed at throwing the presidential election into the House of Representatives, the futile maneuver of the 1948 states' right bolt, where the South would have a stronger voice.

Mr. Fontaine told newsmen after a closed meeting of the steering committee that his group:

Has not established formal liaison with other Southern states although similar moves have been reported in Alabama and Louisiana.

Has not agreed on the presidential candidate who would be the most acceptable to the South.

Preferred to work out the problem within the framework of the Democratic Party.

Not GOP Inspired

The Jackson attorney denied the move was "Republican inspired" as charged by some loyal Democrats.

Mr. Fontaine said the states' righters, in offering the slate of pro-segregation electors, wanted to assure Mississippians "some choice other than the lesser of two evils."

Should the state Democratic convention see fit to reconvene and place unpledged electors on the ballot who subscribe to these same principles, we will be glad to join hands with them and consolidate our efforts to win this fight," Mr. Fontaine said.

He disclosed plans to enlarge the five-member steering committee and set up county committees to keep voters "informed on the political philosophies of the candidates for president."

State Democrats, at their recent convention, left the way open to reconvene after the national conclave and consider the state's course of action should the South fail to win an acceptable candidate or platform.

September Deadline

The states' righters have until late September to place their independent slate on the ballot. Senator W. B. Alexander, of Cleveland, a member of the steering committee, said the necessary 1,000 names for the filing petition could be secured in one day.

The states rights action Tuesday runs counter to the wishes of Gov. J. P. Coleman, a party loyalist who believes the South's "way of life" can survive within the Democratic Party.

Governor Coleman, equally opposed to any breakdown in color bars and proud that "Mississippi hasn't given an inch on segregation," will head Mississippi's 22-vote delegation to the Democratic Convention in Chicago Aug. 13.

LOUISIANANS FORM STATES RIGHTS PARTY

Independents Plan Rally For Public Tonight

SHREVEPORT, La., July 11.—(UP)—A Shreveport attorney Wednesday disclosed the formation of The States' Rights Party of Louisiana, a new independent political party with the preservation of the rights of states as its aim.

Attorney Robert G. Chandler, who is also chairman of the party's executive committee, said a drive to obtain a slate of party candidates for presidential electors on the Nov. 6 general election ballot will begin at a public rally here Thursday night.

Mr. Chandler emphasized his group is new and is not a revival of the States' Rights Democrats which entered a slate of electors in a number of states in the 1948 general election.

He said his party will not support candidates in the Republican or Democratic parties as long as they back the Civil Rights Bill. He said the aim of his party was to preserve the rights of states.

A full slate of states' rights presidential elector nominees—one from each of the state's eight Congressional districts were chosen July 1 in an organizational meeting in Alexandria, Mr. Chandler said.

No presidential or vice presidential nominees have been named by the new party. However, Mr. Chandler said it is expected electors will be committed before the November election.

Clarence E. Manion, former dean of the law school at Notre Dame and a leader in a nationwide movement for the preservation of the constitutional rights of states, will be the principal speaker at Thursday night's rally.

States Rights Party Formed In Louisiana

SHREVEPORT, La. — A new political party, dedicated to the protection of states' rights, has been organized in Louisiana, according to Robert G. Chandler, Shreveport attorney and chairman of the organization's executive committee.

The independent party, which has taken the name "The States Rights Party of Louisiana," has begun a drive to name a slate of candidates for presidential electors on the Nov. 6 general election ballot.

The party held its first political rally last week and heard a talk on "states rights and the Constitution" by Clarence E. Manion former dean of the law school at Notre Dame university and a strong proponent of states rights.

Chandler said the party will not support Republican or Democratic presidential candidates as long as either party supports the civil rights legislation now pending in Congress.

He said a full slate of States Rights presidential elector nominees were chosen July 1 in an organizational meeting at Alexandria, La. The 10 nominees consist of one each from eight congressional districts and two at large.

The party has not yet picked presidential and vice presidential nominees, but Chandler said it is expected that electors will be committed by the time elections come up in November.

34d 1956

Text of Southern Statement

Times Sun 7-15-56

ATLANTA, July 14 (AP)—Following is the text of the statement unanimously adopted today by the seven Democratic state chairmen meeting here:

We, the state Democratic chairmen, respectively, of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia make the following joint and unanimous declaration:

P. 33-2

New York

[1]

We believe in the Democratic party as the party which has most consistently and effectively promoted and protected the welfare of the people of the United States. As officials of state Democratic parties of Southern states we represent the section which traditionally is the most loyal of all in the nation to the Democratic party. It is our firm desire and sincere expectation that this situation shall continue.

[2]

We do not favor any bolts, walkouts or third parties. We believe in the two-party system.

[3]

Nearly four years of a Republican Administration with its record of broken promises to farmers and others, indifference to other domestic problems, its failure to keep up with the demands of national security and its favoritism to big business coupled with its total lack of interest in small business, affords the Democratic party an opportunity for victory in the coming November election. We expect to work loyally toward that victory.

[4]

We believe that the South should wield strong influence in establishing a program which can be supported unanimously at the national convention.

[5]

Those who would defeat us would first seek to divide our Democratic party. With this in mind, we have met to consider the elements of possible division within the party, hoping to contribute toward harmony in the national convention. The difficulties arising from our differences are not insurmountable; on our part we recognize the problems and political necessities of other states, we insist that they in turn recognize ours. We urge responsible Democratic leadership everywhere to work toward this end.

[6]

The southern states are gravely disturbed over the invasion of the sovereign rights of the states and the departures from the constitutional guarantees upon which our country was founded and became great. The people of the southern states look to and expect the Democratic party leadership in our respective states to stand firmly, calmly, intelligently, and with determined resolve to protect these rights. We believe in and endorse the proposal for southern solidarity at the Democratic National Convention. We believe that the South should work together to protect itself and to preserve the rights of the states and of the people as guaranteed by the Constitution and as contemplated by its framers. Toward this end we recommend to the proper authorities in our respective states that there be held a joint preconvention caucus of our Governors, delegation chairmen, delegation vice chairmen and the members of the convention platform and resolutions committee.

[7]

All the foregoing we propose to accomplish within the framework of the Democratic party. We believe that party unity is important to every section of the country and is essential and necessary for Democratic victory in November. We believe that a Democratic victory is a necessity for the nation and that the inept Republican Administration should be removed from the White House.

TEXT OF SOUTHERN STATEMENT
ADOPTED BY SEVEN DEMOCRATIC STATE CHAIRMEN

34d 1956

THIRD PARTY

In uproarous session—

Effort to shape States' Right third party beaten on floor

BY BILL CRIDER

MEMPHIS, Sept. 15—(AP)—A floor fight by a minority seeking to turn the National States Rights' Conference into a full-fledged political convention to form a third party was quelled Saturday in an uproarious session.

Chairman Earl Evans Jr. of Canton, Miss., ruled that all resolutions must first be submitted in writing.

Police were called as a precaution against disturbances by fractious delegates.

The ruling of the chair was upheld in a poll of 14 states. The parliamentarian said only 14 of the 25 states represented had qualified independent presidential electors and therefore were eligible to vote on a controversial matter.

Illinois starts it

THE FLOOR FIGHT was started by the Illinois delegation.

Joseph Beauharnais of Chicago said, "we are being filibustered to death by lovely speeches—but no political action."

Beauharnais, organizer of the White Circle League of America, said, "We came here with 18 delegates and 17,000 signatures and we are disenfranchised."

He said the resolution to set up a formal third party would not be submitted in writing by the Illinois delegation because "it would just get buried."

Ed Worthington of Memphis, a Citizens Council member, stirred an uproar when he stood just before the rollcall of the states and demanded "a half minute" of floor time.

The sergeant-at-arms told him any other "out-of-order action" would get him thrown out.

Barr opposes it

THE LARGELY uncoordinated third party move sprang up after keynote speaker Clarence Manion of South Bend, Ind., called for a new party on the "political and moral right."

The fight to bring the fractious delegates into line was led by John U. Barr, a New Orleans industrialist and prime organizer of the conference. He called the formal third party move "sabotage."

This is a federation of independent state parties," he argued. In heated talks with delegates in the corridors out side the hotel ballroom where the orators held forth.

"If we form a third party the Republicans and Democrats will kill us," he said. "We'd be dead. We couldn't win. If you believe in states rights, practice states rights."

WHILE THE 317 delegates from a dozen splinter parties listened to the speeches or milled around in the corridors, the resolution committee worked behind closed doors rewriting the "declaration of principles."

The underlying issue of racial segregation was brought squarely into the open by a former lieutenant governor of Texas, John L. Smith of Lubbock.

Smith called Tennessee's Frank Clement a "two-bit tinhorn governor" and a "pseudo-revivalist preacher."

Gov. Clement, he said, "enforced a ukase in Clinton that was worse than anything handed down in Moscow."

He referred to the recent order sending National Guard troops to cope with mobs that gathered in Clinton, Tenn., after 12 Negro students enrolled at the previously all-white high school which had a total enrollment of 300.

Virginia Rights group backs T. C. Andrews

RICHMOND, Va., Sept. 15—(AP)—The Richmond News Leader said today a slate of independent presidential electors will be filed Monday for T. Coleman Andrews.

The name of the former internal revenue commissioner will appear on the ballot along with those of the presidential candidates of the two major political parties—Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower and Democrat Adlai E. Stevenson.

Backers of the movement "to re-establish the two-party system"—they assert the two "old" parties are now merged as one on issues—will call their group "The States' Rights Party of Virginia," the paper said.

Third Party Move Halted By Righters

Police Called Out To Stand Guard At Heated Session

MEMPHIS, Sept. 15 (AP)—A floor fight by a minority seeking to turn the National States Rights Conference into a full-fledged political convention to form a third party was quelled today in an uproarious session.

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The floor fight was started by the Illinois delegation.

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The largely uncoordinated third party move sprang up after keynote speaker Clarence Manion of South Bend, Ind., called for a new party on the "political and moral right."

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"This is a federation of independent state parties," he argued in heated talks with delegates in the corridors outside the hotel ballroom where the orators held forth.

"If we form a third party the Republicans and Democrats will kill us," he said. "We'd be dead. We couldn't win. If you believe in states rights, for God's sake practice states rights."

In the forefront of the formal third party trend was Mrs. Terry Mulhall of Sioux City, Iowa, a delegate from her state's Constitution party.

"We came here with high hopes," she said to reporters. "But what they want to do here is have a third party that will not be called a third party. They want to wait another four years."

Sims Crownover of Nashville, an official of the Tennessee Federation for Constitutional Government, joined Barr in the behind-the-scenes fight to prevent a runaway conference.

"We've got 14 Southern states," Crownover said, "where the Democratic party is just like the Bible. They vote the straight ticket. We will do better now as independents rather than a Constitution party or any other party. Four years from now, who knows, may- be we'll be stronger."

While the 317 delegates from a dozen splinter parties listened to the speeches or milled in the corridors, the Resolutions Committee worked behind closed doors rewriting the "declaration of principles."

DISCUSSING STATES RIGHTS AT MEMPHIS . . R. H. W. Welch Jr., Massachusetts candy executive left) confers with John Lee Smith, former lieutenant governor of Texas

The underlying issue of racial segregation was brought squarely into the open by a former lieutenant governor of Texas, John L. Smith of Lubbock.

Smith, an unemotional speaker of fiery words, called Tennessee's Frank Clement a "two-bit tinhorn governor" and a "pseudorevivalist preacher."

Gov. Clement, he said, "enforced a ukase in Clinton that was worse than anything handed down in Moscow."

He referred to the recent order sending National Guard troops to cope with ugly mobs that gathered in Clinton, Tenn., after 12 Negro students enrolled at the previously all-white high school which had a total enrollment of 800.

The school was opened to Negroes by order of federal court, in the climax of a legal battle, in accordance with the Supreme Court's ruling that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

Sen. Byrd, 3rd Party, Segregation Leave Virginia Tensely Undecided

Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. p 3
Thurs. 10-11-56

By WILLIAM S. WHITE

Participating reporters: Clarence Dean, Tillman Durdin, Max Frankel and John D. Morris.

(Copyright 1956 by The New York Times Co.)

RICHMOND, Oct. 10 (AP)—A subtle and complicated struggle for Virginia is unfolding in the atmosphere of outward unconcern but inner passion that characterizes this state.

In the contest for the Old Dominion's 12 electoral votes—perhaps the closest contest in years—Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic nominee for President, seems to have a slight edge at this moment.

But there is more than the mere question of whether President Eisenhower will carry Virginia for the second time or whether the state will return to its traditional Democratic alignment.

ANDREWS AND BYRD

At issue also is a test, perhaps a decisive test, of the ultimate power of the far rightwing third party movement of the South represented by the presidential candidacy of T. Coleman Andrews, a States' Rights Democrat who served in the Eisenhower administration.

And involved, too, is a crisis for Virginia's powerful Democratic patriarch, Sen. Harry Flood Byrd.

Byrd, one of the most influential and respected leaders of ultra-conservative thought in the United States, had much to do with causing Virginia and three other states to bolt the Stevenson ticket in 1952. The other states were Texas, Tennessee and Florida.

Tennessee now seems clearly ready to return to the Democratic side. Virginia is suspended in delicate balance—a balance that a single sentence might well turn one way or another.

ENIGMATIC SILENCE

Although he has taken a sharp thrust at the Republican Party's stand on civil rights—a stand more liberal than that of the Democrats—the senator at the moment is preserving an enigmatic silence as to his intentions.

If he comes out even mildly for the Stevenson ticket, after having rejected it four years ago, a Democratic victory in this state will be the odds-on probability.

If he does not, he will undoubtedly endanger future Democratic control over the Virginia Statehouse. And, in such an event, he would greatly enhance Eisenhower's chances of carrying the state.

All this has been rather well established by a New York Times survey of Virginia. Here, as elsewhere, Times reporters have talked to many people, but grassroots opinion in Virginia is not so meaningful as elsewhere.

POWER CHALLENGED

This is not a "boss state" but it is a state of hierarchial power. That power resides primarily in Byrd, but is now being challenged from several quarters.

All has been made more complex by the fact that the race issue is so acute here. Virginia can be described without exaggeration as caught in an agonizing inner debate.

The legislature has passed a "package" of legislation that amounts to a declaration of policy to close the public schools rather than permit the integration of white and Negro schools.

Byrd and an overwhelming majority of the regular Democrats of the state have backed this course.

Now, however, into this fertile field Andrews, the former federal commissioner of Internal Revenue, has brought his third party. His hope is that here and elsewhere he may gather enough votes to deny either Eisenhower or Stevenson a majority. He would thus throw the election into the House of Representatives for decision there.

It is agreed on almost every hand that normally Andrews' efforts would amount to little. Virginia, however, is not in a normal state of mind.

All over the Deep South the acute politicians are watching Richmond, as the headquarters and the intellectual center of the Andrews movement. If it seems to go here, it almost certainly will gain momentum elsewhere.

The movement, among other things, demands local control of school problems and the adoption of constitutional limitations of the treaty-making power of the President (embodied in the so-called Bricker amendment, opposed by Eisenhower and defeated in Congress).

Associated Press Wirephoto

SILENCE NOT GOLDEN

Democrats Await Word from Byrd

Andrews' forces are holding a "national" convention here Oct. 15, and they expect to put his name on the ballot in 14 states.

In present circumstances inquiries by members of The New York Times team in every main section of Virginia have indicated that, on balance, the third party will injure Eisenhower more than Stevenson.

However, in one section—the "Southside," with its heavy Negro population—some harm may be done to the Stevenson candidacy among white voters.

BYRD UNDER PRESSURE

Byrd's statement, when it comes, will advance or strongly retard the third party. In the meantime, the senator is under heavy pressure—actual or implicit—from his Democratic organization associates to return to the regular Democratic affiliations.

These associates, for the most part, are already in the field for the Stevenson ticket, not gladly in many cases, but stoically.

They fear that unless the Democrats win Virginia from top to bottom, they may well lose the governorship next year to the Republicans. A Republican candidate, State Sen. Ted Dalton, ran uncomfortably well in 1953, polling about 45 per cent of the vote.

MRS. BYRD GRAVELY ILL

Byrd, for his part, is in a dilemma. He is obviously troubled by what many conservative Virginians consider to be the increasingly liberal line of Stevenson on civil rights. On the other hand, the senator feels a responsibility to his Democratic associates and a deep anxiety not to see Virginia go Republican at the Statehouse and below. The belief among his friends is that in the end he probably will take some step amounting to an acceptance of the Stevenson ticket.

Byrd is facing a personal crisis as well. Mrs. Byrd lies gravely ill in the senator's great country house, Rosemont, near Berryville.

Finally, Byrd and nearly all those of his generation in Virginia are fighting to hold onto a personal and a political way of life—characterized by the separation of the races—that is dying before their eyes.

And then, ironically, there is the fact that the most extreme leaders on the race issue have about them more than a touch of the outsider. Andrews, although a Virginian, is not of the aristocratic school. The chief journalistic spokesman of the far rightwing in general, J. J. Kilpratick, a Richmond editor, is not a native at all but a transplanted Oklahoman.

There is essentially little feeling of sympathy between the Byrd traditionalists and the third-party people.

THIRD-PARTY PUZZLE

It is in all this maze of political and human values that the eventual strength of the third party movement now lies hidden. If it captures less than a tenth of Virginia's total vote, it is widely reckoned that the outcome will be Stevenson victory. If the movement should climb to, say, 20 per cent of the total it could cut deeply into Stevenson as well as Eisenhower strength. As of now, the States Rights leaders are mainly those who voted for Eisenhower four years ago.

In 1948 Strom Thurmond, the "Dixiecrat" third-party candidate, probably saved Virginia for Harry S. Truman by splitting the conservative anti-Truman vote Truman won with 47.9 per cent—a minority—of the total vote.

This year any bitter racial incident in this state, in combination with any hardening of Stevenson's civil rights position, might lead to an emotional stampede to the third party.

Segregation and the race question in general constitute the one great issue in this state. The farmers are not complaining nearly so much as in the Midwest, and there is no big unemployment problem.

"EISENHOWER DEMOCRATS"

Significant defections back to the Democrats among the "Eisenhower Democrats" of four years ago are turning up. There is within the Eisenhower forces far less of the crusading spirit than in 1952. Vice President Nixon is unpopular. In a less intense way so is Sen. Estes Kefauver, the Democratic vice presidential candidate. The President's health is being rather widely discussed.

A Republican committeewoman in Norfolk, Mrs. Cynthia Zimmerman, remarks, "I'm scared. There has not been the interest and enthusiasm of four years ago."

A Portsmouth druggist who voted for Eisenhower in 1952: "I wouldn't vote for Ike with Nixon hanging on his tail. He may have had another heart attack while I'm talking to you."

LIKES ANDREWS' SOUND

As to Andrews, random conversations in the Virginia "Southside" to make it clear that he has a good deal of backing.

A farmer at a feed store: "There's plenty of us here going to vote for Andrews."

A businessman: "I'm on the fence. I voted for Eisenhower before, but I don't like Nixon. And I don't like Stevenson. I want to hear more. What I hear, though, I kind of like the way Andrews sounds."

A jeweler: "I'm for Andrews. You walk down the street, you see those niggers crowding white people off the sidewalk and you'll see what we're up against. We got to teach those folks up North to let us alone. We can settle our own problems."

In northern Virginia, where Alexandria, Arlington and Fairfax serve as a sort of bedroom for Washington, people appear to be staying with the Republican allegiance they showed in 1952.

34d 1956

After 3,000-Mile Motor Tour

News & Observer

Writer Finds Third Party Balloon Securely Anchored In Deep South

Sun. 3-25-56 P. 1

Raleigh, N. C.

By AL KUETTNER.

CHARLESTON, S. C., March 24 (UP) — The Deep South is gravely worried about desegregation and the two big political parties would desperately like to gauge the impact it will have on them this election year.

I have just completed a 3,600-mile automobile tour of Dixie, talking with scores of whites and Negroes. Everywhere I went, segregation was the turning political issue.

There has been much speculation that another third party might emerge out of the controversy as it did in 1948 when South Carolina's J. Strom Thurmond carried four states on a states' rights ticket.

Securely Anchored.

As of this moment, the third party balloon seems to be securely anchored to the ground. The only thing that could send it aloft is leadership. And leadership is lacking.

There is a very large and determined segment of the white South's population that could make the third party material. It is the strongly conservative group whose members make up the White Councils' Councils and kindred groups.

In talks with these people, plus governors and political experts of both parties, just about everyone agrees there is no central leadership of the kind needed to get a new political engine on the rails.

Not even the recent mass manifesto on segregation issued by Southern congressmen was sufficient to bring various pro-segregation elements together. I heard complaints that political leaders waited to see how public opinion was going and "then ran out in front to lead us where we already had decided to go."

Third Party.

You'll hear names of prospective third party candidates. Names like Sen. James O. Eastland of Mississippi mostly in Mississippi and Sen. Richard B. Russell of Georgia who unsuccessfully sought the 1952 Democratic nod. He says he isn't in it this year.

GA citizens council leader tossed out the name of J. Edgar Hoover.

But as now there is no real boom for anyone.

The way the South reacts to this year's election will depend largely on the kind of platforms the parties adopt.

It seems pretty sure there will be some kind of walkout at the Democratic convention if liberal elements put across a civil rights platform stronger than a general endorsement in principle.

Tempers are taut right now. South Carolina Democrats, for example, decided to recess their state convention until after the national to allow for late action if the platform doesn't suit them.

Civil Rights.

Should there be a major walkout on the civil rights issue, it's anybody's guess as to what the South will do at the polls. Without a third party, a big stay-at-home protest would be likely.

If the stay-at-homes were mainly Democrats, the Republicans might capitalize on the situation to make further inroads in the South.

As a states righter put it to me in Jackson, Miss.

"All the big civil rights factions are on the Democratic side. If I were running the Republican party I'd write a platform that was strong for guarantees of state sovereignty and weak on the civil rights issue. I'd sell that platform to the South and watch the votes roll in."

But, politics aside, where does the South go from here on its biggest issue since the Civil War started at Fort Sumter, outside this city, nearly 100 years ago? It's been almost two years since the Supreme Court gave Negroes what some are calling their "second emancipation."

One thing to get straight is that segregation is not one problem in the South. It is many problems, varying according to local conditions. One rule of thumb, however, is that feelings on the subject grow stronger in ratio to the Negro population.

If integration is forced on some areas, it will be at the expense of anguish and bloodshed. Trouble of a serious nature could be expected in most of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and South Carolina and in some sections of North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida.

Integrated public schools are a fact nowhere except in the border states. There are also a number of areas in what might be termed the upper South that appear to be ready to move toward integration without much public reaction. Mostly, they are places with few Negroes.

It's in the states where Negroes outnumber the white population four and five to one that integration will come hardest, if at all.

"What about the Negroes themsleves? They are divided about integration but, as one Negro leader here in Charleston said, they want to be considered just as good as anyone else.

"The Negro can help the white man solve this problem," he said, "but not if he is kept out of a position of leadership.

"We realize this thing is not going to be accomplished overnight. It took 100 years after passage of the 15th Amendment for us to win the right to vote. It will take many years for removal of racial barries to be accomplished."

WRIGHT PREDICTS NO SOUTH PARTY

Times-Dispatch Birmingham, Ala.

Ex-Governor Says Third Candidate Won't Enter

Thurs. 3-15-56

STATE COLLEGE, Miss., March 14 (AP)—Former Gov. Fielding Wright Wednesday predicted the South would not enter a third party candidate in the 1956 presidential race. P. 2

Wright was vice presidential candidate of the States' Rights party in 1948 when Sen. Strom Thurmond (D-SC) headed the ticket.

"Public sentiment (for a third party) will not be strong enough until after the August conventions, which will be too late," Wright told a breakfast meeting of Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Wright said he believed in a two-party system but "we don't have two parties today because the philosophy of the Republicans and Democrats is essentially the same.

Attempt Explained

"A realignment of political parties is badly needed; we need a conservative party and a liberal party."

The former governor said it was not generally understood what he and Thurmond tried to do in 1948.

"We had no chance of being elected," Wright said. "What we were trying to do was to start a realignment of major political parties.

"We thought we could prevent either party from getting a majority in the electoral college and we thought — the electors not being really bound — would agree to a President who had not been a candidate."

Wright said President Eisenhower is not as strong this time as he was four years ago.

"Eisenhower is not going to get the South's vote this time unless (Averell) Harriman is the nominee of the Democrats," Wright said. "If Harriman is nominated, the South will bolt.

'Party Bolted'

"I'm a Mississippi Democrat, not a national Democrat. We didn't bolt in 1948 — the party bolted us. The trouble with the national Democrats and the national Republicans is they are bidding for organized minorities in the North and that leaves no place for Southern conservatives to go."

Wright said there was danger of radical and fringe groups trying to horn in if a third party movement is attempted.

The former governor said the South has outstanding Democratic statesmen who could chart the course for a new party alignment. He mentioned Sens. Russell and George, both of Georgia, and Byrd of Virginia.

Wright said he was pleased by the manifesto which Southern congressmen presented last Monday but was disappointed that Russell and Sen. Stennis of Mississippi had said it was not the seed of a third party movement.

"I would like to keep the opposition guessing," said Wright.

Segregation group may enter slate as political party

News P. 7 Mon. 3-19-56

TALLADEGA, Ala., March 19 —(AP)—A third political party, which dislikes the Supreme Court's school integration decision, may oppose the Democratic and Republican slates in Alabama next November.

W. H. Jones of Birmingham, here for a visit, said the Constitutional Party will name a committee within two weeks to investigate candidates of the two major political parties to determine whether they are "satisfactory."

Birmingham, Ala.

Jones is chairman of the new party, which he said was registered under Alabama law last July following an organizational meeting in Birmingham.

Jones is a mill foreman for the Lehigh Portland Cement Co.

"WE WILL HOLD a nominating convention," Jones said, "and name candidates for November within the legal time limits" unless the Democratic and Republican candidates are satisfactory.

Jones said about 50 persons attended the new party's organizational meeting last Summer.

The Constitutional Party, he said, believes members of the Supreme Court should be elected. It also considers, he added, that the school decision of May, 1954, was in direct violation of the constitution.

Jones said he is a member of the Central Alabama Citizens Council, an organization fighting for segregated schools.

South Talking Of Third Party, Ga. Atty. Says

Daily Herald Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 3-23-56 P. 1

"Third Party" talk is increasing among Southern political leaders, Georgia Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook said Thursday.

Cook said he detected "quite a bit" of third party feeling in recent weeks on visits in Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, South Carolina and Florida.

"Political leaders I have talked to Cook said, "Have made it plain they don't want either Stevenson, Harriman or KeFauver."

He said no one else had been mentioned prominently, however, as an alternative candidate.

KeFauver, the Tennessee senator who defeater Adlia Stevenson in the Minnesota primary is considered "unacceptable" by many Southern political leaders because of his segregation views. He has urged compliance with the U. S. Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in schools.

Kefauver. backers in Georgia announced plans to raise $15,000 in the state to help KeFauver's campaign in the Folrida primary —his finrst popular vote test in the South.

South Carolina's Democratic party wary of the nomination going to someone whose views on segregation and civil rights are at variance with the South's determination on these issues, decided to recess, rather than adjourn, its state party convention. This will leave the way open to acceptance or rejection of the party nominee and platform.

The move, similar to that followed in several Southern States in 1948 in the states right party opposition to President Truman, followed a call by Gov. George Bell Timmerman, for Southern Democrats to go to the Chicago Convention unified to support a candidate and platform consistent with Southern tradiions.

In Miami, Henry Sinclair, Florida Campaign chairman for Sen. KeFauver, predicted the results of the Minnesota race would have a "considerable impact in Florida."

Supporters of Adlai Stevenson seemed to agree. His Florida Campaign chairman Congressman Bob Sikes, conceded KeFauver has shown he is a "voter-getter," and that the Stevenson forces would have to wage an "aggressive" campaign in the Peninsula State.

Rumbles For Third Party Rapidly Fading In South

South's Democrats Get Third-Party Bid

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, June 13—Gov. George B. Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina is attempting to enlist the support of southern Democratic Senators for a third-party movement in the South if that region is dissatisfied with the outcome of the Democratic national convention.

As this was disclosed today, Senator W. Kerr Scott, Democrat of North Carolina, issued a statement in which he sharply refused to have anything to do with such a movement.

Governor Timmerman, in a letter to Senator Scott and to others, had asked for their association with an action taken on Monday by the South Carolina right-wing Democratic organization.

That organization had proposed that the South create a Democratic caucus of its own to meet ahead of the national convention. It would attempt to prepare an all-Southern position on segregation and related matters to take to the national convention.

It was proposed also that all southern state Democratic contions held before the national convention in August recess rather than adjourn. This technique would permit them to be reconvened for bolting purposes if the outcome of the national convention, and particularly its plank on civil rights, was unacceptable to the Southerners.

Governor Timmerman described the action of the South Carolina forces as intended to defend "constitutional democracy" and suggested that without some prior arrangement for southern solidarity the southern view would be overshadowed in the national convention.

Senator Scott replied somewhat angrily to all this in a letter to the Governor. He issued this public statement of his view:

"I have no patience with anything that suggests a third party. The resolution [the South Carolina proposal] is nothing but dixiecrat sugar coating. It is tailor-made for the Republicans. They are doing everything they know how to split us.

"We in the South are working day and night to overcome radical coalitions outside the South that have no sympathy for or understanding of the problems we are trying to solve.

"I am a southern Democrat, a North Carolina Democrat, and I refuse to be split, shaken or shivered."

In using the word "shivered," Senator Scott was hitting at Gov. Alan Shivers of Texas, who in 1952 led a southern bolt that cost the Democratic nominee, Adlai E. Stevenson, four southern states.

Whether the Timmerman-South Carolina plans had gained any adherents among the southern democrats in the Senate was not known tonight.

GEORGE CALLS BOLT BY SOUTH 'SUICIDAL'

WASHINGTON, June 18 (AP)—Senator Walter F. George said today that it would be "suicidal" for southern Democrats to start a splinter or third party movement.

The Georgia Democrat wrote to Gov. George Bell Timmerman of South Carolina:

"If there arise differences between the leadership of the Democratic party and those who represent our southern states at the national convention and on the national committee we must look there for a remedy within the party.

"We certainly cannot expect to have a persuasive voice in the party if we withdraw therefrom or continually pose the threat of withdrawal. Such a course seems to me unwise and even suicidal, as has been demonstrated in the past."

The letter was in reply to one in which Governor Timmerman last week asked southern party leaders to support a resolution by South Carolina Democrats to have southern state Democratic conventions "stand in recess" until after the national convention.

The resolution suggested that after the national convention the state organizations could meet again "to consider such further programs as may be necessary in maintaining unity and solidarity of purpose."

By waiting southern Democrats could choose an independent course if they disagreed with the Democratic Presidential candidate and platform.

By BEM PRICE
AP Writer

To most Americans a third party in politics is like a two-headed calf — interesting but not very practical.

Since Americans, though, are prone to exercise their inherent right to like two-headed calves if they so desire, third parties persist.

While the 1956 presidential campaign has so far produced no major third parties, although vague rumblings echo from the South, there are still a few old reliables around.

There is, for example, the Vegetarian party, which makes no effort to get on the ballot in any state on the grounds that the only good parties are those that don't. The Vegetarians, by the way, are for peace and less meat eating.

Then there is the poor man's party, whose presidential candidate is Henry Krajewski, tavern owner and former Secaucus, N.J., pig farmer. Krajewski would like to see a year's moratorium on taxes for all who make less than $6,000 a year.

GREENBACK PARTY

If Krajewski's party has no appeal, you can always take refurge in the venerable Greenback party, which maintains that the federal government should pay off its debts by printing more money.

It follows, of course, that if there is more money around your chances of latching onto some are enhanced. What you will be able to buy with it is something else again.

The Socialist party, which split off from the Socialist Labor party around the turn of the century, is still around too.

Currently the Socialists are plugging for "vigorous economic aid under United Nations auspices" to combat the ignorance and poverty of foreigners.

As for the Socialist Labor party, it is still in there pitching for collective ownership of industry under trade union auspices and the economic theories of Karl Marx.

If none of these parties fits your mood, you still can cast a ballot for the Prohibition party. This party believes it has the world's best hangover remedy: don't drink.

Of course, you may not find any of these parties on your state's ballot, but remember you can always write in your choice.

The last election was hard on the aspirations of third parties. In 1952 they polled collectively only 200,945 votes out of the 61,547,861 cast. It was the worst third party showing since 1900.

The last real good year for third parties, relatively speaking, was 1948. That was when Southern Democrats teed off on the national party over civil rights. It also was the year Henry A. Wallace's Progressive party teed off on everybody.

Both parties polled more than a million votes each that year. The Dixiecrats, as the Southerners were labeled, collected 39 votes in the Electoral College. Wallace got none.

The Southern candidates in that year of dissatisfaction were J. Strom Thurmond, former governor of South Carolina and now a U.S. Senator, and the late Fielding Wright, ex-governor of Mississippi.

DESPITE DIXIECRATS

Despite the Southern revolt, Harry S. Truman went right ahead and got himself elected president again. The chances that the Dixiecrats will rise again seem pretty dim. After the 1948 experience, the South's political leaders seem to believe it is best to do their fighting inside the national Democratic party.

The potential leaders of any Dixiecrat movement — the governors — have been frowning lately on third party talk, generally speaking.

Even Gov. Allan Shivers of Texas, who led his state into the Republican camp in 1952, said last October he saw no likelihood of a third party and that he wanted the current battle "waged within the limits of the two existing parties."

Gov. Orval Faubus of Arkansas and Mississippi's Gov. J. P. Coleman, among others, also have viewed a third party movement with disapproval.

"SUGARCOATING"

Gov. George Bell Timmerman Jr. of South Carolina has advocated a unity movement in the South. Sen. Kerr Scott (D-NC) called the proposal "Dixiecrat sugarcoating" and said he had no patience with "anything that suggests a third party." But Timmerman says he wasn't advocating a third party, but was simply moving for hrmony within the framework of the Democratic party.

Sen. Allen Ellender (D-La.), said in April he believed the South would form a third party before it accepted the candidacy of either Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee or Gov. Averell Harriman of New York.

Ellender said he would go along with Adlai Stevenson as a nominee. Timmerman isn't so sure. Anyhow South Carolina is sending an uninstructed delegation to the national convention.

As for the 1948 Progressive party, it has folded like a convention camp chair. Its 1952 candidate, Vinent Hallinan, was convicted of contempt of court charges growing out of the perjury trial of union leader Harry Bridges. Hallinan was Bridges' defense attorney.

'THIRD PARTY' MOVE IN SOUTH IS GAINING

ATLANTA, Aug. 28 (UP)—A small but determined "third party" movement appeared to be gaining strength in the South today. It was led by a bolt of fifty delegates at the South Carolina Democratic convention.

Meanwhile, at Fort Worth, Texas, a so-called Consitutional party, with representative of sixteen states, decided to hold a rally at Memphis Sept. 14-15.

The Fort Worth session crystallized earlier plans by States Righters from seven states to hold a mid-September meeting to pick a slate of independent candidates for the November election.

Splinter groups from other states appeared to be lending their weight to the Fort Worth and Memphis meetings, despite the lack of leadership from the recognized Democratic high command.

The South Carolina bolters, however, had at least the implied support of Senator-Designate Strom Thurmond, who led the opposition yesterday to the convention's decision to go along with the regular Democratic ticket. Mr. Thurmond has not said if he would formally support the "South Carolinians for Independent Electors," as the bolters call themselves.

Kent Courtney of New Orleans, leader of the Constitution group, said he also represented two other "parties" For merica and the Federation for Constitutional Government.

34d 1956

Macon Telegraph and News
Constitution P. 4

Third-Party Movements Are Invariably Complete Flops

Hous. 3-22-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Recent talk by some Southern Democrats of creating a new third party in 1956 is in the best American tradition, since more than 25 minor parties have contested presidential elections through the years.

But it is no less American tradition for third parties to get exactly nowhere.

Hence, the South can and must fight out the civil rights issue within the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Party has been and is fundamentally one of coalition and among the major elements of that coalition is the solid Democratic South. Without the South the Democratic coalition has no hopes of winning the presidency this year.

The party's leadership recognizes this situation. It must provide a candidate and a civil rights plank in its platform acceptable to the South.

As in the case of all coalitions, the Democratic Party must of course, bear in mind the demands of other elements of the party, too. While the components of the Democratic Party are extremely diverse (that's why it is a great party), we have no doubt but that there are many men within its ranks around whom all good Democrats can rally.

Third party talk is untimely and does the party cause a disservice.

Moreover, the numerous obstacles that beset third-party movements in the United States are almost insuperable.

It is handicapped at the outset by the fact that the two-party system is firmly rooted in the U.S. Even if a third party overcomes the forces of habit and tradition and succeeds in winning a large following, it still faces formidable obstacles in state election laws, written by the established parties with an eye to discouraging newcomers.

Third parties also are confronted with tremendous problems of political organization and finance.

Another great disadvantage is that third parties have little, if any, patronage to dispense.

There is nothing in U.S. history offering encouragement to those who would splinter off from the major parties.

Only eight of the more than two dozen third parties have won even a share of the electoral votes for the presidency.

The record:

Year	Party	Pop. Vote Pct.	Elect. Vote
1832	Anti-Masonic		7
1856	Know-Nothing	21.5	8
1860	Dem.-Secession	18.3	72
1860	Constitutional	12	39
1892	Populist	8.6	22
1912	Bull Moose	27.4	88
1924	Independent	16.6	13
1948	States Rights	2.1	39

The Democratic Party has at times been accused of attempting to be all things to all men and failing to take a strong position on all issues.

But we would reply to that criticism by praising the elements of the Democratic Party who have been able to resolve within themselves the differences which have often divided the country and to rise above factionalism.

3 in Dixie Party In House Reject Bias Manifesto

Inquirer P. 1
Wed. 3-14-56
Philadelphia, Pa.

From Our Wire Services

WASHINGTON, March 13.—Three Southern Democratic Congressmen—one of them an influential House committee chairman—disavowed today the manifesto against racial integration in the schools issued by 100 of their Dixie colleagues.

Reps. Harold D. Cooley, Thurmond Chatham and Charles B. Deane, all from North Carolina, sharply questioned the wisdom of the declaration by the Southerners that they would employ all "lawful methods" to upset the Supreme Court school ruling.

CALLED 'DANGEROUS'

Cooley, who heads the powerful House Agriculture Committee, termed the manifesto "a dangerous document" and said it would "greatly hinder" those seeking a solution to problems created by the court order that racial segregation was unconstitutional.

Chatham said he considered the Supreme Court decision the law of the land, and therefore could not oppose it.

Deane said that in his opinion "one group opposing another will not bring the answer; instead, our religious, educational, political and lay leaders should sit down together and in absolute honesty approach the question with understanding minds, seeking what is right."

SEES POSITION HURT

Cooley affirmed his advocacy of segregated schools but said that some of "the rather extreme statements" contained in the manifesto would hurt the South's position. He said the manifesto was "calculated to bring all the courts of our country into disrepute."

In another development, Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson (D., Tex.) said he was "hopeful" the Senate would vote to kill poll taxes this session despite furor over public school segregation. He indicated he would back a move to urge the Senate Judiciary Committee to report out a pending constitutional amendment barring taxes on voting. These levies are prevalent in some Southern States.

CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS

Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D., Mo.) said he believed that Senate Judiciary Chairman James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) would not try to block action on four civil rights bills also pending before the committee. Inquirer

The four measures, which include anti-lynching and right to vote legislation, were favorably reported by Hennings' Constitutional Rights subcommittee earlier this month.

Hennings said he had asked for immediate consideration of the bills despite Eastalnd's support of the Southern bloc's manifesto.

The manifesto has touched off a bitter, party-splitting row among Congressional Democrats.

Johnson discounted prospects that a third party might arise from the dispute.

But Sen. Richard B. Russell (D., Ga.), Senate leader of the Dixie bloc, said the possibility of an open breach in the party over the segregation issue "depends on what happens" at the Democratic national convention.

Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D., Ill.) expressed fear the manifesto "will have the effect of encouraging resistance" to the Supreme Court's school ruling.

Sen. William Langer (R., N. D.) said the challenge of the Southerners would be accepted by Republican followers of Abraham Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, Robert M. LaFollette and George Norris.

A former Republican national chairman, Rep. Hugh Scott, of Pennsylvania, said the Democratic split over civil rights, coupled with what he called Negro advances under President Eisenhower, would give the Republicans "a truly majority party for the first time in 25 years."

And in Chicago Adlai E. Stevenson attacked the manifesto, declaring he does not believe the Supreme Court exceeded its "proper authority in its rulings on schoo segregation."

There were these related developments:

1. The Florida Cabinet pledged itself to resist by every lawful means the Supreme Court edict that a Negro be admitted immediately to the University of Florida Law School.

2. Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia said he had offered "personally to guarantee" the education of Leonard R. Wilson, the aggressively pro-segregation sophomore who was expelled by the University of Alabama.

3. Gov. James E. Folsom of Alabama publicly called on the Mayor of Montgomery and leaders of the Negro bus boycott to "bring about a settlement of the boycott so that life can return to normal in our capital city."

4. Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Jr., said today he had checked further inquiry into the slaying of a Negro civil rights leader at Belzoni, Miss., last May to local authorities in that state. Brownell said "Federal jurisdiction does not exist" in the case of the Rev. George Wesley Lee, found dead in his wrecked automobile May 7, 1955.

THIRD PARTY

Segregation Ruling May Push Federation Into Third Party

Commercial Appeal
Jues. 3-6-56 P. 16

Constitutional Government Group Hopes To Co-ordinate Anti-Integration Units—Dixie Leaders Avoiding A Vast Merger—Plan Washington Office

Memphis, Tenn.

By Staff Correspondent of The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, March 5. — The Supreme Court decision against segregation in public schools has pushed Southern anti-integration groups into a federation strong enough to inspire a third political party.

The confidential blueprint of the Federation for Constitutional Government envisions co-ordination between white citizens' councils in the Deep South and other conservative groups rather than a vast merger, Congressional Quarterly, a private research organization, has learned.

The federation already has been organized by experienced leaders in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Leaders include Senators James O. Eastland (D., Miss.), Strom Thurmond (D., S.C.), Representatives James C. Davis (D., Ga.), F. Edward Hebert (D., La.), John Bell Williams (D., Miss.), L. Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.), William M. Tuck (D., Va.), Watkins M. Abbitt (D., Va.) and former Governors Herman Talmadge of Georgia, Sam H. Jones of Louisiana, Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi and Coke R. Stevenson of Texas.

Industrialist Is Chairman

The federation's chairman is John U. Barr, industrialist and board member of the National American Bank of New Orleans. He said he spent more than eight months "hand picking" the men to guide the organization.

Asked if he was out to form a third party, Mr. Barr said: "You never can tell where such an organization will finally go."

At present, the federation is working out of New Orleans, but Mr. Barr said it would open up a Washington office soon.

The organizational setup, outlined to members by Mr. Barr, includes a lobbying branch under the federation's national secretary charged with "contacting Congress and the administrative Government agencies to acquaint them with the policies and objectives of the federation."

'Slogan Of Free Enterprise'

In June, 1954, Senator Eastland, a prime mover of the federation, set down what he thought the national movement should be:

"It will be a people's organization, an organization not controlled by fawning politicians who cater to organized racial pressure groups—a people's organization to fight the Supreme Court of the United States, to fight the CIO, to fight the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and to fight all the conscienceless pressure groups who are attempting our destruction."

Senator Eastland also said the federation would "carry on its banner the slogan of free enterprise" and would fight "those organizations who attempt with much success to socialize industry and the great medical profession of this country. This will give us recruits and add to our support in the North and West."

The federation started organizing in two meetings in Atlanta in December, 1954, about six months after the May 17 segregation decision of the Supreme Court.

Following a meeting in Jackson, Miss., on Jan. 22, 1955, representatives from 11 Deep South states announced formation of the federation and appointment of Mr. Barr as temporary chairman.

The announcement disclosed these federation platform planks:

"Preservation of the independence" of the three branches of the United States Government, preservation of the "sovereign rights of the several states," support of candidates who seek to "counteract the effects and consequences of . . . decisions of Federal courts which have wrongfully abrogated, modified or amended the provisions of the United States Constitution."

This is the argument for a fed-

eration instead of a merger Mr. Barr sent federation members:

"Some national patriotic organizations have developed their support through the presentation of one particular feature, while another has gained support through presenting some other feature. Merged into one organization (they) would most likely produce a lessened, over-all interest.

Entity Should Be Preserved

"Each presently existing patriotic organization which has through its appeal, attracted grass root strength, should be preserved as an entity and encouraged in its growth. Co-ordination, I feel, will give the necessary national union to combat the infringements on our constitutional rights."

The rallying point for the immediate future will be the anti-segregation decision which, according to the federation, "placed an impossible burden upon the Southern states."

But the group has built its tent big enough to accommodate enough determined organizations to help assure the federation of a long, if stormy, life.

Angry South Could Provide Big 3rd Party

Segregation Issue May Bring Greatest Revolt of Century

WASHINGTON, March 3.—A third-party movement perhaps stronger than has been seen in this century could grow out of the South's burning resentment over the segregation issue, some of the best-informed Southern political leaders say.

It would be most likely to spring from the kind of candidate nominated or possibly the type of civil rights doctrine written at the Democratic national convention in Chicago in August.

Byrnes Statement.

Gov. James F. Byrnes of South Carolina added weight to the possibility yesterday when he warned that Democratic and Republican competition for the support of "minority groups" might result in "a third party pledged to preserve the Constitution of the United States and the rights of the states."

Four years ago, when the Democratic convention in Chicago was almost ripped apart over the so-called loyalty oath, Southern feeling was aroused, but still the issue was largely abstract.

That was somewhat the case eight years ago when part of the South walked out of the Philadelphia Democratic convention. That walkout led to the Dixiecrat movement.

Live Issues.

But in 1956 segregation and integration are flesh-and-blood issues.

Racial feeling cuts deeply in some Southern communities where it had little attention in many years. The United States Supreme Court decision has brought the school segregation issue to almost every town. The Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama has stirred the entire South.

It is not out of the question that a really sizable defection in the South—in the event of a close race giving neither candidate a majority of the Electoral College votes—could throw the choice of a President into the House of Representatives. At this point, of course, the odds are against it.

Leaders Against It.

Responsible Southern Democratic leaders here want none of this to happen.

But, if the Chicago convention adopted anything like an extreme call-out-the-troops platform plank on civil rights, there would be provocation in that direction.

It could happen if the Democratic convention were to name a liberal candidate devoted to a militant civil rights position.

There has been some disenchantment in the South with President Eisenhower.

The Road To Nowhere—II.

THE Montgomery County Citizens Council has taken the road to nowhere in endorsing the third party slate of presidential electors.

Such a third party is no more than a wheeze; no more than a means of emitting a sputter and throwing your vote away.

Alabamians should make the American choice between the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket and the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

Either Eisenhower or Stevenson will be President.

Even if by some fantastically remote chance a third party movement should throw the election of the President into the House of Representatives, the man eventually chosen would have a race issue attitude substantially the same as that of Eisenhower and Stevenson.

The plain reality is that never again will there sit in the White House a President who stands for segregation.

★

MANY third parties have come and gone in the history of this country, but of these, only one—the Republican Party—ever amounted to anything. And strikingly, more often than not the third party actually aided the party it sought to smash.

Alabamians—that is, if they are going to follow their reason rather than their emotion — should start making their choice by recognizing that there isn't a nickel's worth of difference between the integration philosophy of Eisenhower and Stevenson. The one plainly documented difference is that Eisenhower opposes, and always has, enactment of a federal cop FEPC; whereas Stevenson supports, and always has, enactment of a federal cop FEPC.

Throwing your vote away on this faceless third party in no way strikes a blow for the preservation of the social system.

★

AS URGENT as are the problems of maintaining public order by resistance to the social revolution, it is sensible to recognize that our segregation woes are not the be-all and the end-all of this presidential race.

Either Eisenhower or Stevenson will prove more effective in maintaining the peace of the world. Hydrogen warfare is a more urgent matter than segregation.

Either Eisenhower or Stevenson will appoint federal judges on a sounder basis.

Either flexible farm supports are better for the future of this country and the farmer or they are not.

Either Eisenhower's inflation policies are better or those of Stevenson are better.

Either Eisenhower will appoint higher caliber men to office or Stevenson will.

Either Eisenhower is better trained and equipped for the Presidency or Stevenson is.

Either Nixon is better equipped to be President or Kefauver is.

Either Eisenhower is more independent of his party or Stevenson is.

Either Eisenhower is right in snorting at the idea of ceasing to experiment with hydrogen bombs or Stevenson is right in wanting to cease experiments.

Either Eisenhower is right in his balancing of the armed services between Air Force, Navy and Army or Stevenson is right in his balancing.

Either Eisenhower is right in his local self-government approach to public power development or Stevenson is right in his Uncle Sam approach.

And so on.

★

ON THE basis of such comparisons should an Alabamian choose between Eisenhower and Stevenson.

It is superficial and foolish to consider this presidential election exclusively in terms of the race issue.

To throw a vote away on a third party is to fade away in the fantasy that you are not a citizen of a Republic with many hard problems and an inhabitant of a world that could be blown up with hydrogen.

Tuskegee Civic Association Holding Membership Drive

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Jan. 17 — The Sullins-Jeffries led Tuskegee Civic Association membership campaign was launched Sunday, Jan. 8 and enters the second week of its five-week drive to recruit 1,500 new and old members.

Headed by Mrs. Della D. Sullins and co-chairmaned by Lyman Jeffries, the organization of this member-getting effort is the most extensive in the 36-year history of the Tuskegee Civic Association. The TCA is Macon County's largest association, and the oldest in the county with a civic action program designed to enlighten all of its citizenry.

In calling on the 130 workers to contact every citizen in Macon County, Mrs. Sullins enumerated the services of the TCA. She stated that the objectives were: (1) intelligent study and interpretation of local and national political trends and problems (2) collection and dissemination of useful civic and political data, and (3) intelligent and courageous civic and political action.

C. G. Gomillion, president of the association, announced a schedule of events for the year which should appeal to every citizen. The agenda announced by Gomillion included among many other significant topics: Observance of "Race Relations Day," Feb. 12;; "Significant Political, Social and Educational Trends in India" (By Messrs N. K. Shrimali and K. N. Strivastava of India) March 11; ". . . Population Characteristics of Macon County and Tuskegee," April 8; "Govermental Structure in Macon County and Tuskegee," May 13; and "The Political Status, Problems, and Behavior of Negroes in Macon County and Tuskegee," June 10.

In stressing the need for an increased membership, Gomillion stated that the TCA would publish five booklets during 1956, and that the cost of printing could be borne partly by membership dues. The association will for the third year send delegates to the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

The Sullins-Jeffries team is calling on each solicitor to bring in at least 15 memberships, and that they report each Friday evening at 7:30 in the TCA office. The membership is bi-racial in its composition. The dues are men $1; women. 50c.

Tuskegee civic unit schedules program

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — Arthur Burns, Gadsden attorney and a graduate of the University of Alabama will be the featured speaker at the Tuskegee Civic Association's race relation observance here, Feb. 12.

The program, an annual observance of the TCA, will be held at Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church beginning at 7:30 p.m.

Mr. Burns served as solicitor of the 16th Judicial Circuit Court of Alabama from 1951 until 1955. He will speak on "Equality."

Gadsden Attorney Speaks At Tuskegee

TUSDEGEE INSTITUTE — The largest audience ever to witness a Race Relations Day program at Tuskegee Institute, heard the Tuskegee Civic Association's program speaker, Attorney Arthur Burns of Gadsden, deliver the featured address this past Sunday afternoon. The speaker is a graduate of the University of Alabama.

The meeting, which was held at the Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church, also marked the closing of the TCA's 1,500 membership campaign, heard Mrs. Della D. Sullins, the chairman, report that over 1,200 membership had already been secured, and that only 65 of the 128 solicitors had reported. All indications, Mrs. Sullins said, point to the possibility of exceeding the 1,500 goal. C. G. Gomillion, president of the TCA. shared the membership committee's optimism.

The next meeting of the TCA will be held at the Bowmen Methodist Church. All meetings are held on the second Sunday of each month.

Arthur Burns To Address Tuskegee Civic Association

Tuskegee Institute, Ala. — (SNS) Arthur Burns, Gadsden lawyer, is scheduled to be guest speaker on the Race Relations Sunday program scheduled by the Tuskegee Civic Association for 3:30 Sunday afternoon, Feb. 12 at the Greenwood Baptist Church. The Rev. Raymond F. Harvey is pastor of the church.

The meeting is open to anyone interested in good race relations.

C. G. Gomillon, the president of the Tuskegee Civic Association stated that Mr. Burns appearance at the Race Relations mass meeting would be in keeping with the caliber of outstanding Americans presented previously by the Association, and said that the Tuskegee community has had benefit of E. Harold Mason, Aubrey Williams, Dr. F. D. Patterson and Mrs. M. E. Tilly, (to mention a few) presented on previous occasions.

Attorney Burns was formerly a solicitor for the 16th Circuit Court of Alabama.

Tuskegee Civic Ass'n

BY W. P. MITCHELL

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. — Mr. Arthur Burns of Gadsden Alabama, who was the featured speaker on the Tuskegee Civic Association's Race Relations Day program last Sunday, Feb. 12 called on the largest audience ever assembled under the auspices of the TCA in its history, to continue to push for full and complete integration. In referring to this as the American way, he said futher that the "Freedom of Choice" plan (school) would certainly be declared unconstitutional along with many other measures which have been legislatured into law. He said that these hurried up laws were nothing less than subterfuges, and that he did not believe that the members of the Legislature themselves really thought they would stand a court test.

The speaker who is a graduate of the University of Alabama, deplored the recent riot on that campus which was instigated when a Negro woman attempted to attend classes. Attorney Burns assured his racially-mixed audience that there were many persons of goodwill in Alabama who thought and acted as he did but that this element is not as vocal.

The meeting which was held at the Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church, also marked the closing of the TCA's 1500-membership campaign, heard Mrs. Della D. Sullins, the chairman, report that over 1,200 memberships had already been secured, and that only 65 of the 128 solicitors had reported. All indications, Mrs. Sullins said, point to the possibility of exceeding the 1,500 goal.

C. G. Gomillion, president of the TCA, shared the membership Committee's optimism.

TCA is scheduled to meet again Sunday, March 11.

QUEST FOR SUPPORT

Tuskegee Unit Asks Boycott In Bid For Registrar Board

The Tuskegee Civic Association has gone on record in its weekly newsletter advocating a boycott of white merchants in Macon County who do not actively support the appointment of a new county board of registrars.

Macon County has been without a voter registration board since Jan. 17 when S. S. Humphries of Notasulga resigned. His resignation left the board inoperative, in that but one member remained.

In an editorial in the latest issue of the Tuskegee Civic Association News, identified as the official organ of the TCA membership committee, it is recommended that Negroes ask "local merchants or the head of the institution with which you spend your money to offer to serve on the board or to otherwise help you in getting registered."

However, C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute and president of the TCA, said his organization was not suggesting such a boycott. He said the editorial was merely the "opinion of the writer."

"The minutes of our organization will show no such boycott has been advocated," Gomillion said. He added he was unable to identify the writer of the editorial, adding it could be any one of several people.

"This is the acid test," the editorial said. "Any local businessman who sells you goods or services or who in anywise benefits from your money, and who is not sympathetic to your becoming a registered voter, is not interested in your total welfare, and by his acts or lack of them, is not deserving of your patronage."

The editorial further points out that the Negroes are partly responsible for their present position of not being able to become registered voters.

"We are to blame because we are guilty of misplacing values," the editorial said. "We purchase too much on credit, we are too deeply mortgaged for items and services which we could best do without. Because of this, when the call is made for concerted, intelligent protest action, 'we can not go, we owe our souls to the company store'."

State Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr. of Macon, an outspoken supporter of racial segregation, asked to comment on the threatened boycott in his county, said yesterday he thought "it might be wise to remind any group planning such an action that boycotting is a violation of the state law."

The Tuskegee Civic Association has long been active in Macon County seeking to register Negro voters, and to "bring about better relations between the two races." It identifies itself as interracial.

ASFCCL To Hear Gomillion Speech

C. G. GOMILLION

C. G. Gomillion of Tuskegee Institute is scheduled to be feature speaker at the three-session, one-day annual convention of the Alabama State Federation of Colored Civic League, Inc. set for Saturday, March 11 at First Baptist Church, East Mulga, of which the Rev. J. H. Johnson is the pastor.

He will speak at the seven o'clock evening session. Mr. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, will be introduced by W. C. Patton, field secretary of the Alabama State Conference of NAACP Branches.

The convention is scheduled to move off at 8:30 tomorrow with registration. Dillard Scurlark will preside at the opening session. Welcome greetings will come from Mrs. Lola Eatmon with H. C. Austin listed for the response. Seven committee and three officer reports will be heard. Echoes will come from the 31 units.

Mr. Scurlark is scheduled to deliver the "President's Annual Address" at the 1:30 session at which Vice-President E. H. Fort will preside.

Election of officers, echoes from the Women's Auxiliary and a solo by Charlie Watson, Jr. will round out the afternoon session.

Officers will be installed by the Rev. Johnson at the evening program. Some 300 delegates are expected to attend the meeting.

Tuskegee unit urged to push for integration

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala. —Arthur Burns of Gadsden, featured speaker on the Tuskegee Civic Association's Race Relations Day Program Sunday, called upon his audience to continue to push for all and complete integration.

In referring to this as the American way, he said further that the "Freedom of Choice" plan (schools) would certainly be declared unconstitutional along with many other measures which have been voted into law.

HE SAID that these hurried-up laws were nothing less than subterfuges and that he did not believe that legislators really though they would stand a court test.

The speaker, a graduate of the University of Alabama, deplored the recent riot on that campus which was instigated when Miss Autherine Lucy attempted to attend classes.

* * *

MR. BURNS assured his racially - mixed audience that there were many persons of goodwill in Alabama who thought and acted as he did but that this element is not as vocal.

The meeting was held at the Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church, also marked the closing of the TCA's 1,500-membership campaign. Mrs. Della D. Sullins, chairman, reported over 1,200 memberships had been secured. Only 65 of 128 solicitors had reported.

Dean at Tuskegee says TCA has not advocated boycott

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Feb. 14—(AP) —The president of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. said yesterday that the organization hasn't advocated a boycott of white mechants here.

C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute for Negroes and president of the TCA, issued the statement when asked about an editorial in the weekly Newsletter issued by the Membership Committee of the TCA.

The editorial urged Negroes to boycott merchants "NOT sympathetic to your becoming a registered voter."

It noted that voter registration in Macon County was brought to a standstill Jan. 17 by the resignation of S. S. Humphries of Notasulga from the Board of Registrars. With only one registrar holding office, the three-member board is inoperative.

THE NEWSLETTER advised Negroes to ask local merchants to serve on the Board of Registrars or "otherwise help you in getting registered."

"This is the acid test," the editorial continued. "Any local business man NOT interested in your total welfare by his acts or lack of them is NOT deserving of your patronage."

Gomillion said the organization itself has NOT advocated any boycott. He said the editorial was the opinion only of the writer, who could be any one of several members of the membership committee.

Humphries said he was resigning from the Board of Registrars for business reasons and because he planned to enter politics in the Spring.

Meeting called by Tuskegee Civic Assn.

TUSKEGEE, Ala., June 30 — The Tuskegee Civic Assn. has requested all non-voters (Negroes) in Macon County to attend a special meeting at the Chehaw AME Zion Church at 3:30 p.m. next Sunday.

C. G. Gomillion, TCA president, said the meeting was being called to "bring about the appointment of a board of registrars for Macon County . . ."

Tuskegee NAACP To Hear Talk By Mrs. Young

Tuskegee Institute, Ala. — (SNS) Solictors in the membership campaign of the Tuskegee Civic League were asked to report 15 members each tonight at the reporting meeting scheduled for the TCA office.

Launched January 8, the Sullins-Jeffries led five-week drive seeks to add 1500 new and old members. TCA is bi-racial in its membership.

Headed by Mrs. Della D. Sullins and co-chairmaned by Lyman Jeffries, the organization of this member-getting effort is the most extensive in the 36-year history of the Tuskegee Civic Association. The TCA is Macon County's largest association, and the oldest in the county with a civic action program designed toenlightened all of its citizenry.

In calling on the 130 workers to contact every citizen in Macon County. Mrs. Sullins enumerated the services of the TCA. She stated that the objectives were. 1) Intelligent study and interpretation of local and national political trends and problems.)2 Collection and dissemination of useful civic and political data, and 3) Intellifient and courageous civic and political action

C. C. Gomillion, president of the Association, announced a schedule of events for the year which should appeal to every citizen. The agenda announced by Mr. Gomillion included among many other significant topics. Observance of "Race Relations Day". February 12; "Significant Political, Social and Educational Trends in India" (By Messrs N. K. Shrimali and K. N. Srivastava of India) March 11;.... Population Characteristic of Macon County and Tuskegee", April 8; "Governmental Structure in Macon County and Tuskegee". May 13; and "The Political Status Problems and Behavior of Negroes in Macon County and Tuskegee", June 10.

In stressing the need for an increased membership, Mr. Gomillion stated that the TCA would publish five booklets during 1956, and that the cost of printing could be borne partly by membership dues. The Association will for the third year send delegates to the Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.

TCA To Hear Lawyer Speak

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Jan. 24 — Arthur Burns, young Gadsden, attorney and a graduate of the University of Alabama, will be the featured speaker at the Tuskegee Civic Association's Race Relation Observance which will be held Sunday, Feb. 12 at the Greenwood Missionary Baptist Church. The program which is an annual observance of the TCA, will begin promptly at 3:30 p.m.

Burns who served as solicitor of the Sixteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Alabama from 1951 until 1955, will use as his topic "Equality." In accepting this assignment to speak before the TCA, Attorney Burns is following many other outstanding Americans who have appeared as Race Relations speakers for the TCA. Last year the association presented Mrs. M. E. [illegible]

In emphasizing the need for racial understanding and cooperation, C. G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, again made a special appeal to white and Negro leaders to hear Burns and to take part in the program.

The Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, pastor of the host church, joins with Gomillion in urging the citizens to pack the church for the occasion.

In another development, Mrs. Della D. Sullins, chairman of the membership committee, stated that the drive to recruit 1,500 members was making considerable progress, and urged all workers to make their semi-final reports in the TCA office Friday, between the hours 7 and 8:30 p.m.

Help For Tuskegee

"What can we do?"

That is the sorrowful plea voiced by Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association, in an interview with the AFRO recently.

Tuskegee is located in Macon County, Alabama, where colored people outnumber white people by more than four to one.

White officials, to maintain political control, have resorted to a strategem of virtually doing away with the board of registrations.

Not too much of a hardship is worked on white voters, who have 3,000 out of a possible 3,200 qualified to vote.

But of the 12,000 potential colored voters, only 1,000 have their names on the books. For more than six years all efforts to get more of them qualified have been rebuffed.

State law requires the presence of at least two of a three-member board of registrations.

But resignations and no new appointments have limited the board membership to one person.

The governor, who appoints the registrars, insists he can find no one willing to serve. It would be political suicide (presumably for him) he says, to name a colored member.

Frankly, we don't think Tuskegee's case is as bopeless as it appears.

If a man is entitled to vote he is entitled to register and any state action which deprives him of that right is clearly in violation of the Constitution.

All Mr. Gomillion and Tuskegee need to do is to ask the NAACP to step in and supply the legal leadership they so obviously lack.

It's that simple.

Macon Group Readies Meet

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., July5— The Tuskegee Civic Assn., for 40 years a supplier of facts and data which have served as the basis for appropriate Macon County civic action, is calling together all non-voters in Macon County to participate in a plan of action which will bring about the appointment of a functioning board of registrars for the county.

It was brought out in the announcement of the meeting, which is set for Sunday at the Chehaw AME Zion Church, that there had not been a board of registrars in this county since Jan. 16.

At that time, one member resigned, leaving only one member, who cannot function alone.

Numerous appeals to the State Appointing Board requesting that it provide this county with a board have met with failure.

C. G. Gomillion, president of Macon County's largest social action organization, stated that the TCA would, as it has done in the past, supply the data and assist in formulating the kind of action which it feels would have the greatest chance of success.

He would not reveal prior to the meeting, just what methods the Tuskegee Civic Assoc. would ask the non-voters to adopt.

The meeting is slated for 3:30 Sunday.

Tuskegee Civic League To Observe Non-Voters Sunday

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala.— (SNS)—Without a functioning board of registrars for 169 days in Macon County, the Tuskegee Civic League announced yesterday that it would observe "Non-Voters Sunday" at its monthly meeting at 3:30 p m Sunday, July 8 at the Chehaw AME Zion Church The Rev J H Nesby is pastor of the church.

C. G. Gomillion, TCA president said the non-voters recognition program is a departure from the previously planned program for July He added that "the gravity of the situation brought about by the failure of the State Appointing Board (Gov. James E. Folsom, Mrs. Agnes Baggett, State Auditor; Arnel T. Todd, Commissioner of Agriculture and Industry) to provide a functioning Board of Registrars for Macon County warranted a meeting of the nature planned."

(Reportedly under prodding of by White Citizens Councils, there have been at least one resignation from the Macon County Board of Registrars. One appointee is said to have refused membership on the board. There is the persistent report that because of WCC pressure no white persons will accept a position on the board. Reliable statistics indicate that almost every white person 21 years and older in Macon County is on the voters list.—E. O J)

Mr. Gomillion brought out that to his knowledge, no citizen has been registered for voting in this county since January 16th of this year. "All on-voting citizens of this county," Gomillion stated "who desire to aid in formulating a program of action which will be designed to bring about the appointment of a Board of Registrars for Macon County, are urged to attend the meeting Sunday."

At the same time, the president announced that the topic "The Economic Status and Problems of Negroes in Macon County," previously scheduled for July, would be held in August. In addition to the call to non-voters, Gomillion said that all citizens who "feel that they can make a contribution to this pressing problem" are invited to attend.

Tuskegee Presents Vernon McDaniel

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, Ala., Nov. 10—The Tuskegee Civic Assn. will present Vernon McDaniel, president of the 8,500 - member Alabama State Teachers Assn., this afternoon at 3:30, when it observes A merican Education Week.

C. G. Gomillion, president of TCA, stated that the theme for American Education observance is: "Schools For a Strong America." Mr. McDaniel's subject will be, "Knownlendge andn Truth." So students from Tuskegee Institute will share in the discussion nwhich will be held at the Butnler Chapel AME Zion Church. The Rev. L. k. buford is pastor.

Persons attending the meeting today have been asked to come prepared to renew their membership and to make a financial contribution. The preisdent stated that for the first time in the association's forty - year history, women would be allowed to participate as fully as men, in that, the association has voted to increase dues for women from .50 cents to $1. the dame as for men.

Top Political Scientists See No Reapportionment

'You Don't Shoot Santa' Declares Dr. Farmer; Prospects Called Dim

BY EDWARD PILLEY

Three of the state's top political scientists met in discussion here Tuesday and turned thumbs down on prospects for legislative reapportionment.

Reasons why reapportionment isn't forthcoming, according to the three, are the same reasons why there hasn't been a reapportionment in 55 years, although the Constitution calls for one every 10 years.

"Nobody shoots Santa Claus," summed up Dr. Hallie Farmer, head of social sciences at Montevallo's Alabama College, "Nor do political groups commit political suicide."

Dr. Farmer moderated the discussion with Dr. York Willbern, head of political science at the University of Alabama; and Dr. Albert Cannon, professor of political science at Birmingham-Southern College.

They spoke before the Birmingham Kiwanis Club at the Tutwiler.

"The apportionment of 1901 was unfair and has grown increasingly unfair," Dr. Farmer said.

"But they said they didn't do it fairly and didn't intend to—That's in the record of the Constitutional Convention of 1901," she said.

Dr. Farmer pointed out that shifts in population since then, shifts from the south to the north of the state and from the rural to the urban sections, have made the 1901 apportionment greatly unfair today.

Dr. Willbern pointed out that the Legislature is controlled by the rural counties, the rural representatives far outweighing the three cities of Birmingham, Mobile and Montgomery where a great portion of the state's population is concentrated.

"You people in Birmingham pay about 25 per cent of the gasoline tax paid in the state," Willbern said, "But you get back only 1½ per cent of the taxes for expenditures on roads."

Dr. Cannon advanced several reasons why reapportionment has not been made since 1901.

Although 41 states have written into their constitutions that apportionment must be made at specific intervals, state supreme courts have ruled that the matter is one of politics and not a legal issue.

Therefore none of the states ever has been forced to do so by the high court.

Cannon said the bulk of legislative power in Alabama is centered in the Black Belt and other rural areas of South Alabama and that "those who hold power do not relinquish it readily."

Furthermore, he said, the rural areas regard the cities as the seats of vice and crime and don't want the cities to control the Legislature on moral grounds.

Cities, too, are the location of the bulk of the Negro population and there is fear of giving that vote a chance to send a Negro representative to the Legislature, Cannon said.

Willbern said, "You can't expect to get much of a different apportionment from the Legislature elected under the old apportionment."

Only Dr. Willbern expressed any hope that reapportionment might result from the current session.

"If enough people think it is important enough," he said, "then pressure can be brought to bear to effect reapportionment.

"I don't know what direction that might take. It might make matters worse," he added.

To a question from the audience he replied that pressure might come from the governor's office, or from other members of the Legislature.

Some of those opposed to reapportionment might want something else badly enough to make a deal and swap votes with a pro-reapportion member, he said.

The best prospect in the future for reapportionment was cited as the possibility that the Alabama Supreme Court may be swayed to consider reapportionment a legal matter.

Then the high court could force reapportionment.

DISCUSS REAPPORTIONMENT—Shown in discussion before the Birmingham Kiwanis Club (left to right) are Dr. York Willbern, head of political science at University of Alabama; Dr. Hallie Farmer, moderator and head of social sciences at Alabama College, and Dr. Albert Cannon, professor of political science at Birmingham-Southern College.

Registration In Macon Hits Board Hurdle

Montgomery, Ala.

The registration of new voters in Macon County has come to an abrupt halt following the resignation of one of the two remaining members of the Board of Registrars.

The resignation of S. S. Humphries of Notasulga came at a time when a record number of Negroes were making application to become registered voters. However, Humphries insisted yesterday the race issue had no bearing on his resignation which was submitted Tuesday.

"I resigned because I found it impossible to devote sufficient time to the board duties as well as my business interests," Humphries declared. "there was no friction whatsoever with the other member of the board, and me and the darkies got along fine."

INTO POLITICS

"I have a pretty good size farm to look after and I am also thinking about getting into politics this spring," he continued. "It was just a case of not having enough time to do everything right."

Humphries' resignation left but one member on the board — Chairman W. Herman Bentley of Rt. 1, Notasulga.

The third member of the board appointed last November, Mrs. J. F. Segrest Jr. of Tuskegee, never accepted the appointment, although this decision had not previously been reported.

"I didn't accept the appointment for several reasons, the main one being the mixed-up and involved situation surrounding my appointment," Mrs. Segrest said yesterday. "I did not know I had been recommended, I did not know I had been appointed until I read it in the Advertiser."

"To this day I do not know who recommended me for the board, but I have heard reports that it was done because of a misconceived idea I would register any and all Negroes who made application," she continued. "I consider myself a friend of the Negroes and have made statements in public that I would favor a gradual registration of Negro voters but I certainly would not approve of registering everybody, black or white, if they were not qualified."

Montgomery, Ala.

FOLSOM MAN

Mrs. Segrest said she was further puzzled by her appointment due to her public support of Tom Abernethy when he ran as the Republican candidate for governor against Gov. Folsom in 1954.

"Despite this activity in behalf of Abernethy, I was named to the board by Agriculture Commissioner Todd, who I understand is a Folsom man," Mrs. Segrest said.

"I couldn't accept the appointment because it was apparent both the Negroes and the Folsom administration had the wrong idea about me," she said. "Had I accepted it and done the job honestly, they would have claimed I had double-crossed them."

She added that she "welcomed this opportunity" to clear up the mystery surrounding her decision to decline the appointment.

It was reported from a different source yesterday that 46 Negroes had been registered this week prior to Humphries' resignation, and that an additional "25 or 30" were waiting to register when the member walked out.

Board Juggled After Removal Of 778 Voters

Montgomery Ala.

Two members of the Bullock County Board of Registrars were fired late yesterday following their action in removing the names of 778 persons from the county's voting list.

Fired by the State Board of Registrars were J. Allen Tucker of Union Springs and Clayton Hitchcock of Midway. Named to replace them were Jim Spurlin of Fitzpatrick and J. R. Reynolds or Union Springs. Chairman Reynolds Sellers of Post Oak will continue to serve on the board.

Gov. James E. Folsom, chairman of the state board, had no comment to make on the removal of the two members. Meanwhile the other state board members—State Auditor Agnes Baggett and Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Tood—issued brief statements.

"Board members can be removed with or without cause," Mrs. Baggett said. "I have no further statement to make."

"The former board in recent months has removed 778 voters from the registered list in Bullock county," Todd noted. "I personally want to appoint someone who will work with the present voters and register new voters as they become eligible."

Todd had appointed Tucker to the original board last November, While Mrs. Baggett had appointed Hitchcock.

Both Tucker and Hitchcock insisted they had acted properly in striking the 778 names, all white voters from the registered list.

"It was our duty to go through all the registration records and strike out all those who had been registered improperly," Tucker declared. "We found that the previous board had been extremely lax in carrying out its duties."

FORGERY CHARGED

To substantiate his argument, Hitchcock displayed registration records showing in many cases none of the applications had been signed by board members, as re-

quired by law, and in many other cases one member of the board had signed for all three members.

"That's nothing but forgery," Tucker inserted.

"The issue at stake down here in simply that one group wants us to carry out part of the law and ignore other parts of it," Tucker continued. "But when I held up my hand and was sworn into office I took an oath to abide by all of the laws, not just part of them. That is exactly what I have done, and if they don't want the law upheld they will have to get somebody else on the board."

Tucker recalled that several years ago a suit was filed against the Bullock board by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The strongest argument they presented was that the board members followed the letter of the law when Negroes sought to register, but were extremely lax on white applicants," he continued. "Our practice since taking office last November has been to treat all alike—it they were qualified they became registered voters, whether they be black or white."

ONLY 6 NEGROES

The race issue was not paramount in this controversy as there are only six registered Negro voters in the county.

"We showed no favorites when striking names from the voters lits," Tucker continued. "Some of those stricken included doctors, lawyers, wives of bank presidents and school teachers."

Tucker said approximately 200 of the original 778 voters stricken had already made application to re-register, with most of them already back on the rolls.

"We got a few hot letters and got cussed out a few times, but most of the people agreed with us when they were told what was wrong with their original applications," Tucker pointed out.

A move to have Tucker and Hitchcock ousted was initiated last Friday when the Bullock county legislative delegation — Reps. M. B. McLendon and J. A. Crooks—were notified by the governor's office to recommend replacements for the two board members.

Both the lawmakers requested a delay until yesterday before taking any action.

Before the announcement of the firing of the board members yesterday, both McLendon and Crook said they felt "everything will be worked out."

"The board down there has removed a lot of voters on very minor technicalities," Crooke noted. "It is our opinion that the individual voters should not be punished for a mistake made by the former board members.

The Negro Vote

There are no complete and authoritative statistics on how many Negroes vote and how they vote throughout the nation. . . Nevertheless, Negroes may be said to hold a theoretical balance of power in those districts where the Negro percentage of the population is larger than a winning candidate's margin of victory . . . Outside the South. . . and especially in the cities, Negroes are encouraged to vote by both parties. In these areas, the number voting as a bloc tends to determine the extent to which, as a practical matter, they wield the balance of power.

This abundantly qualified conclusion by *Congressional Quarterly*, after a detailed analysis of Negro voting, is about all that is known about the so-called "Negro vote."

But Negroes hold this "theoretical balance of power" in enough congressional districts, *CQ* says, to make the difference in this year's race for the House. The big question is will they go Republican or remain Democratic, and, *CQ* adds, no one is willing at this point to advance a prediction. But a shift to the GOP could hand control of the House to Republicans. *CQ* continues:

> Whether or not this switch assumes tidal proportions could be determined by the outcome of congressional action on civil rights legislation. A Senate filibuster by Southern Democrats could be the signal for a stampede by Negroes to the GOP banner.

CQ's study shows that Negroes numbered 10% or more of the total population in 86 of 120 districts in the South, but in only 35 of 315 districts outside the South. Of the 35 non-South districts, 29 elected Democrats to the House in 1954. But the future is in doubt.

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IN DETROIT'S 1st District, for instance, Negroes numbered 37.5% of the 1950 population and Polish-born Rep. Thaddeus M. Machrowicz is already in trouble. He will be opposed in the Aug. 7 primary by Mrs. Cora M. Brown, a Negro Republican and Michigan's first Negro woman state senator. A few days ago Negro delegates walked out of the Democratic convention in the 1st District because, they said, "Negroes had been pushed around long enough."

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IN PHILADELPHIA'S 4th District—45% Negro — Rep. Earl Chudoff, a Democrat, is sweating it out for similar reasons. His margin of support may be trampled by Negroes voting as a bloc, if they do.

These are two of 14 non-South congressional districts where Negroes number 20% and more of the 1950 population, giving them a strong theoretical control. Except for the rural 1st District in Maryland, all of these are big-city districts which regularly roll up heavy Democratic majorities.

But although only 35 non-South districts have Negro percentages of 10% or better (and 14 of these with 20% or more), Negroes in many other areas have that "theoretical balance of power" *because their percentage, small as it is, outweighs the incumbent's 1954 margin of victory.* That is, again, if they bloc-vote. *CQ* counted 61 such districts, more than half of which elected Democrats in 1954, but in many cases by narrow margin. A substantial shift—either way—in Negro voting this year, could greatly strengthen one party while weakening the other.

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OF COURSE population percentages do not necessarily indicate voting strength, but it does indicate a voting potential which has candidates of both parties edgy.

The labor and farm votes have, in recent years, shown a tendency to be independent. But there is at least a strong likelihood that Negroes, for some time to come, will be concerned with **one issue above all others. And** their political strength increases as the temper of the nation becomes more evenly balanced, a fact illustrated by the 1954 vote.

When elections turn on small majorities. the bloc vote can be formidable.

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ALTHOUGH it has no direct bearing on the situation in areas where the situation in areas where the Negro vote may be decisive this year, the following table of Negro poulation percentage in Alabama is interesting (for news of Negro bloc voting, see Bob Ingram's column, 3-B). Compiled by *CQ*, the table is based on 1950 population figures.

Dist.	Incumbent	Negro % of Total pop.
1	Boykin	42.6
2	Grant	38.7
3	Andrews	42.7
4	Roberts	34.0
5	Rains	15.5
6	Selden	40.9
7	Elliott	10.0
8	Jones	18.5
9	Huddleston	37.3

Capsule Analysis

Most succinct appraisal of the current international situation came the other day, not from Secretary Dulles, Anthony Eden or even Sir Winston, but Louis Satchmo Armstrong. Asked what he thought of world conditions, Satchmo said in London:

Why, I reckon it's all right. The last time I looked at it it was all right. Anyhow, they are still blowing, and they ain't shooting.

Macon County Sets Primaries

TUSKEGEE, Ala., Feb. 15 (Special)—Vacancies in seven Macon County offices will be filled when voters go to the polls in the Democratic primaries set for May 1 and May 29.

Macon County offices to be filled this sring include judge of the inferior court, county solicitor, two positions on the board of revenue, two on the board of education and one justice of the peace post.

The two board of revenue vacancies will occur in districts 2 and 4, now held by John T. Dyson and Virgil M. Guthrie. Both incumbents have already qualified to succeed themselves.

The vacancies in the board of education now are held by Mrs. H. A. Torbert, of Society Hill and Sidney Bledsoe, Armstrong. Neither of these incumbents have qualified yet.

Judge William C. Hare, now presiding over the inferior court, has not yet qualified but has stated that he will probably be a candidate.

County Solicitor Ed Reynolds announced this week he will run for re-election and justice of the peace John Slaton has stated likewise.

In addition to the county offices, the position in the U.S. Congress, now held by Rep. George Andrews, of Union Springs, will be voted on.

Ruse Blocks Alabama Voters' Registration

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — "About the only thing that can help us is public opinion.

"We have appealed to the governor, we have written the U.S. attorney about a half-dozen times in recent years, all to no avail.

"Public opinion is our last resort."

Issuing the appeal was Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Association.

* * *

MR. GOMILLION's organization has been spearheading a campaign to register colored voters in Macon County. He is dean of students at Tuskegee Institute.

"Our people are willing to register. They are eager to vote," he insists.

Why don't they vote?

"Because," Mr. Gomillion explains, "there is no functioning county voter registration board. Since January," he states, "nobody in the county can register because the board, according to state law, can not function without two members.

* * *

"IT'S AN OLD technique," Mr. Gomillion points out.

"Every time it appears that colored persons seem to register in great numbers, members of the board resign to curtail registration."

Admitting that the failure of the board to function deprives white persons as well as colored of the right to vote, Mr. Gomillion points the following out:

"Of the 3,000 white persons eligible to vote in the county, less than 200 are not registered.

* * *

"ON THE other hand," Mr. Gomillion points out, "there are 12,000 colored persons in the county who are eligible to vote, but less than a 1,000 are registered."

Currently one W. H. Bentley, chairman, is lone member of the registration board.

In November, Mrs. J. F. Segrest, who is said to be a Republican, declined an appointment because she said she hadn't been an applicant and didn't know why she was chosen.

* * *

ANOTHER MEMBER, S. S. Humphries, who had been on the board three years, quit in January for "business reasons."

Mr. Gomillion says that there are reports that Humphries resigned "because of pressure from the White Citizens Councils."

The registration board, Mr. Gomillion states, is appointed by the state secretary of agriculture and industry, the governor, and state auditor.

* * *

THE GOVERNOR, however, has the final say in the appointments.

The ratio of colored to white, Mr. Gomillion points out, population - wise is one of the highest in the nation.

Eighty - four per cent of the residents of Macon County are colored.

* * *

"ONE OF the great fears of the white residents is that we have probably more educated people than anywhere in the state.

"The majority of our eligible voters work at the Veterans Administration Hospital at Tuskegee or at Tuskegee Institute."

Asked why the colored residents hadn't attempted to vote in the past, Mr. Gomillion said there were three explanations: ....

1. Many persons working at the hospital or the college said they were registered voters elsewhere;

2. There were some persons who felt that to vote would be to "rock the boat and disturb the wonderful relations" that the Tuskegee community had with white persons in the state.

3. There were others who felt it was "useless" to attempt to force our way on the ballot. The white people have the "upper hand" and it was frustrating to be denied the right.

* * *

"WE HAVE A younger group here who are determined to get on the registration books.

"The Justice Department in Washington tells us that there is nothing it can do under the present laws.

"We differ. However, since there is no board to sue, there is the hypothetical explanation that not being able to register is not a matter of race.

"The whites can't register either," we are told.

* * *

IN WASHINGTON, the AFRO checked with source in the civil rights section of the Justice Department.

"We have received correspondence from the Tuskegee area in the past," the source said, "but at the present time we haven't received any complaint from that area."

* * *

IN 1942 and 1943, William T. Michell, a hydro - therapist at Veterans Administration Hospital here, filed a suit for the right to vote.

He insisted that he had complied with all of the requisites. However, during the court trial, the person whom Mr. Mitchell said had vouched for him as being a resident of the community, denied signing such a statement.

During the litigation, Mr. Mitchell's application was produced and it was discovered that he had been vouched for by the person who denied it in open court.

About that time, Macon County went 18 months without a functioning registration board.

"We have sent in the names of several colored persons who indicated that they were willing to sit on the registration board.

* * *

"HOWEVER, WE concede that the governor and the other appointive officials feel that it would be political suicide to appoint a colored person at this time.

"I might add, though, that we don't feel that way. If we get registered, the politicians will be seeking our votes like anybody else.

"But, the question is — how do we get registered?"

Negro Leaders Seek Better Voter Registration System

TUSKEGEE, Ala., July 8 (AP)—A small but determined group of Negro leaders resolved here Sunday to redouble their efforts to get a workable voter registration system in Macon County.

Meeting at the Chehaw A.M.E. Zion Church near Tuskegee during a heavy rain, some 30 members of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. agreed to set up an "action" committee to "get the ball rolling."

There was no mention of a possible boycott of Tuskegee merchants which reportedly has been under consideration by some Negro leaders.

Charles G. Gomillion, association president, outlined the situation confronting Negroes in a county where Negroes outnumber whites 5-1 as far as the voting franchise is concerned.

He said to his knowledge no one has been registered for voting in the county since Jan. 16 this year. He said Macon County is the only county in the state where the voting machinery breaks down frequently.

Gov. James E. Folsom, chairman of the state board which appoints county boards of registrars, declined comment.

The other two board members, Mrs. Agnes Baggett, state auditor, and Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd were out of the city and unavailable for comment.

Chairman W. H. Bentley is the only one of the three-member Macon board of registrars now serving. Of the other two members, one, S. S. Humphries, resigned in January, and another, Mrs. J. F. Segrest, refused her appointment.

Since at least one additional member is needed for a quorum, the board has not been able to transact business.

Macon County Voters Okeh Four Proposed Amendments

Macon County voters strayed from the state trend Tuesday in voting on six proposed constitutional amendments, voting approval of four while turning down two. Over the state as a whole only two of the proposed amendments—No. 2 and No. 3—were approved.

On the most controversial of the amendments—No. 2, authorizing a so-called "freedom of choice" school system, and No. 3, relating to segregation of races in parks, swimming pools and housing projects—Macon County voters gave their approval but by far smaller margins than for the state as a whole.

No. 1 amendment, providing an increase of the state income tax on corporation, was overwhelmingly turned down by Macon voters, the vote being 956 against to 302 in favor.

The school amendment—No. 2—was approved by voters of this county 773 to 604 but the vote on No. 3 was closer, being 694 in favor to 599 against.

On No. 4, (Lee County school tax) voters here gave their approval, 631 to 395.

No. 5 (Marion County industrial development) Macon voters turned down, 677 to 261.

On No. 6 (Franklin County industrial development) the voters of this county voted in favor, 506 to 434.

State appointment opens Keege polls

MONTGOMERY, Ala. (ANP) —A Macon County vote board, closed for eight months in an effort to keep colred residents from registering, was placed into operation again last week when a new member was named to the county board of registrars.

Gov. James E. Folsom announced that Grady Rogers has been named to the board by the State Board of Registrars.

Rogers will replace Mrs. J.F. Segrest Jr. of Tuskegee, who refused her appointemnt last November. Two months later the board became inoperative when a second member, H. H. Bentley of Notasulga, resigned.

* * *

BENTLEY'S RESIGNATION left only one board member still active making voter registration impossible.

This brought a storm of protest from colored residents of the county who outnumber whites by more than five to one.

Meanwhile, white officials of Macon County were content to let the board remain inoperative in an effort to protect the white voters' majority of 2-1.

Last July the Tuskegee Civic Association urged the activation of the board.

Later it was reported that leaders of the TCA called on the members of the state board of registrars urging them to take action, but there was no indication that their efforts resulted in the appointment of Rogers.

Macon County Vote Board Gets Member

After being inoperative for more than nine months, voter registration machinery in Macon County was placed into operation again yesterday with the appointment of a new member to the county board of registrars.

Gov. James E. Folsom announced yesterday that Grady Rubers, Rt. 1, Tuskegee, has been named to the board by the State Board of Registrars — Folsom, State Auditor Agnes Baggett and Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd.

Rogers was chairman of the board during the administration of Gov. Gordon Persons but was not reappointed when the Folsom administration took over the reins of state government in January, 1955.

Rogers will replace Mrs. J. F. Segrest Jr., of Tuskegee who refused her appointment last November. Two months later the board became inoperative when a second member resigned — H. H. Bentley of Notasulga.

His resignation left only W. H. Bentley Jr., the chairman, still active. With but one member on the job no voter registration was possible, and this prompted a storm of protests from Negro residents of the county who outnumber the whites by more than five to one.

Meanwhile, white officials of the county were content to let the board remain inoperative and thus protect the white voters' two-to-one majority at the polls.

In July a meeting of about 30 members of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. went on record urging the activation of the board. Later it was reported leaders of the TCA called on the members of the State Board of Registrars urging them to take action, but there was no indication yesterday that their efforts had produced the appointment of Rogers.

There Is No Tension--But Integration Issues Are Visible to All

By BERT COLLIER
Herald Staff Writer

TUSKEGEE, Ala. — In this rural county where Negroes outnumber whites five to one, the stark issues of integration are bare for all to see.

COLLIER

Here is the situation the plantation South has always feared — threat of control of all processes of government by Negro citizens.

There is no tension here, if tension means the possibility of violence.

Life flows pleasantly enough around the town square, flanked by the yellow-brick courthouse. It is marked by the inevitable statue to Macon county's Confederate dead, now banked in flaming azaleas.

There is no economic pressure. Both sides agree that angle has no part in the picture.

But there is irreconcilable conflict between the aims and determinations of two groups of American citizens. There is no channel of communication to resolve it.

The current furor over school segregation touches this county less than one would expect.

It is an issue, of course. Petitions for admission to white schools have been signed by 19 Negro patrons representing 32 children.

Nothing happened except that a member of the board of education called the petition "unsound."

The big issue in this county is the power to vote.

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THE CURRENT registration list carries the names of 3,700 voters. These include 900 Negroes.

This is being revised. The new list will include about the same number of whites, for most of the eligibles already are registered. There will be about 1,100 Negroes.

But the 26,000 Negro citizens in Macon county — 84 per cent of the total population — include about 14,000 persons of voting age pressing to become full citizens.

If successful they have the power to take over every county and city office.

White citizens are hesitant to discuss the situation. They point out that the county is peaceful and prosperous. Each group stays to itself.

"We just don't have any problem of race in this county," said Mrs. Gladys P. Youngblood, county treasurer and secretary of the Board of Revenue.

"We live side by side and we understand each other. There has been no trouble — no tension."

Mrs. Youngblood said good white and Negro leadership was responsible for this condition.

★ ★ ★

THE PROBLEM of the white citizens of Macon county is to maintain the control they have had for more than a century—the control they wrung back in the hard and bitter days of Reconstruction.

W. P. Mitchell, a physio-therapist at the huge Veterans Administration Hospital here, is an active worker in behalf of Negro registration. He and D. L. Beasley, hospital registrar, appealed to Alabama's Gov. James E. Folsom for help.

"Presently we are stalemated," said Mitchell. "There is no board of registrars."

Alabama law provides a three-man board to pass on qualifications of voters in each county. It has no central source. One member each is appointed by the governor, the commissioner of agriculture and the state auditor.

Through resignations and refusals to serve, the board has been reduced to one member, who is unable to function.

"This is our first hurdle," said Mitchell.

"The second is that the board when it is functioning, disqualifies Negroes for the most trivial reasons."

Prospects must fill out a 21 question form, including some points of opinion. Mitchell and other Negro leaders say applicants are thrown out for signing their name in the wrong place, for answering questions of several parts in the wrong sequence, and for failing to answer questions that require no answers.

To meet that tactic, Macon Negroes have been attending registration classes in churches, schools and homes. They are coached on filling in the intricate form and on answering oral questions.

★ ★ ★

NEGROES also are resentful of another device which they claim deprives them even of their present balance of power.

All candidates in the current county primary are White citizens running without opposition. This makes nomination, for almost automatic victory in the general election, tantamount to a gentlemen's agreement among white leaders, they say.

There are 14 Alabama counties in which Negroes predominate, but none so overwhelmingly as here. Here is the heart of the racial struggle that makes the school situation seem secondary.

Macon is different from most rural Alabama counties. Its VA Hospital is the nation's fifth largest, with 2,054 patients and a staff of 1,500, mostly Negro. The staff includes many top-flight specialists and technicians.

They and their families live in pleasant homes, surrounded by trees and flowers. Their children go to segregated schools in small, adequate buildings.

★ ★ ★

"MOST NEGRO schools are dilapidated," said Mitchell. "Some are in one and two-room shacks, or even in churches and lodge halls. There are several one-teacher schools."

Some of these families send their children to a Catholic parochial school, which accepts only Negro children, regardless of faith.

The same situation applies to Tuskegee Institute, famed Negro college founded by Booker T. Washington. It is celebrating its 75th anniversary this year.

This, too, provides an intellectual resource for Negroes in their struggle for full rights.

"Our people are looking forward to the opportunity to fulfill all their responsibilities of citizenship through the ballot," said Dr. L. H. Foster, president.

"There is an almost complete lack of opportunity for discussion between the two races.

"At present the picture is confused. But right and justice are with us.

"There is but one ultimate outcome."

ALABAMA COUNTY WITHOUT VOTERS

Board of Registrars Ceases to Function

By REX THOMAS

TUSKEGEE, Ala., April 22 (AP)—Voter registration machinery has broken down again in Macon County where Negroes, many of them college-educated, outnumber white residents 5 to 1.

For the third time in a decade, the county where famed Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington 75 years ago is without a Board of Registrars and has been for several months.

No one, white or Negro, has been able to register for voting since the board ceased to function in January with only one of the three appointed members remaining in office.

Post Refused

One member, Mrs, J. F. Segrest, refused her appointment as soon as she was notified last November. Another, S. S. Humphries, resigned in January, leaving only Chairman W. H. Bentley on the board.

Since it takes at least two members to transact business, the board has been unable to function.

Mrs. Segrest, who, incidentally, is a Republican, declined the appointment because she said she hadn't been an applicant and didn't know why she was chosen. Humphries said he resigned for business reasons.

Pressure Charged

Negro leaders said Humphries, who had been on the board three years, gave up the office under "pressure" from the pro-segregation White Citizens Council members. The former registrar denied that.

One of the Negro spokesmen, Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., said white people are reluctant to serve on the board because of the heavy Negro population and the increasing demand for voter registration.

"I guess there are people who will serve," he commented, "but only those who will do no more than give us token registration."

Federal Suit Filed

Gomillion, who is dean of men at Tuskegee Institute, said Negroes in the past have been discriminated against by registration boards, that they were forced to wait unreasonably long periods of time and frequently were rejected for "trivial" reasons.

Similar complaints were made in a Federal Court suit filed in 1954 against the registrars serving at that time. The suit was withdrawn by agreement between opposing attorneys.

Approximately 84 per cent of Macon County's population of 31,000 is Negro, but only about 900 are registered as voters. By contrast, about 2,700 white voters are on the rolls out of a white population of some 5,000.

'Plenty Who Will Serve'

A recent comparison of 1950 census returns and the 1952 voters list showed less than 100 white persons over the age of 21 weren't registered to vote, Gomillion charged.

The same survey disclosed about 12,000 unregistered Negroes of voting age, he added.

But the chairman of the last functioning board, Grady Rogers, insisted that "there are plenty" of white persons who will serve on the board if asked to. "I'll even serve myself if necessary," he added.

Rogers' term expired last November and he wasn't reappointed.

Discrimination Denied

The former chairman denied, too, that there was any racial discrimination of the board while he served as chairman.

"We followed the law and that was our only policy," he declared. "If they answered the questions (on a questionnaire) right, they were registered and if they didn't they weren't. And that applied to whites as well as Negroes."

The questionnaire is one of the requirements for registration under a constitutional amendment adopted in 1951. Prospective voters also must satisfy the registrars that they have "good character."

Rogers, a retired mail carrier, said a good number of white applicants were turned down during his four-year term on the board at Tuskegee, "some of them four or five times before they were finally registered."

Supplemental List Of Qualified Voters Macon County, Ala. 1956

BEAT ONE
WHITE MALES

Bates, Dewey Charles
Bearden, E. A.
Fortner, Geo. Leonard
Jackson, Will C.

BEAT ONE
WHITE FEMALES

Craft, Susie S.
Daniels, Janelle D.
Elkin, Virginia R.
Miller, Willie M.
Segrest, Frances Cobb
Smith, Laura Zeta

BEAT THREE
WHITE FEMALES

Kelly, Evelyn Bufford

BEAT FIVE
WHITE FEMALES

Davis, Jewell W.

BEAT NINE
WHITE FEMALES

Bentley, Myrtle M.
Hunt. Jessie D.

Humphries, Rachel
Humphries, Betty Joyce
Humphries, Mary Mae
Humphries, Leona
Humphries, Irene
Humphries, Isabell
McGhar, Madge M.
Price, Dorothy

BEAT NINE
WHITE MALES

Humphries, W. A.
Humphries, S. S.
Hunt, Paul D.

BEAT ONE
COLORED MALES

Alexander, Thos. Lee, Jr.
Brooks, Ludie
Brooks, George, Jr.
Brown, Robert P.
Carter, George Leon
Cheatham, Harry
Chatman, Samuel
Chisholm, Boyd
Clark, John Richard
Clark, William A.
Clarke, Sylvanus B.
Clarke, Selburn M.
Collis, Arthur F.
Colley, Jasco
Collins, Ocie
Cook, James H.
Cochran, Comfort
Echols, James L.
Ellington, W. H.
Harris, Woodrow
Harris, Willie
Hastings, Gerald Bensford
Herrera, Francisco C., Jr.
Holland, Solomon, M.
Jenkins, Cleveland H.
Jackson, Will C.
Jeter, Calvin L.
Johnson, Jim H.
Johnson, Llewellyn G.
Jones, Edwin D.
Johnson, Jesse J.
Johnson, James E.
Kenney, Howard W.
Lee, Mack H.
McNeal, Robert L.
Miller, James E.
Moody, Byron A.
Owens, Jimmie
Perry, Raymond T.
Reid, Jacob Wallace
Rhodes, Fred D.
Richardson, Allen, Jr.
Sharpe, Leonard
Simpson, Sanford Lee
Scott, Leonard L.
Vance, Harold N.
Waver, Allen
Williams, Lucius, Jr.
Williams, George W.
Wright, Caldwell, Jr.

COLORED FEMALES

Chatman, May Nell
Colley, Fannie C.
Dawson, Cecile N.
Dixon, Katie C.
German, Ellane Baker
Graves, Luther Brazil
Isbell, Amanda O.
Jackson, Nell
Johnson, Warnie
Mundy, Alberta
Newman, Ruth Louise Oliver
Padgett, Edythe R.
Person, Inez Rebecca Hooks
Phillips, Alzenia
Pogue, Mae Washington
Peterson, Mallie C.
Rivers, Barbara H.
Thweatt, Mildred E. Owens
Travis, Celia Braxton
Trigg, Louise B.
Turner, Bettye Steele
Turner, Golden
Turner, Mary L.
Turner, Beulah Evelyn
Walker, Elnora
Walker, Clara Fort
Wallace, Essie Anderson
Ware, Annie Jones
Wheat, Zetella B.
Williams, Wilalice L.
Wynn, Ruth M.

BEAT SIX
COLORED MALES

Frank, Lenton

BEAT SEVEN

Harper, Socrates

BEAT EIGHT

Walter, Alto L., Jr.

BEAT NINE

Sims, Lee C.
Simpson, Burke J.

BEAT SEVEN
COLORED FEMALES

Adams, Edith T.
Harper, Consuello Jenkins

ELECTION OFFICERS FOR MAY 1, 1956, PRIMARY

Beat 1 Box 1 in office of board of revenue

Managers: R. E. Morris, John Huey Reynolds, Mrs. G. C. Yancey. Clerks: Mrs. Rex McLendon, Mrs. Beulah Smith. Returning Officer: James Grigg.

BEA 1 Box 2, in court room.

Managers: Mrs. J. B. Cofield, Ed Howard Jr., Mrs. Asa Vaughan, Jr. Clerks: Johnny Toney, Mrs. Ruth Broach. Returning Officer: Henry Grimes.

BEAT 1 Box 3 in tax assessor's office.

Managers: Mrs. Hardin Howard Jr., Mrs. Tip Morgan, Mrs. P. W. Roberts. Clerks: Mrs. John Williams, Miss Pattie Oswalt. Returning Officer: W. C. Lumpkin.

BEAT 1, Box 4, grand jury room.

Managers: Mrs. Alice Ruth Dyson, Howard Rutherford, Maxie Harper. Clerks: M. O. Smith, Mrs. Jack Bryan. Returning Officer: Everett Story.

BEAT 1, Box 5, in upstairs in city hall.

Managers: J. W. Ross, Roy Corbett, H. R. Finney, Clerks: Luther Cannon, Carolyn Story. Returning Officer: Virgil Glass.

BEAT 1, Box 6, in council room in city hall.

Managers: Daid Jenkins, B. K. Thomas, Lewis Segrest. Clerks: Mrs. Ray Parnell, Mrs. W. B. Golden. Returning Officer: H. Marshall Segrest.

BEAT 2.

Managers: Mrs. Joy Bufford, Harry Rogers, Miss Carol Davis. Clerks: J. Cosby Johnson, Bruce Bufford. Returning Officer: John M. Davis.

BEAT 3.

Managers: Hugh Groce, Grace Blanton, Mrs. Kelly Sistrunk. Clerks: T. U. Kelly, R. F. Walters. Returning Officer: Wyatt Godfrey.

BEAT 4.

Managers: W. L. Holsten, Mrs. B. B. Spratling Sr., Mrs. E. W. Whitaker. Clerks: Mrs. Mae Allen Lawrence, Mrs. Grace Calloway. Returning Officer: B. B. Spratling Jr.

BEAT 5.

Managers: Dozier Shaw, Mrs. Willie V. Eich, W. F. Eich Jr. Clerks: Mrs. Lucy C. Davis, Mrs. Pearl O. Kirkland. Returning Officer: Madison Davis.

BEAT 6.

Managers: J. H. Randle, C. R. Oswalt, D. G. Johnson. Clerks: R. M. Hall Jr., Mrs. Eloise Hardin. Returning Officer: Robert W. Carr.

BEAT 7.

Managers: Edgar S. Harris, George Kinney, Wilma Ray. Clerks: Mrs. Wesley Boles, Mrs. Bertha Letcher. Rturning Officer: Harold E. Noble, Jr.

BEAT 8.

Managers: Albert Reynolds, Wayne Rainey, George Daughtry Jr. Clerks: Mrs. Frances Daughtry, Hoyt Sheppard. Returning Officer: H. C. Segrest.

BEAT 9. Box 1.

Managers: D. M. Jones Curtis Peacock E. P. Livingston. Clerks: Mrs. H. H. Huey, Mrs. E. H. Bentley, Jr. Returning Officer: C. C. Bridges.

BEAT 9, Box 2.

Managers: W. T. Hill, Robert King, Olin McGhar. Clerks: P. D. Hunt, H. W. Laney. Returning Officer: C. C. Bryant.

BEAT 9, Box 3.

Managers: J. C. McAuley, Horace Anderson, Jim Weldon. Clerks: W. J. Reynolds, Mrs. Jewel Cameron. Returning Officer: W. H. Bentley.

BEAT 10.

Managers: Mrs. Jessie W. Segrest, Fletcher Robertson, Mrs. Reese J. Screws. Clerks: Miss Bessie Carr, Mrs. Willie B. Hamilton. Returning Officer: Mrs. Lois J. Carr.

ABSENTEE:

Managers: Mrs. Thelma Braswell, Mrs. Julia Anderson, Mrs. Agnes Fillingim. Clerks: Mrs. Hattie Lumpkin, Mrs. Annie Frances Ross. Returning Officer: F. F. Forman.

WCC Deploys And TCA Replies, In Macon

By Bob Ingram

THE MACON County White Citizens' Council gathering in Tuskegee Tuesday night, the first ever held in that city where Negroes outnumber whites by more than four to one, brought on the expected response from the well-organized Negro forces of that community.

INGRAM

Shortly after an announcement of the meeting had appeared in the weekly Tuskegee News, the Negro leaders in the city printed and distributed a leaflet calling attention to the meeting, and suggesting that some counterattack be launched. No specific program of reprisal was recommended—the pamphlet merely closed with the question:

"What can you do about it? Think, think, think!"

The lengthy leaflet reviewed in detail recent racial developments in the county, noting that it had been white citizens who had forced a member of the county voter registration board to resign.

"This was done," the leaflet declared, "to prevent qualified Negroes from registering so that about 3,000 voters representing 16 per cent of the population of this county can continue to outvote about 1,000 voters who represent 84 per cent of the population."

Englehardt Attacked

POINTING out that no one can register until one more registrar is appointed, the pamphlet said "it does not appear the White Citizens' Council will permit any fair-minded white person to accept appointment to the board."

The leaflet was also highly critical of Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County charging he "has cursed and insulted the Negro American all over Alabama."

Engelhardt, when shown the leaflet, flatly denied the charges.

"There's no truth to what they say," Engelhardt said.

The Negroes also took a pot shot at the Tuskegee News, which they said, "will publish news about the White Citizens' Council on the front page but will not write one word about the Supreme Court's decision on equal rights for all Americans."

There was no information on the pamphlet identifying what group had originated it, but an official of the Macon WCC said it was "obviously the work of the TCA." Tuskegee Civic Association.)

34e 1956

House Speaker Fite On Ulterior Motives

Advertiser, Sun., 3-18-56

P. 3-B

By Bob Ingram

HOUSE SPEAKER RANKIN FITE of Marion, rather adept at landing on his feet in any legislative brawl regardless of the odds, was in good form Thursday when he appeared before the House Business and Labor Committee.

Montgomery, Ala.

The committee was considering a bill co-sponsored by Fite calling for a statewide liquor referendum. A move had been initiated by Fite's hatchet-man in the House, Rep. Emmett Oden of Franklin, to ram the bill through the committee without holding a public hearing.

INGRAM

This bit of maneuvering aroused several committee members, and prompted Jefferson Rep. Charles Nice to suggest the undue haste sought by supporters of the bill might have resulted from some "ulterior motive."

He further suggested that should the bill be reported out to the House, any impending vote on the measure would probably lead to a sine die adjournment of the Legislature.

Fine Performance

FITE, ORATOR first class that he is, immediately took issue with Nice's accusation. His face turned a livid red, his arms waving skyward, Fite loudly and eloquently proclaimed his innocence on the charge of an "ulterior motive." His goal was to impress one and all that he was never inspired by such motives.

The performance was a good one, deserving of a passing grade. But he failed to quit while he was still ahead. Pausing long enough to look over his audience, Fite proclaimed in a loud voice:

"Where's Charlie McKay? I thought he was a member of this committee."

Fite was correct, as he well knew. McKay and four other members were not present for the meeting. Fite for some reason failed to miss the other four.

The obvious explanation for this oversight is that the other four are not candidates for the post of Democratic committeeman, as is McKay.

Also seeking the same office is Gov. James E. Folsom, to whom Fite is securely glued.

And it was this close bond which prompted Fite to imply that McKay might have gone to the cabbage patch rather than vote on the touchy wet-dry issue.

Apparently it is Fite's contention that ulterior motives are perfectly permissible, but under no circumstances should a House member call attention to such transgressions by the speaker.

The Capable Joe Dawkins

MONTGOMERY REP. JOE DAWKINS has once again stamped himself as one of the most capable and determined members in the House.

Without considering the merits of the legislation, Dawkins did a remarkable job in winning House approval of a bill proposing to slash education's appropriation during the past week.

Easily the best informed member of the House on the highly technical matters of school finance, Dawkins had been the backbone of the interim committee which made a detailed study of the school budget.

Time after time, as various members sought to amend the measure to restore an appropriation to a favorite division or institution, Dawkins took to the microphone to protest.

His success can best be measured by the fact that of the 27 amendments to the bill drawn up for introduction, only five were ever introduced. Sponsors of the remaining 22 amendments wisely scuttled them, realizing it would be futile to introduce them as long as Dawkins was waiting to pounce.

That Dawkins was both sincere and determined in his efforts is evidenced by a dramatic episode during the debate on one amendment when the Montgomery legislator offered to "step outside" with another member.

Tearful Sincerity

A MOVE HAD been made to restore $211,000 to the appropriation for civilian rehabilitation. Dawkins readily admitted he regretted that such a large cut was necessary but he insisted that to restore the entire amount would jeopardize the entire program.

At this point Rep. Roland Faulk of Geneva, in support of the amendment, made a statement implying that Dawkins was not sincere in wanting to help the "crippled children and blind people" who benefit from the rehabilitation fund.

This was more than Dawkins could take. His voice quivering with emotion and tears in his eyes, Dawkins took heated exception to Faulk's implication.

"If anybody questions my sincerity about this," Dawkins proclaimed, glaring at Faulk, "I will be glad to take him on over the microphone, or I'll go outside and take him on anyway he wants to."

Moments later the House backed up Dawkins and killed the amendment, and a short time later the appropriation bill was approved.

Vacancy In Macon

DESPITE AN EFFORT on the part of organized Negroes in Macon County, chances are slim at this time that any action will be taken in the near future toward appointing a new board of registrars for that county.

The Tuskegee Civic Association, through its weekly newspaper, has repeatedly called on the state board to fill the vacancies in Macon County, but thus far the pleas have fallen on deaf ears.

In recent weeks the TCA's membership committee in an editorial in the TCA News suggested that Negroes boycott all merchants who refuse to work with the colored people in securing a new voter registration board.

The county has been without such a board since January following the resignation of S. S. Humphries of Notasulga. Earlier, Mrs. J. F. Seagrest of Tuskegee had refused to accept her appointment. Thus Humphries' resignation left but one member on the board — Herman Bentley of Notasulga.

Gov. Folsom, who appointed Bentley, has stayed clear of the controversy. He has pointed out that it is up to the other two state board members—Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd and Auditor Agnes Baggett—to fill their vacancies.

It Must Be Unanimous

MRS. BAGGETT says she will be glad to make an appointment, but under one stipulation:

"If all the citizens of Macon County get together on a recommendation, then I will be glad to make the appointment. But until they do, there is little I can do."

Todd noted that there were several other counties like Macon without new boards, and he added "I hope we can get together before long and take care of all of them."

He further indicated he was waiting on Gov. Folsom to call the state board together before acting on the Macon vacancies.

Until at least one new member is named to the Macon board, no new voters can register in the county. This means that the Negro people of the county, although outnumbering the whites by more than five to one, will remain outvoted at the polls by approximately three to one.

'EFFORTS REDOUBLED'

Advertiser

Macon Negroes Push Attack On Voter Registration Plan

Mon. 7-9-56 P. 1

Montgomery, Ala.

By JIM HALL
Advertiser Staff Writer

TUSKEGEE, Ala., July 8 — A small but determined group of Negro leaders resolved today to redouble their efforts to get a workable voter registration system in Macon County.

Meeting at the Chehaw AME Zion Church near Tuskegee during a heavy rain, some 30 members of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. agreed to set up an "action" committee to "get the ball rolling."

There was no mention of a possible boycott of Tuskegee merchants which reportedly has been under consideration by some Negro leaders.

Charles G. Gomillion, association president, outlined the situation confronting Negroes in a county where Negroes outnumber whites 5-1 as far as voting franchise is concerned.

He said to his knowledge no one has been registered for voting in the county since Jan. 16 this year. He said Macon County is the only county in the state where the voting machinery breaks down frequently.

Advertiser

Gov. James E. Folsom, chairman of the state board which appoints county boards of registrars, declined comment on the breakdown of voter registration in Macon County.

P. 2-A

The other two board members, Mrs. Agnes Baggett, state auditor, and Agriculture Commissiner A. W. Todd were out of the city and unavailable for comment.

Chairman W. H. Bentley is the only one of the three - member Macon board of Registrars now serving. Of the other two members, one, S. S. Humphries, resigned in January and another Mrs. J. F. Segrest, refused her appointment.

Since at least one additional member is needed for a quorum the board has not been able to transact business.

After discussing possible approaches for getting a functioning registration board for a little more than an hour, the group adopted a resolution proposing:

1. To appeal again to the three state officials who compose the appointing authority.

2. If no action is taken to set up voter registration again within a reasonable period, inform the U.S. Department of Justice and request Atty. Gen. Brownell to take steps to remedy the situation.

3. Inform the Democratic and Republican National Committees that there are qualified persons in Macon County anxious to vote but who can't do so because no voter registration machinery exists.

4 Appeal to certain state agencies such as the Alabama League of Women Voters, organized labor and the Alabama Council on Human Relations for assistance.

Several members suggested from the floor that immediate steps be taken to bring legal action against the three state officials to compel them to appoint persons to the board of registrars who were willing to serve.

Five of those present agreed to sign affidavits to the effect that they would serve on the board if appointed. They were the Rev. T. R. Newman, the Rev. Raymond F. Harvey, the Rev. J. L. Brown, Dr. George W. Cooper, and Mrs. Annie M. Aiken.

Newman contended the best way to get action would be to "prosecute" the three state officials and force their hand. Several other members said they would be willing to make a financial sacrifice to help finance such a lawsuit.

The association president recalled that litigation was used in

1943, both in the state and federal courts seeking to force the board of registrars then in office to register qualified Negro voters.

"We're still paying for that," he added.

Under the resolution approved today, Gomillion was empowered to appoint a three-member "action" committee to study all suggestions made today and decide on a course to follow.

ON MACON BOARD

Chairman Denies Registrar Quit Due To Negro Voters

Chairman Herman Bentley of the Macon County Board of Registrars denied yesterday that the resignation of another board member last week had resulted from the increasing number of Negroes seeking to become registered voters.

S. S. Humphries, also of Notasulga, announced Jan. 17 he had resigned due to pressing business matters, denying that he was leaving the board due to the Negro registration issue.

However, a Negro leader in Tuskegee had pointed out Humphries' decision came the day after 46 new Negro voters had been registered.

"That statement was false and misleading," Bentley said yesterday. "The board had met only one day in 1956 to register new voters, and that was on Jan. 16, the day before Mr. Humphries resigned."

"On that day 25 Negroes and two whites made application to register, and we approved 13 of the Negroes and one of the whites," Bentley continued. "The 46 new Negro voters referred to were those registered at the two previous meetings the board has held since I became chairman—one on Nov. 21 and the second on Dec. 16."

Bentley admitted yesterday he had been under "tremendous pressure" since being appointed to the board, adding he had received "phone calls at all hours of the night" urging him not to register Negro voters.

"It has been my policy to register all applicants if they are qualified, whether they be black or white," Bentley said.

Humphries' resignation left only Bentley on the board, as the third member, Mrs. J. F. Segrest of Tuskegee, never accepted her appointment.

Bentley said yesterday he didn't know what action would be taken in Macon, but admitted no new voters could be registered in the county until at least one of the vacancies was filled.

"I would like to concur in the remarks by Mr. Humphries regarding our relationship on the board," Bentley added. "It was always congenial, as we had worked out a plan satisfactory to all concerned."

This is not the first time Bentley has found himself involved in a controversy regarding Negro voters in Macon County. From April, 1948, until January, 1949, the Macon Board of which Bentley was chairman did not meet.

Earlier, there was an 18-month period from June, 1946, until January, 1948, when the board did not meet. Several suits were filed by Negroes seeking to force the board to function, but none of the suits were successful.

Negroes outnumber whites in Macon County by more than 4 to 1.

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Macon County Vote Board Gets Member

After being inoperative for more than nine months, voter registration machinery in Macon County was placed into operation again yesterday with the appointment of a new member to the county board of registrars.

Gov. James E. Folsom announced yesterday that Grady Robers, Rt. 1, Tuskegee, has been named to the board by the State Board of Registrars — Folsom, State Auditor Agnes Baggett and Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd.

Rogers was chairman of the board during the administration of Gov. Gordon Persons but was not reappointed when the Folsom administration took over the reins of state government in January, 1955.

Rogers will replace Mrs. J. F. Segrest Jr., of Tuskegee who refused her appointment last November. Two months later the board became inoperative when a second member resigned — H. H. Bentley of Notasulga.

His resignation left only W. H. Bentley Jr., the chairman, still active. With but one member on the job no voter registration was possible, and this prompted a storm of protests from Negro residents of the county who outnumber the whites by more than five to one.

Meanwhile, white officials of the county were content to let the board remain inoperative and thus protect the white voters' two-to-one majority at the polls.

In July a meeting of about 30 members of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. went on record urging the activation of the board. Later it was reported leaders of the TCA called on the members of the State Board of Registrars urging them to take action, but there was no indication yesterday that their efforts had produced the appointment of Rogers.

Along with bus boycott—

Montgomery Negro leaders pledge new offensive on voter registration

BY REX THOMAS

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 26—(AP)—The birthplace of the Confederacy has become the battleground for a "no surrender" fight for racial "justice and equality."

From the initial attack on segregated city bus facilities, Negro leaders have promised to launch another offensive directed at voter registration policies.

A committee of the same Montgomery Improvement Assn. which was organized to support the 18-week-old bus boycott is already working on plans to strengthen the rolls of Negro voters, or find out why that can't be done.

THE BUS PROTEST meanwhile is still functioning with renewed determination despite the prosecution of its leaders and the conviction of the first of 90 defendants called to trial, the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.

King told a huge crowd of Negroes jammed into a church at a mass meeting several hours after his conviction and $500 fine Thursday that "we are no longer content to accept second class citizenship. We are determined to struggle for justice and equality until we achieve it."

King meanwhile has appealed to higher courts.

As president of the improvement association which was formed the day the bus boycott began last Dec. 5, King testified during his trial that the organization's purpose is to "improve the Negro's status in Montgomery."

ALTHOUGH ITS efforts thus far have been devoted mostly if not entirely to the bus protest, the 27-year-old Baptist minister disclosed later the MIA has a voter registration committee already at work.

Its chairman is Rufus Lewis, president of the Citizens Club, an organization whose membership is restricted to Negro voters.

Complaining that members of his race have been "systematically excluded" from voting in Montgomery, Lewis predicted his committee's efforts will lead ultimately to a court suit. But "we haven't gone far enough yet to tell just what we can do," he added.

Neither would he say whether a court attack will be made on Alabama's registration qualifications written into the State Constitution as a substitute for the outlawed Boswell Amendment.

Prospective voters now must undergo a written examination and satisfy registration officials that they are of "good character."

THE BOSWELL Amendment, held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, required applicants to be able to "understand and explain" the Federal Constitution.

Lewis, talking about the Negroes' complaints against the board here, said "it's a subtle sort of thing.

"When Negroes try to register, they are told they will be notified if they are qualified. But white people sometimes get their certificates right then and there.

"Sometimes the Negroes are never notified and they have to go back, some of them half a dozen times. If they finally do get registered, they have been delayed and delayed."

Lewis said difficulties have increased noticeably since the organization of the pro-segregation Montgomery County Citizens Council. "We get even less results now," he explained. "Fewer and fewer are registered."

Members of the county Board of Registrars declined to comment in the absence of the chairman, Mrs. C. B. Willis, who was out of the city.

MONTGOMERY'S population is estimated at nearly 125,000, divided approximately 40 per cent Negro and 60 per cent white (the Chamber of Commerce figures 38 per cent for the Negroes; Lewis said it is nearer 42 per cent).

Voter registration figures show a different pattern. Of the estimated 23,500 voters in Montgomery, only about 1900, or 8 per cent, are Negro.

But there has been no suggestion, King and Lewis said, of economic reprisals like the recent threat in neighboring Macon County, home of famed Tuskegee Institute.

A newsletter of the Negro Tuskegee Civic Assn. urged its readers to boycott white merchants who refused to help them in their fight for voter registration, but the association's president, Charles G. Gomillion, disclaimed any responsibility for the threat.

Macon County has had no functioning Board of Registrars for several months when the second of the three members resigned. At one period in recent years, the county went for more than 18 months without a registration board.

IN MONTGOMERY, King said his Negro organization has given no thought to other demands such as employment of Negroes in downtown stores. Nor have they taken any step to force the integration of Negro and white students in the schools.

Besides the bus boycott, 'our main concern now," the minister explained, is voter registration.

Voting heavy—

Racial unrest, Folsom power primary issues

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Alabama Democrats turned out in large numbers during the morning hours today to cast ballots in a party primary in which racial unrest has been an issue.

One major question being decided is the present vo getting ability of Gov. James E. Folsom, who predicted few months ago he "couldn be elected dogcatcher" i Alabama.

EARLY VOTING was heavy at Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery and in West Alabama.

The first hours of voting in Jefferson County saw voters turning out in record numbers.

The vote was reported "very heavy" from all sections of the county, and particularly in the over-the-mountain areas.

At some of the big voting centers, people were lined up two hours after the polls opened, and balloting was moving at a brisk pace.

Should the same pace continue through the day, it appeared likely that Jefferson County would exceed the 73,000 votes cast in the first primary in 1954.

Despite his "dogcatcher" statement, Folsom is in a hot three-way race for Democratic national committeeman and has been accused by political opponents of putting a "Folsom slate" into office in other races.

The polls opened at 8 a.m. all over the state. In rural areas they will close at 5 p.m., and in cities at 6 p.m. In Jefferson County, all polling places close at 7 p.m.

IN ADDITION to the national committeeman race, voters will reelect Mrs. Lennard Thomas of Montgomery as national committeewoman. She is unopposed.

Other posts to be filled inclue the election of 52 delegates to cast Alabama's 26 votes at the national convention; the nomination of 11 presidential electors; and the nomination of party candidates for Congress and several state and district offices.

Delegates to the National Republican Convention will be chosen, as usual, in district and state conventions, on dates ranging from May 4 to May 25. Each of the nine districts except the eighth will have two delegates and four more will be named from the state at large at the state convention May 25.

The segregation controversy has popped up in several races. It has been made a particular issue in Folsom's bid for national committeeman over the opposition of State Rep. C. W. McKay Jr. and Roy D. McCord.

McKAY HAS SAID the governor has done nothing to maintain segregation in Alabama and is the chief ally in the state of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

McKay sponsored the Nullification Resolution approved by the Legislature which declares Alabama is not bound by racial rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court. Folsom called that "hogwash" and refused to sign it, but it went into technical effect without his signature.

Folsom insists he has always been for segregation as long as he is governor.

During his first administration, Folsom was defeated in 1948 when he ran for delegate to the national convention.

AT A NEWS CONFERENCE shortly before he qualified for the current race, Folsom shrugged off questions about his political future with the comment: "I couldn't be elected dogcatcher in Alabama now." He did not elaborate.

Although Alabama's 52 delegates to the August convention in Chicago will be unpledged, 46 of the 80 candidates told The Associated Press they favor Adlai Stevenson as the presidential nominee. Three leaned toward Estes Kefauver; none favored Averell Harriman.

The 11 Democratic candidates for presidential elector have no opposition today, but they will be opposed by independent and Republican elector candidates in the November general election.

The Democratic electors are pledged to cast their votes for the national partys' presidential ticket no matter who the nominee might be. Leaders of the White Citizens Councils are backing a separate slate of unpledged independent candidates who could throw Alabama's votes in the electoral college to a presidential candidate favoring Southern views on segregation and states' rights.

THE NAMES of the 23 independents who have qualified won't be on the ballots until the election in November.

Sen. Lister Hill is opposed for reelection today by John Crommelin, a retired admiral making his third bid for a U. S. Senate seat. Crommelin lost to Hill in 1950 and was defeated again in 1954 by Sen. John Sparkman.

Only two of the nine U. S. Rep. James T. Hamrick of Mobile, In the second district, State Rep. Frank Boykin of Montgomery is trying to unseat Rep. Wilbur Nolen of the First District is running for reelection against George Grant.

First box solid against Folsom

CAMDEN, Ala., May 1—(AP)—Bonham's Beat, the first box completed in today's Alabama Democratic primary, reported all 10 of its votes went to C. W. McKay Jr. as Democratic committeeman.

McKay is opposed in the rce by Gov. James E. Folsom and Roy D. McCord. Folsom and McCord didn't get any votes in the Wilcox County box.

Other returns: For U. S. senator, John G. Crommelin 8, incumbent Lister Hill 2; and for Public Service Commission president, John E. Drinkard 0; C. C. Owen 4, and W. F. Tucker 6.

"Shameful Mistreatmen!"

The general press this week carried stories indicating the concern of Representative George Andrews (D. Third Congressional District), Union Springs, Ala. over what he described as Ohio's "shameful mistreatment" in sending a Negro mother and her eight children from Cleveland, Ohio to Livingston, Ala., the peonage belt. World P.8 Fri. 6-15-56

One can admire and appreciate the solicitude of Congressman Andrews for this destitute family which is in need of assistance and sympathy. Yet it is hard for us to figure out the curious twist he brings into play in citing the 14th Amendment and appealing to Attorney Herbert Brownell in behalf of this "exiled" family. We do not remember the esteemed Congressman ever lifting his voice in behalf of the voting rights of Negro citizens in his own county of Bullock and in other counties in the district he represents in the United States House of Representatives.

(The Third Congressional District includes Barbour, Bullock, Coffee, Dale, Geneva, Henry, Houston, Lee, Macon, and Russell counties). B'ham, Ala.

First let us take a look at the voting situation in Bullock County. Of the 2,633 white persons in that county 21 years and older, 2,356 are on the voting rolls. Which means that all of the white persons of voting cae, with the exception of 283, are qualified voters. But on the other hand, there are 5,425 Negro persons in Bullock 21 years and older. Yet only six of these are qualified voters. About two years ago a group of Negro persons who had been refused registration by the Bullock County Board of Registrars were found by the late U. S. Judge C. B. Kennamer of being illegally deprived of the right to vote. The registrars resigned. For some months no successors were appointed. Before the vote denial suit, there were seven Negro voters in Bullock County. Since then, one of them has died. Today after about two years there are still six or less Negro voters there, according to reports.

Yet there has not been an appeal by Congressman Andrews to the U. S. Attorney General, and citing of the 15th Amendment. We cannot understand this, although we appreciate the curious concern he has about a poverty-stricken, Ohio exiled family shipped back to Sumter County of our state.

In Macon County, the three-person Board of Registrars is reportedly unable to do business because it is short of two members. In Barbour County a circuit judge reportedly threatened to arrest FBI agents if they came into that county and tried to investigate civil rights. In Dale County a sheriff reportedly hung up waiting room signs at the Railroad Station after such symbols of passenger discrimination had been ordered removed by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

It should be pointed out that Sumter County is in the Sixth Congressional District and that Congressman Armistead I. Selden, Jr. of Greensboro, Alabama is its representative.

Rep. Andrews wants to know in the Ohio family deportation case what "..... this (Eisenhower) administration, which has boasted so much about fair treatment for all people of all races and so on, will do about this plain violation of the law."

Meantime there are many of us in Alabama who want to know what our public leaders are going to do about civil rights in the Black and in other sections of our state. It does little, if any, good to point the accusing finger at Ohio and other Northern states. Civil rights, like charity, should begin at home.

Alabama Grand Jury Indicts Registrar For Qualifying Member Of N. A. A. C. P.

Daily World Sun. 7-15-56

CLAYTON, Ala. — (INS) — W. A. Stokes, Sr., a member of the county board of Registrars, was arrested Saturday on a vote fraud charge. Atlanta Ga.

Stokes was arrested following a report by the Grand Jury. The warrant charged him with "knowingly and willfully registering or procuring the registration of a person not possessing the qualifications of an elector."

The Grand Jury's report charges Elijah Franklin, described as an active member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, with two counts identical to those placed against Stokes.

Friday, Alabama Gov. James Folsom was asked to investigate the Board of Registrars after the Grand Jury called for a purge of the County Voting list. The jury reported they discovered "as many persons voting illegally in District No. 2 as there are legal voters."

In Barbour County, Today—

Post-Herald Mon. 7-16-56 P. 3

Registrar Faces Trial On Voter List Charge

B'ham Ala.

CLAYTON, July 15 (AP) — W. A. Stokes Sr., Eufaula, member of the Barbour County Board of Registrars, is scheduled to go on trial tomorrow charged with vote registration irregularities.

Stokes was arrested Friday on a warrant charging 13 counts of "knowingly and wilfully registering or procuring the registration of a person not possessing the qualifications of an elector."

Also arrested was Elijah Franklin, Negro, charged with two counts identical with those placed against Stokes.

Franklin was identified as an active member of the Eufaula Branch of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Stokes was arrested after the Barbour County grand jury called for a probe of the board of registrars and a purge of the county voting list.

Stokes said yesterday in Eufaula that politics was behind the charges. He declined to specify who was involved in the political aspect he mentioned, but predicted that nothing would come of the charges.

The grand jury report said that in District One of Barbour County there are "a number of unqualified voters many of whom are illiterate." Stokes said "that particular bunch" referred to were Negroes.

The other registrars are Chairman J. W. Spencer, Texasville and Mrs. Emma McLean, Clio.

The jury asked that the appointing board "take immediate action to dismiss, relieve, or otherwise replace any member of said board who has participated in the . . . illegal registration . . ."

The jury reported that they found "approximately as many illegal voters in District One of Barbour County as there are legal voters and in Beat Four of that district, there are more illegal voters according to our best judgment." The district is in the northwest part of the county.

The grand jury investigation grew out of protests made by unsuccessful Board of Revenue Candidate A. D. Trammell who lost to J. A. Grant 88 to 78 in the May 1 Democratic primary.

Despite its charges of registration irregularities the jury made no mention of the Trammell-Grant case which has been investigated by both county and state Democratic executive committees.

ALABAMA VOTE CASE IS STUDIED BY JUDGE

Barbour County Officials Is Accused Of Violations

P. 9

EUFALA, Ala., Oct. 8.—(UP)—Grand Jury indictment against a Barbour County vote official who registered 13 Negro electors were taken under advisement here Monday by Circuit Court Judge George Wallace.

W. A. Stokes Sr., chairman of the county's Board of Registrars, is charged with illegal registration procedures.

Judge Wallace said he will rule Tuesday on demurers filed in court Monday on behalf of Mr. Stokes. Memphis Press-Scimitar

The Grand Jury action grew out of charges made last May by A. D. Trammell who ran unsuccessfully for the Barbour Board of Revenue in the Democratic Primary. He lost the election by 10 votes and in challenging it he said his opponent, J. A Grant, had won on votes cas by a group of Negroes illegally registered. Dues 10-9-56

The local Democratic Party ruled it had no jurisdiction in the case and then the Grand Jury made the indictments.

Defense Atty. Chauncey Sparks filed the demurrers Monday stating the Grand Jury had failed to give sufficient "evidence as to Stokes' guilt, and it had also failed to show what qualifications were lacked by the people registered that would make their registration illegal."

The pleadings also said the charges were illegal in that "Stokes is being charged personally for action which he took as a judicial officer." He is chairman of the three-man board and voters are approved officially by the board rather than by individual action.

Pro-Bias Voters Win in Alabama

Worker Telegram Sun

By KENNETH BEENE,
United Press Staff Writer.

BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Aug. 29.—Alabama voters stripped their state constitution to remove clauses that might be used as a basis for enforcing integration of public schools, returns from a referendum showed today. World 8-30-56 P 4 2 Col

The segregation-conscious voters approved by a thumping majority in the referendum yesterday the act removing their state constitutional guarantees of public school education.

This will empower the State Legislature to abolish the state school system, if necessary, to sidestep any court decrees aimed at lowering classroom racial barriers.

The voters also approved a second broad constitutional amendment providing authority for preserving segregation in public parks and playgrounds. But with equal vigor, they defeated a proposal to like corporate income taxes to bring an additional $6,000,000 which would be earmarked for education.

QUEST FOR SUPPORT

Tuskegee Unit Asks Boycott In Bid For Registrar Board

The Tuskegee Civic Association has gone on record in its weekly newsletter advocating a boycott of white merchants in Macon County who do not actively support the appointment of a new county board of registrars.

Macon County has been without a voter registration board since Jan. 17 when S. S. Humphries of Notasulga resigned. His resignation left the board inoperative, in that but one member remained.

In an editorial in the latest issue of the Tuskegee Civic Association News, identified as the official organ of the TCA membership committee, it is recommended that Negroes ask "local merchants or the head of the institution with which you spend your money to offer to serve on the board or to otherwise help you in getting registered."

However, C. G. Gomillion, dean of students at Tuskegee Institute and president of the TCA, said his organization was not suggesting such a boycott. He said the editorial was merely the "opinion of the writer."

"The minutes of our organization will show no such boycott has been advocated," Gomillion said. He added he was unable to identify the writer of the editorial, adding it could be any one of several people.

"This is the acid test," the editorial said. "Any local businessman who sells you goods or services or who in anywise benefits from your money, and who is not sympathetic to your becoming a registered voter, is not interested in your total welfare, and by his acts or lack of them, is not deserving of your patronage."

The editorial further points out that the Negroes are partly responsible for their present position of not being able to become registered voters.

"We are to blame because we are guilty of misplacing values," the editorial said. "We purchase too much on credit, we are too deeply mortgaged for items and services which we could best do without. Because of this, when the call is made for concerted, intelligent protest action 'we can not go, we owe our souls to the company store'."

State Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr. of Macon, an outspoken supporter of racial segregation, asked to comment on the threatened boycott in his county, said yesterday he thought "it might be wise to remind any group planning such an action that boycotting is a violation of the state law."

The Tuskegee Civic Association has long been active in Macon County seeking to register Negro voters, and to "bring about better relations between the two races." It identifies itself as interracial.

VOTER REJECTIONS HIT

Reds Favored Over Negro, NAACP Leader Says

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 8. —(AP)—A Negro citizen of Alabama has less chance of voting in state elections than a white communist, a high official of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said Sunday.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP, made the remark in a speech to members of the Alabama State Co-ordinating Association for Registration and voting. He claimed photostatic evidence exists that the same county officials who rejected Negro voters overlooked questionnaires filled in by white voters who are admitted members of subversive organizations.

Speaking at the First Baptist Church, Mitchell said this is the result of a blind, unreasonable campaign to prevent Alabama's Negro populace from expressing their free will.

Rights As Citizen Restored To Boswell

Ex-Legislator Was Faced With Having Name Removed From Geneva Voting List

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 26 (U.P.)—The State Pardons and Paroles Board today granted former Geneva County Legislator E. C. (Bud) Boswell restoration of his civil and political rights.

Boswell, in seeking the action, said in a letter earlier this month to the board that he was convicted of "false pretense or embezzlement" and received a pardon with restoration of civil rights in 1914.

He said, though, the present Geneva County board of registrars had questioned his eligibility as a voter.

He said his pardon and restoration of civil rights had been lost, and the registrars had indicated they intended to take his name off the voting list unless he could show proof that his civil rights were restored.

The board took the matter under advisement at the time and ruled on it today.

Boswell, as a legislator in 1945, authored the famed "Boswell amendment" aimed at preventing many Negroes from voting.

The board gave the following reasons for restoring Boswell's rights:

1. Subject's sentence or probation had expired.
2. The parole supervisor had investigated the case.
3. Investigation indicated a satisfactory adjustment.
4. Community attitude was favorable toward Boswell.
5. No record of conviction since he was released.

A spokesman for the board said the judge and solicitor of Pike County, where Boswell was convicted, waived the 30 days notice required of the board before it ruled in the case.

CITIZEN 'BUD' — Citizenship rights of E. C. (Bud) Boswell, ex-legislator, were restored yesterday.

Boswell Amendment 2 – II.

"Bud" Boswell, you remember, is that gnarled old country lawyer who has played a powerful role in Alabama political affairs since 1914. Among other things, he was the author of the annulled Boswell Amendment, which was frankly contrived to disfranchise thousands of relatively qualified voters.

Then was it revealed that Chief Disfranchiser was himself disfranchised. This was because a generation ago Boswell was convicted of embezzlement, which entailed the forfeiture of his right to vote until he received an official pardon.

Boswell always said he possessed such a pardon and would produce it at the "proper time." But last week he publicly acknowledged that he couldn't locate this pardon.

He thereupon petitioned the State Board of Pardons & Paroles to issue a pardon, thus restoring his civil rights. He is a Folsom lieutenant, of course, but Folsom has no control over the Pardon-Parole Board. So it's up to an independent trinity of judges.

We say restore Boswell's right to vote with a pardon. The $50 embezzlement (Pike County, 1913) was 43 years ago. The state was entitled to its horse laugh at the disfranchisement of the disfranchiser. It was a humiliating experience for a man who has played so prominent a role in public affairs. He has paid a much larger penalty than most who embezzle $50. Enfranchise him, forget it.

Senate Group Plots Attack On Poll Taxes

WASHINGTON, April 11 (AP)—A Senate Judiciary subcommittee decided today to try to get action at this session of Congress on an anti-poll tax amendment to the Constitution.

It would forbid collection of the tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. States could retain it for state and local elections, if they wished.

To speed the hearings, Chairman Kefauver (D-Tenn) of the subcommittee called another session for 10:30 a.m. Friday and asked Sen. Langer (R-ND) to preside. Kefauver is in the midst of his campaign for the Democratic nomination for president.

SEVERAL REPEALED

The only states now requiring a poll tax for voting are Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas and Arkansas. It used to be a requirement in other Southern states, but several have repealed it by state action.

A group of Southern senators is behind the constitutional amendment approach to the question. They maintain this is the only proper method, as opposed to a simple majority vote in Congress for a federal law. For a constitutional amendment to become effective would require two-thirds votes of approval in the House and Senate and ratification by three-fourths of the states.

Sen. Holland (D-Fla) told the Kefauver subcommittee that if Congress approved the amendment, the states would follow through with "speedy adoption."

The Florida senator told a reporter that he anticipated most opposition would come from "ultra-liberals who want to repeal the poll tax by a federal statute."

He said, however, that Sen. Eastland (D-Miss) has asked to be heard in opposition, too.

Negro Vote Saved Folsom From 3d Place

By Bob Ingram

IT MAY BE some time before all the pieces fall into place to create a clear picture of just what happened to the governor of Alabama in last Tuesday's Democratic Primary. That Gov. Folsom was beaten as badly as a man can be was obvious—but not so plain as you might think are the causes of this humiliation.

INGRAM

In an effort to find the explanation, this reporter made long distance calls to legislators and county officials in all parts of Alabama, and conferred with others at the Capitol.

As expected, the racial question was foremost in most South Alabama counties. But it was not Folsom's stubborn refusal to sign segregation bills that aroused the people. Nor was it his "hogwash" description of the Nullification Resolution. What may have done Folsom more harm than any other one thing was summed up by an elected official of Crenshaw County.

"Hell, man, in 1954 Big Jim got more than twice as many votes down here than all the other candidates lumped together," he said. "And nobody paid much mind to the fact that he hadn't signed them bills. But him inviting that nigger out for a drink at the mansion really cut him deep down here. He just plain ripped it with the Crenshaw folks."

This was in reference to a late November incident where Folsom and Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, of New York met at the mansion to sip cocktails. Folsom later insisted he had asked Powell to come by "so I could ask him not to have any integration suits filed in Alabama." As to the drink, which Powell revealed in a Montgomery speech, Folsom sought to brush it off by noting that he never drank Scotch and sodas (he drank bourbon, as reported at the time).

Surely one of the bitterest pills Folsom had to swallow last Tuesday was his poor showing in Coffee County, where Rep. Charlie McKay beat him two to one. Folsom was born in Coffee County, he has a brother and many other relatives still living there. In 1954 he received 5,800 of the 7,200 votes cast in the gubernatorial election.

A telephone call to an Elba businessman brought this response:

"The thing I've heard talked about the most was not Jim's stand on segregation. After all, he was born down here and grew up with us. And we know pretty well that he doesn't want the races to mix in schools any more than we do. But there's a lot of people down here, poor people but good people, who won't spend $10,000 in their whole life for groceries and such. And when they saw in the papers that Folsom was spending that much in a month, they didn't like it a bit."

Different Reasons In North Alabama

MEANWHILE, an entirely different explanation came from some of the North Alabama counties. Here, due to the sparse Negro population, the segregation issue has caused considerably less concern than in the South. Here too, an almost legendary belief had sprung up that in the Tennessee Valley Folsom was unbeatable. Yet when the returns began to come in the story was much the same — McKay by a landslide.

Telephone calls were made to three members of the Legislature from three separate Tennessee Valley counties. None of the three contacted knew what the other two had said, yet it seems more than a coincidence that all three said the same thing.

To this reporter's surprise, the lawmakers contacted were all convinced that one of the major factors leading to Folsom's reversal was the North Alabama people's belief that the governor was given to over-indulgence.

"I honestly believe that this belief of the people of my county had more to do with Folsom's defeat here than any other one thing," one House member declared emphatically. "Certainly it wasn't segregation, nor do I believe the charges of waste and extravagance had much to do with it — the people seem to accept that as being routine."

Many other officials and private citizens polled on the subject cited the same three factors — segregation, waste and over-indulgence.

'Nuts' To Labor Bosses

ANOTHER interesting sidelight to the Tuesday primary was the complete flop of the leaders of organized labor in their effort to throw the union membership behind a slate of candidates.

Several weeks ago a joint state labor committee announced its endorsement of Folsom, Mayhall, Drinkard and Bone.

Union members probably read of these endorsements, but that's as far as it went. In Etowah County, where a heavy percentage of the voting population carries union cards, Folsom was whipped by a vote of 5,232 to 2,471.

In Jefferson, another county with a heavy labor vote, the ratio was even worse—37,735 to 9,967.

Probably the most damaging of all the facts gleaned from the primary is the stunning but obvious fact that had it not been for his overwhelming support from Negro voters, Folsom would have been hard-pressed to defeat Roy D. McCord, the third man in the race.

Folsom, 168; McKay, 0

McKAY IN closing out his campaign, charged that Arthur Shores, a Negro attorney in Birmingham who represents the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was working actively to line up support among his race for Folsom.

"He is telling the Negroes of Birmingham that while Folsom has been talking a lot about segregation lately, 'he is still our friend,' " McKay declared.

At this point, the record speaks far louder than any words:

Jefferson County, Precinct 9 (All Negroes):

Box 1, Machine "A"—Folsom 175 . . . McKay 1.
Machine "B"—Folsom 181 . . . McKay 0.
Machine "C"—Folsom 168 . . . McKay 0.
Total ———Folsom 524 . . . McKay 1.

Meanwhile, in other Birmingham boxes, Folsom was whipped terribly. Over the mountain in the swank Mountain Brook section, Folsom got 25 votes out of more than 600 cast.

And in the areas where industrial workers were prevalent the ratio was the same.

And In Macon County

FOLSOM'S SOLID Negro vote was not confined solely to Birmingham.

In nearby Macon County Folsom ran extremely well, losing to McKay by the close margin of 907 to 716. And the explanation for this is found in the vote totals in Beat 1, Boxes 3, 4, 5 and 6, were most Negroes vote. The record was:

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Beat 1, Box 3—Folsom 158 . . . McKay 100.
Box 4—Folsom 36 . . . McKay 11.
Box 5—Folsom 198 . . . McKay 29.
Box 6—Folsom 183 . . . McKay 23
Total—Folsom 575 . . . McKay 163

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And in Montgomery County, Folsom ran the strongest in the boxes where most Negroes voted.

This undeniable bloc-voting support from the Negroes could easily have far-reaching effects on any of Folsom's future political ambitions. He has insisted he plans to retire from politics when his current term ends — but he also was equally insistent not too many months ago when he declared emphatically that he wouldn't enter this year's primary. That was one promise that he will probably rue long for breaking.

Lawyers say U. S. to sue registrars

GADSDEN, Ala., Aug. 25—(AP)—Two Gadsden attorneys Saturday said they understood "from reliable sources" that federal action is planned against voter registrars "in certain South Alabama counties."

J. L. Kerr and Kenneth Cain said they understand "from reliable sources that U. S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell is planning action against certain South Alabama counties to make it easier for Negroes to be registered" as voters.

IN THAT EVENT, they declared, it would be possible to have a Negro state representative or senator from some of the counties where Negroes greatly outnumber whites.

That possibility makes reapportionment of the Alabama Legislature more urgent in order to preserve Southern traditions, the attorneys declared.

Kerr and Cain representing Miss Mary Jo Perry, their secretary, in a federal court suit seeking to force the Legislature to carry out reapportionment as provided by the 1900 census.

ALTHOUGH THE Constitution requires reapportionment of the Legislature in accordance with population trends, there has been no such readjustment since 1901. In that time the population of North Alabama and the state's industrial cities has increased greatly.

The attorneys criticized members of the Legislature who have asked Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson to defend them against the suit.

They said their action was "not a suit against the State of Alabama but a suit against 141 individuals," members of the Legislature, the governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state.

THEREFORE, the attorneys said that legal fees of the defendants should be paid by the individuals and not by taxpayers.

The lawyers also denied that their action was "an invasion of the sovereign rights of the state by the federal judiciary." They said authority for their step was provided by the 14th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

Ala. 'Register, Vote' Group Elects Officers

BREWTON, Ala.—"The Negro will never give up the struggle for freedom," declared Atty. Vernon Z. Crawford of Mobile in a speech here recently.

He was addressing a meeting of the nine-county Second District of the State Association for Registration and Voting held at the Southern Normal School.

Negro citizens are voting in all but nine counties making up the Second Congressional District.

Officers elected to head the Second District group were R. L. Austin, Georgiana County, chairman; Willie Harvey, Brewton, vice chairman; Mrs. Rosa Parks, Montgomery, secretary; S. C. Sheatham, Brewton, treasurer, and Miss Ida M. Hollinger, assistant secretary.

Mr. Austin succeeds E. D. Nixon of Montgomery.

Always Have Been Lotsa J Birds Upstate

Advertiser p. 4-A

STUMPING in North Alabama, J may be protesting too much about his stand on matters racial. As Reporter Ingram's story said yesterday, the people up there don't know or care much about nullification and allied matters. As for the White Citizens Councils movement, one over-alled farmer wanted to know first what the organization was. When told, he said:

Mont. 3-22-56

"If it is what it sounds like it is then it oughta go real good up here. We sure have a lot of white citizens."

As indeed they do. The comparatively sparse Negro populations in North Alabama have always kept the race issue to a minimum, as compared to its explosiveness in the heavily Negro Black Belt counties, where most of the old plantations were.

Montgomery, Ala.

The word of House Speaker Rankin Fite, Marion attorney, that the race issue "will not be of any importance" in J's race for convention delegate against State Rep. Charles W. McKay, Jr., has an odd sound compared with the sentiment in this part of the state. But certainly it will be of considerably less importance, as it always has been. The fact that McKay is author of the nullification resolution, and that J denounced it as "hogwash" may be a factor, but relatively minor compared to the situation in Central and South Alabama where the Folsom-McKay race is regarded as a poll of, among other things, public excitement over race-fixing.

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BY DEFENDING himself in a section of the state where the issue is of relatively minor importance, J demonstrates that he is acutely aware of the test in the Black Belt, which he carried last year.

In 1948, midway in his first term, Folsom lost dismally in the race for delegate. In the second primary he finished last in a field of seven. The winner, J. M. Bonner, got 121,000 votes to Folsom's 80,000. The poorest showing next to Folsom's in the second primary was that of Joe J. Money, who got 96,000

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BACK then, the case against J was not entirely racial but moral—the paternity suit, his fondness for the grape, etc., but revolt against policies of the national Democratic Party was a factor, as the following tables will illustrate. Folsom was anti-Dixiecrat, which made him pro-Truman in the public mind. J. M. Bonner, with whose vote we have paired Folsom's, was the most Dixie of Dixiecrats. In 16 counties north of Jefferson, Folsom did all right. (The percentage of Negroes in the population of each county is indicated in col. 4.)

County	Folsom	Bonner	% Negro
Blount	1,707	1,644	2.8
Cherokee	875	927	9.4
Colbert	1,679	2,203	21.0
Cullman	1,766	1,499	1.0
DeKalb	2,548	1,680	1.9
Etowah	2,782	3,716	14.4
Franklin	1,949	1,732	5.2
Jackson	3,276	1,866	5.9
Lauderdale	1,562	2,284	13.4
Lawrence	1,020	1,317	21.9
Limestone	1,216	1,263	22.8
Madison	777	1,070	27.2
Marion	1,756	1,267	2.7
Marshall	2,157	2,156	2.3
Morgan	1,398	2,504	15.0
Winston	81	86	0.6

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BUT in 11 Black Belt counties he was clobbered.

County	Folsom	Bonner	% Negro
Bullock	174	489	73.6
Dallas	164	1,397	65.0
Greene	65	467	83.0
Hale	635	1,398	70.3
Lowndes	139	546	82.2
Macon	85	427	84.4
Marengo	478	1,823	69.4
Montgomery	2,720	6,851	43.6
Perry	363	564	67.5
Pickens	398	1,230	47.9
Wilcox	298	1,698	79.1

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OR LOOK at the race for presidential elector in which Tom Abernethy, avowed Dixiecrat, was front runner (with 129,000 votes) in a field of 28. We have paired his vote with that of the late Herbert Meighan, former Gadsden mayor who refused to take the anti-Truman oath. Meighan finished near the bottom. In North Alabama it went this way:

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Franklin	899	693	5.2
Jackson	716	485	5.8
Lauderdale	1,492	1,381	13.4
Lawrence	983	536	21.9
Limestone	1,252	786	22.8
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Greene	864	72	83.0
Hale	1,602	284	70.3
Lowndes	993	245	82.2
Macon	574	169	84.4
Marengo	2,148	339	69.4
Montgomery	4,809	2,633	43.6
Perry	1,238	389	67.5
Pickens	1,236	248	47.9
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ALL of which raises the question: Why is Folsom protesting his racial innocence so strongly in an area which, according to statistics and his House Speaker, scarcely gives a hoot below? As indeed they do. The comparatively sparse Negro populations in North Alabama have always kept the race issue to a minimum, as compared to its explosiveness in the heavily Negro Black Belt counties, where most of the old plantations were.

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Voters Group Set To Study Records, Views Of Candidates

World. Fri. 3-30-56
Birm. Ala.

MONTGOMERY, Ala.— Records and views of candidates in the May 1 Democratic primary are scheduled to come under the scrutiny of the semi-annual session of the State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting here Sunday, April 8.

W. C. Patton, of Birmingham, president of the association, said the conference would "bring together several hundred community leaders" from all over the state.

Meantime, he said a 12-man committee will lead a discussion of the office-seekers. Patton added that reports of the nine district chairmen will be heard also at this meeting.

The know-the--candidate workshop will climax with a spotlight on the primary mass meeting at which Clarence Mitchell of Washington, D. C., is scheduled to be guest speaker at 3 p. m. that Sunday afternoon at the First Baptist Church pastored by the Rev. Ralph David Abernathy. Mr. Mitchell is director of the Washington Bureau of the NAACP.

Mr. Mitchell "will give a review of the action of Congress on the protection of civil rights in the South," according to Patton.

ing Negroes to get out and vote to "save the South from a retreat to barbarism and poverty."

Mitchell, speaking before a Negro voting association at the First Baptist Church here, blasted Alabama election laws aimed at keeping down the Negro vote and criticized Southern political leaders who call for federal aid but balk at federal control.

Mitchell said there is "actual photostatic evidence" that some county officials in Alabama who turned down many Negro voters, overlooked questionnaires by white voters who said they were members of organizations set up to overthrow the government of the United States.

Mitchell said the fact that Southern states restrict Negro voting is one reason that Southern politicians find it hard to get elected to high national posts such as the presidency.

He said that Sen. Estes Kefauver, who hopes to win the Democratic presidential nomination, is the only candidate "who stands a chance to overcome this handicap."

"No one can predict how Sen. Kefauver will fare at the Democratic National Convention," Mitchell said, "but he has shown the world that not all Southern officials favor throwing eggs and stones at the Autherine Lucys who seek an education . . . and that the lynchers of Emmett Till are not the only spokesmen for the South."

He said, "You must never relax or pause in your effort to qualify for voting. The courage and determination of the citizens of Montgomery shows that it is within your power to help save the South from a retreat to barbarism and poverty."

BALLOT

Jefferson County has an estimated 111,000 voters. But less than 10 per cent are among the group which makes up over 40 per cent of the population. The 1956 voters list is scheduled to be published April 13 with the supplementary list to be published April 27. You'll be able to tell who's who when the two poll rolls appear. One week after this week is felt for one to register in time for the May 1 Democratic primary. Prospective voters may register from 8 a. m. to 11 a. m. Saturday and 8 a. m. to 3 p. m. Monday and Tuesday at the Courthouse. War veterans and persons over 45 who register during these two weeks will be eligible to vote in the coming Spring primary. The primary run-off is slated for Tuesday, May 29. Birmingham voters will select a member of the City Commission on May 1. Yet the civic leaders have let the voter-registration campaign slow down. The ballot is the humble man's best self-defense weapon.

—Register to Vote—

NAACP Leader Blasts Alabama Election Laws

Post-Herald P.7
Mon. 4-9-56
Birm. Ala.

MONTGOMERY, April 8 (U.P.)— Clarence Mitchell, Washington director of the NAACP, today urged Montgomery's bus-boycott-

Folsom Signs 'Single Shot' On Primaries

Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.
Sat. 3-24-56

Gov. James E. Folsom late yesterday signed into law a bill which will legalize "single shot" voting in future primary elections.

The new law not only will make it easier for voters to mark their ballots, but it will also play a vital role in the upcoming election of district and state-at-large delegates to the National Democratic Convention.

For example, in the state-at-large race there are 37 candidates seeking the 16 places open. Under the old law voters would have been required to vote for 16 candidates. If they failed to do so the voting machines would have automatically rejected their ballot.

ONE VOTE COUNT

Under the new law, a voter can mark his ballot for just one candidate, if he desires, and that one vote will count.

This law also applies in the district races, where four delegates are to be elected. If, for example, a voter wants to vote for but one of the candidates, he can legally do so without voiding his ballot.

The new law also applies to paper ballots. In the past most election officials usually counted a ballot if the voter by mistake had failed to vote for the required number of candidates. This merely legalizes a practice which has long been common.

Actually it was a mechanical problem of voting machines which prompted the enactment of this law. The voting machines are not geared to reject "single shot" votes where more than 12 positions are being filled. Thus the machines could not lawfully count the results of the state-at-large race May 1 where 16 places are to be filled.

The new law not only applies to the election of district and state-at-large delegate races, but will also apply in future elections of members to the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Sponsors of the bill were Sen. Vaughan Hill Robison of Montgomery and Rep. Hugh D. Merrill of Calhoun.

Alabama's Segregation Plan In, 3-2

Sat. 4-1-56
Atlanta, Ga.

BIRMINGHAM, Aug. 31 (AP)—Complete, unofficial returns from Tuesday's special election on segregation amendments to the constitution today showed that Alabama voters approve the "freedom of choice" amendment by better than a 3-2 margin.

Returns from the state's 2,735 boxes listed 128,545 votes for the amendment and 80,777 against it.

The total of 209,322 votes was the largest registered for and against any of the six constitutional amendments at stake. However, it was far less than the 850,000 registered voters in the state.

Voters approved two amendments designed to maintain segregation in public schools, parks and playgrounds, and rejected four others which would have raised taxes for schools and industrial expansion.

The "freedom of choice" amendment eliminates the mandatory requirement for state-supported public schools.

The second segregation amendment authorizes the legislature to place state parks and playgrounds in private hands in order to preserve segregation. It was approved 112,364 to 81,245.

Alabama politics—

Last Tuesday's vote may have direct effect on future state elections

BY HUGH W. SPARROW, News staff writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 5—The outcome of Tuesday's election, in which continuation of race segregation in Alabama was a dominant issue, apparently will have a direct effect upon future Alabama elections.

In the well-nigh unanimous opinion of observers here, the so-called legislative reapportionment amendment to be voted on Aug. 28 is likely to be affected adversely as a result of Tuesday's voter deecision.

Since that proposal is more of a Legislature-packing proposition than an honest reapportionment amendment, and since it is Gov. Folsom's pride and joy, the measure appears headed for rough going.

SPARROW

More important even than its effect on the reapportionment amendment, however, is the effect Tuesday's election will have on the 1958 election for governor, members of the Legislature, etc.

It appears now that Tuesday's election will be construed as a clear mandate from the majority of Alabama voters that they want segregation proponents in key offices.

It could, therefore, mean trouble for several of those looked upon as gubernatorial aspirants who for reasons all their own have remained silent on the increasingly complicated race problems which beset the state.

Amendment campaign

THE REAPPORTIONMENT amendment campaign should get under way early in June, shortly after the runoff primary.

An interesting question in connection with that campaign is whether or not the governor will conduct a speaking tour in support of the amendment.

Gov. Folsom jubilantly hailed the pending reapportionment amendment as a proposal which will give Alabama voters their first chance since 1901 to reapportionment the House and Senate. And he let it be known soon after it passed, that he would do everything he could to bring about ratification.

At that time, at least, the governor left the impression he would stump the state.

Because the measure thus has the governor's blessing, other public figures probably will not be willing to take the field in its behalf. And having been defeated so overwhelmingly himself for Democratic national committeeman, the governor may decide against a speaking tour.

He might take the position—probably rightfully—that anything he said in its favor would react unfavorably on the measure and might affect the final decision.

Other objections

THE FACT that it has Gov. Folsom's strong backing, nevertheless, is not the only objectionable feature connected with the proposal.

The measure itself is a hodgepodge.

It does not qualify as a fair and accurate reapportionment proposal.

To begin with, the amendment would provide for a 67 member Senate. Each county would have a senator. In that respect, at least, it is identical to the so-called "67-senator amendments" which have been snowed under twice by Alabama voters.

In order to compensate larger counties for loss of voice in the Senate, the measure provides for a House of 140 members, which is 34 more than at present.

Jefferson would lose

JEFFERSON'S HOUSE strength, seven at present out of a total of 106, would be about double that number out of a total of 140 members if the amendment is approved.

But on the other hand the state's largest county would have no more choice than Cleburne or Coosa in the Senate, although it is more than 50 times larger.

In other words, what Jefferson would gain in the House would be considerably less proportionately than what the county would lose in the Senate.

Expense would be heavy

SO FAR as the state as a whole is concerned, however, the major objection to the amendment is that membership in the two houses would be increased from 141 to 207.

These 66 new legislators, at $30 a day during the usual 18 weeks of a regular session would cost in salaries alone about $250,000. What the members would add in putting their friends on the payroll, etc., would be problematical. Probably it would mean an addition of many thousands of dollars of expense to the over-all cost of state government.

Not only would an increased legislative membership be costly and slow down proceedings, but it would be necessary for the state to enlarge or make over both House and Senate chambers.

Silent hopefuls

IT MAY BE that prospective gubernatorial candidates who said very little, if anything at all, while the battle against Folsomism and in support of maintaining Alabama's traditional way of life was going on, will be taken to task if they do run.

Among those who have remained silent are former Gov. Persons, former Sen. Jimmy Faulkner, Miss Sibyl Pool of the Alabama Public Service Commission and Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick.

There are some here who believe they should at least have offered lip service to the movement to maintain Alabama traditions, even if they were not candidates themselves.

FOR ONE THING, it has been suggested, statements individually or collectively by the prospective gubernatorial candidates in favor of maintaining Alabama's long established way of life while the fight for segregation and against Folsomism was in full sway would have been impressive.

Jefferson's Sen. Albert Boutwell, mentioned recently for governor, would not have to apologize on that score. He is the man who sponsored much of the legislation to continue race segregation in the schools.

Another whose name has been mentioned, was Sen. Sam Engelhardt, of Macon. Neither could he be accused of sidestepping. He is the executive head of the Alabama Association of Citizens Councils.

Election sidelights

THERE ARE STILL several things of interest in connection with Tuesday's vote. Take the case of Circuit Judge George Wallace of Barbour, for instance.

When Folsom was running for governor in 1954, Judge Wallace was one of the governor's top campaign managers. He was credited with writing most of the governor's campaign speeches.

During Gov. Folsom's first year in office several things occurred to alienate Judge Wallace from the chief executive.

Last Fall Judge Wallace was speaker for the South on a nationwide radio symposium on the question of integration. His speech won much acclaim from Southern people.

Splits with Folsom

JUDGE WALLACE went to Oklahoma City last December as a delegate to the Young Democrats' national convention. Gov. Folsom and a number of his followers also went to Oklahoma City with but one idea in mind. They wanted to elect Sen. Neil Metcalf of Geneva president.

Several behind-scenes incidents reportedly occurred tending to widen the breach between judge and governor. But the thing which really caused the final break, was a few ill-chosen remarks by Gov. Folsom calculated to discourage Judge Wallace from speaking or taking a hand.

"Old Judge Wallace just wants to get out there and make another Dixiecrat speech," Gov. Folsom reportedly declared. He added that if Wallace, whose sentiments regarding segregation were well known, did speak for Metcalf it would just about kill any chances Metcalf had to be elected.

Wallace resentful

JUDGE WALLACE deeply resented the remark. He did not speak. Neither did he take any further part in the convention.

Shortly after returning to Alabama he did announce as a candidate for Democratic National Convention delegate from the Third District. Furthermore he strongly promised to keep up the fight against breaking down Southern segregation barriers.

When the votes were counted last Tuesday night Judge Wallace had a doubly pleasant surprise. Not only did he have the satisfaction of winning, while Folsom and his entire slate for delegate and other offices suffered humiliating defeat, but he found himself at the top of the heap.

He polled 24,881 votes. Elected along with him were Sen. Joe Smith of Russell, 19,456; Ealon Lamberth, 20,027, and Waddy Espy, 19,035.

E. C. Boswell and Paul Brunson, both staunch Folsomites, fell by the wayside with 12,681 and 12,598 votes, respectively.

Negroes back Folsom

THOSE WHO MAY NOT believe Gov. Folsom and his slate of candidates were on the Negroes' preferred list might take a look at returns from Boxes 1, 2 and 3, Precinct 9, Legion Field, Birmingham.

Combined, those boxes have 659 registered voters. All but six are Negroes.

Of votes cast, Folsom polled 524. Rep. Charley McKay and former Rep. Roy McCord polled one vote each.

Delegates elected

VOTERS FROM the state as a whole elected these as state-at-large delegates to the Democratic National Convention:

Battle, Sparkman, Malone, Harrison, Connor, Griffin, Riddle, Merritt, Stone, King, Wright, Woodall, Scruggs and Russell. Horne, Batchelor, Williams and Byrd received enough votes to be in the run-off for the two other state at-large positions.

Here is how the three Legion Field boxes voted for delegate-at-large candidates:

Allen 395, Brantley 334, Clemmons 355, Davis 370, Forman 322, Horton 357, Metcalf 331, Rayfield 316, Sparkman 400, Kelly 278, Stone 274, Jackson 281, Harrison 115, Brassell 99, Horne 81, Russell 43, Battle 57, Batchelor 21, Byrd 23, Connor 5, Griffin 21, Griffith 26, King 22, Mrs. McPherson 23, Malone 22, Merritt 63, O'Neal 57, Riddle 13, Russell 43, Scruggs 24, Self 21, Williams 27, Woodall 15 and Wright 13.

In Black Belt

OF ALL Black Belt counties other than Montgomery, Macon, seat of Tuskegee Institute, has the largest Negro registered vote. The total is about 968. In Tuesday's election Folsom polled 716, McKay 970 and McCord 74.

Other Black Belt counties, including Montgomery, on the other hand, piled up overwhelming majorities for McKay.

The conclusion to be drawn is that Folsom and his slate apparently were the beneficiaries of a heavy vote from Macon County Negroes.

Republicans not voting

APPARENTLY the Republicans did not vote in the Democrati primary after all.

For instance, DeKalb County, with a 20,097 registered vote total, cast but 3453 votes. Winston, another county with a heavy concentration of Republicans, has a registered vote total of 7199. Only 874 votes were cast.

Gov. Folsom carried Cullman, his No. 2 "home county." He polled 2922 votes to 688 for McCord and 2260 for McKay.

Coffee County, the original home county, gave Folsom 1887 votes to 144 for McCord and 3147 for McKay.

Besides Cullman, Jackson, DeKalb and Winston were the only counties in which Gov. Folsom led the field. He polled 2367 to 971 for McCord and 1367 for McKay in Jackson; 418 to 84 for McCord and 372 for McKay in Winston, and 1878 to 764 for McCord and 1011 for McKay in Walker.

Mystery trip

THERE APPEARS to be considerable mystery concerning the present whereabouts of Gov. Folsom.

As was mentioned in this column Thursday, the governor left Montgomery reportedly to go aboard the state's yacht, presumably for a day or two on Mobile Bay and nearby coastal waters.

Since then there has been a persistent report that he continued aboard the SS Alice to Havana.

The state's yacht is sufficiently seaworthy to make the trip, provided most of it was along coastal waters to Key West and about 90 miles across the Florida Straits to Havana.

A short while ago Gov. Folsom made an unpublicized trip aboard the yacht, along with Mrs. Folsom to Galveston, Tex.

Record straightened

THIS COLUMN HAS NO desire to detract from any credit due Gov. Folsom in connection with the recent decision of the Marathon Corp. of Kenosha, Wis., to invest $55 million in a paper mill and related industries in Alabama.

In last Sunday's column the expense account of Gov. Folsom's personal airplane pilot, William Albert Oggs, was listed, covering the period from April 4 through April 16. It was stated that according to Pilot Oggs' itemized account, his plane did not go to Wisconsin during that week "when Gov. Folsom and Industrial Development Board Chairman Pick supposedly went to Wisconsin to interest the Marathon Corp. in building a $55 million paper mill in Choctaw County."

This column has been informed that Gov. Folsom, along with Gen. Pick and others, did go to Kenosha in mid-April. They flew to Wisconsin in a commercial plane. It was soon thereafter that the Marathon Corp. announced its decision.

This writer is glad to set the record straight.

Tucker says he hasn't asked Negro vote help

News 7-24 from Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR, News staff writer

Birmingham's Billy Tucker declared yesterday he has not and does not intend to solicit the Negro bloc vote in his race for Public Service Commission president.

And furthermore, the Birmingham insurance man and former Auburn football player said, he had notified Negro leaders that if they vote for him in Tuesday's runoff primary, they will be voting for a man who is a member of four Citizens Councils in the state.

In a television speech, Tucker also denied having the support of the Folsom administration in his runoff campaign against Commission President Jack Owen.

He challenged a statement by Owen that he is not eligible to join a council because he is a "judicial officer."

IN ANSWERING a questionnaire from Citizens Councils of Alabama, Owen had stated that "I have been advised that a person in a judicial position is not eligible for membership in the Citizens Councils of Alabama." And it was pointed out that, as commission president, he would not be eligible.

Tucker said that Owen, who has repeated his pledge to maintain segregation on buses and passenger trains, had been circulating a letter stating that a Negro bloc vote in the May 1 primary had kept him from winning renomination in a three-candidate race. Cullman's John E. Drinkard was eliminated from the race at that time.

Tucker said that in one all-Negro box in Birmingham (Precinct 9, District 1), he received only four votes while his two opponents were getting 462. He did not say how many Owen and Drinkard each got.

"On one of the three machines in this box, I didn't get a single Negro vote," he said.

"The record speaks for itself," added Tucker. "I am willing to accept it. I did not receive the Negro vote. I did not solicit the Negro vote. I am not asking for it now."

Tucker repeated that he is "proud of the fact that I was the first person to be fired when the Folsom administration came in this time, and I hope to be the first person to return to Montgomery."

Negro Voters Oppose Him, Owen Says

Post-Herald Tues. 5-22-56 Birmingham, Ala.

Negro voters will turn out May 29 in an effort to defeat him at the polls and end segregation on Alabamas' buses, C. C. Owen said last night.

Owen is a candidate for re-election as president of the Alabama Public Service Commission.

Owen said all Alabamians "know where I stand on segregation. You can bet the Negroes will turn out in an attempt to defat me and thereby bring an end to segregation on Alabama's buses."

He recalled that he had ordered railroads and buses to replace signs designating Negro areas after the Interstate Commerce Commission had ordered them taken down.

"As long as I am a member of the Alabama Public Service Commission," he declared, "I will do all in my power to see that segregation is maintained on Alabama's busses and passenger trains. You know where I stand on this matter of segregation. You don't have to take a chance."

Owen slapped at "big business," saying he isn't going to let special interests force telephone residential rates higher.

APSC, he said, has fought telephone hikes consistently during the past nine years.

The courts have over-ruled APSC, though, he added.

Owen pointed out that electricity rates, since he joined the commission, haven't risen one cent and ,in some cases, have been lowered.

Alabama Vote Council Elects New Officers

Tues. 6-5-56 Atlanta, Ga. World

TUSCALOOSA, Ala. — Officers were elected at the meeting of the eight-county Sixth District of the Alabama Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting with representatives from all but two counties present.

Absent were Hale and Chilton County representatives. Two key officers also did not show up for the meeting, Milton Agnew, of Greensboro, who was replaced as district chairman and Hampton D. Lee, of Marion, treasurer.

There have been repeated reports that the White Citizens Councils in certain Black Belt counties, especially in Hale and Perry, were putting pressure on the front-line Negro leaders.

Atty. David H. Hood, Jr., of Bessemer, delivered the feature address. W. C. Patton of Birmingham, state chairman, presided. Six district chairman made reports. They ranged from "no progress" in voter-registration to "tremendous" program in adding new voters.

Perry and Greene counties were the two in which hardship reports came. Registration officials in Greene county reportedly require that a prospective Negro voter have three white vouchers.

R. C. Dubose was elected chairman of the sixth district. The district is scheduled to meet again Sunday, July 29 in York, Ala.

REAPPORTIONMENT ROW

Advertiser pp

Legislators Ask Patterson To Represent Them In Suit

Fri. 8-24-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Atty. Gen. John Patterson was called on yesterday to provide legal aid for 34 members of the Alabama Legislature, who along with their colleagues have been sued in federal court for failing to reapportion themselves.

At a meeting in the Senate chamber, attended by 12 state senators and representatives, Sen. James L. Coleman of Greene County declared the suit was an "invasion" of the sovereign rights of the state through the federal judiciary."

"We owe it to the people of Alabama to vigorously resist this invasion," Coleman declared.

Later, following an explanation of the suit by Asst. Attys. Gen. McDonald Gallion and William N. McQueen, the lawmakers present unanimously passed a motion offered by Rep. W. L. Martin of Greene requesting the attorney general's office to represent the lawmakers in the case.

The suit was filed against the 141 members of the Legislature, Gov. James E. Folsom, Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick and Secretary of State Mary Texas Hurt by Miss Mary Joe Perry of Attalla.

The suit, filed before Judge Hobart Grooms in Birmingham, asked that the court order "by appropriate process" legislative reapportionment in accordance with Article 9 of the state constitution.

Article 9 provides that the Legislature be apportioned in accord with the U.S. Census. The present Legislature, however, is the same as adopted in 1901, based on the 1900 census.

Miss Perry contends that she, as a voter of Etowah County, is deprived of her rights as guaranteed by the fifth and 14th amendments to the U.S. Constitution by the Legislature's failure to reapportion itself.

Advertiser 7-24

Etowah is one of many North Alabama counties which have less representation in the Legislature than they would have if membership was based on the 1950 census.

The meeting of the lawmakers here yesterday was called by Coleman, an associate justice-elect of the Supreme Court, and Rep. Ira Pruitt of Sumter County.

Pruitt, in speaking briefly to the group, voiced comments similar to that expressed earlier by Coleman.

"It is my opinion the reapportionment issue is being used as a vehicle to use the federal judiciary to invade the rights of the state of Alabama," Pruitt said. "I feel it is our duty to defend these rights to the utmost."

Later a three-man committee of Coleman, Pruitt and Sen. Vaughan Hill Robison of Montgomery was appointed to keep abreast of the legal developments and call further meetings of the group if necessary.

Present yesterday other than Robison, Coleman and Pruitt were Sens. A. C. Shelton of Calhoun, Dave L. Yarbrough of Autauga, Joe Davis of Lowndes, H. P. James of Bibb, Gerald Bradford of Clarke, Roland Cooper of Wilcox, Ben Reeves of Pike, Sam Engelhardt of Macon, Walter Givhan of Dallas and Staten Tate of Coosa;

Reps. Joe Goodwyn and Wilbur Nolen of Montgomery; Pete Gilmer, Frank Hardy and Val Hain of Dallas; Reginald Richardson and Charles Ramey of Hale; Martin of Greene; Sam Nettles of Wilcox; Bob Dickson of Lowndes; Pete Mathews of Clay, Joe Money of Jackson; Sim Thomas and McDowell Lee of Barbour; Pat Boyd of Pike; Ralph Windle of Pickens; Virgis Ashworth of Bibb; Jimmy Jenkins of Randolph; H. B. Taylor of Butler; John A. Crook of Bullock and D. W. Ward of Lee.

Boswell Amendment No. 2

Advertiser

In the year 1915, the Geneva County lawyer, E. C. (Bud) Boswell, was convicted of false pretense. That automatically removed his rights of citizenship, including the right to vote, until a pardon was issued. Fri. 1-13-56

These 41 years later, election officials in Geneva County have held that Lawyer Boswell must produce a pardon or suffer his name to be stricken from the list of qualified voters. Montgomery Ala.

Last year a Geneva County newspaper and political adversaries made a highly public issue of whether Boswell possessed a pardon and was entitled to vote and hold office. They said he possessed no such pardon. P. 4-A

Boswell always answered, as he has done once again, that he had a pardon tucked away and probably would produce it at the "proper time." No reason was given for not producing the pardon and settling the controversy with a conclusive bang.

Which conveys us to a remarkable circumstance, assuming that Boswell fails to satisfy election officials and it is ruled that he is not qualified to vote.

Here is a man who has voted in every election and primary since 1914; a man who served for 24 years as chairman of the Geneva County Democratic Executive Committee; a man who has attended every Democratic National Convention since 1914; who has served in the legislature and devised so important a piece of organic legislation as the Boswell Amendment, which was aimed at disqualifying voters; who is a state figure and a leading Folsom agent.

Is it that a phenomenon of what is loftily referred to as democracy-in-action that a man said to be without the right to vote could have played so outstanding a part in Alabama government?

Zounds, if only his right to vote were established what pinnacle might he not reach!

Of course, that consideration is tempered for him by the sour fact that, after all these years of paying poll tax, he still isn't a qualified voter.

Boswell Amendment 2— II.

Advertiser

"Bud" Boswell, you remember, is that gnarled old country lawyer who has played a powerful role in Alabama political affairs since 1914. Among other things, he was the author of the annulled Bocwell Amendment, which was frankly contrived to disfranchise thousands of relatively qualified voters.

Then was it revealed that Chief Disfranchiser was himself disfranchised. This was because a generation ago Boswell was convicted of embezzlement, which entailed the forfeit of his right to vote until he received an official pardon. Montgomery Ala.

Boswell always said he possessed such a pardon and would produce it at the "proper time." But last week he publicly acknowledged that he couldn't locate this pardon. Sun. 1-22-56

He thereupon petitioned the State Board of Pardons & Paroles to issue a pardon, thus restoring his civil rights. He is a Folsom lieutenant, of course, but Folsom has no control over the Pardon-Parole Board. So it's up to an independent trinity of judges.

We say restore Boswell's right to vote with a pardon. The $50 embezzlement (Pike County, 1913) was 43 years ago. The state was entitled to its horse laugh at the disfranchisement of the disfranchiser. It was a humiliating experience for a man who has played so prominent a role in public affairs. He has paid a much larger penalty than most who embezzle $50. Enfranchise him, forget it.

Ex-Rep. Boswell Asks Civil Rights Decree

Post-Herald Tues. 1-17-56

MONTGOMERY, Jan. 16 (AP)—Former State Rep. E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva County has asked the Pardon-Parole Board to issue a restoration of his civil rights so he won't be disqualified as a voter. Birmingham Ala. P. 26

No action has been taken on the application.

In a formal application to the board, the veteran political leader said he received a pardon and restoration of civil rights in 1914 after being convicted of "false pretense or embezzlement" the previous year, but that the records have been lost.

The present Geneva County board of registrars has questioned his eligibility as a voter, Boswell wrote the pardon-parole board, and has indicated its intention to take his name off the voting list unless he can show his political rights have been restored.

A hearing is scheduled before the registration board Feb. 13.

Boswell said he was convicted of "false pretense or embezzlement" in Pike County in 1913 and fined $50. In August of the next year, he told the pardon-parole board, he filed a copy of a pardon and restoration of civil rights with the then existing board of registrars in Geneva.

He said the registrars serving on the board at that time voted unanimously to accept the pardon and refused to take his name off the voting list then.

Since his eligibility has been questioned now, the former legislator said, he has been unable to find a record of the pardon in the state archives in Montgomery or the probate judge's office in Geneva.

Many other records prior to 1929 also are missing in the Geneva probate office, he added, destroyed by the disastrous flood which struck Elba that year.

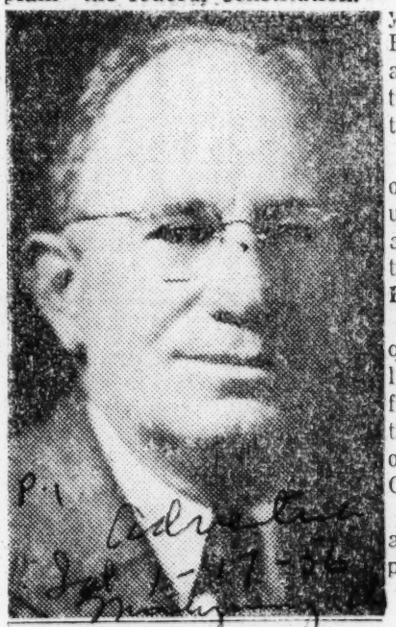
Because he cannot find the records now to show to the present board of registrars, Boswell said he wants the pardon-parole board to issue a restoration of civil rights so he can retain his voting rights.

If disqualified as a voter, the Geneva attorney and author of the famed Boswell Amendment would be ineligible to hold public office. He is now a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee and the Geneva County Committee.

He has been a state committee member for many years and has attended many Democratic national conventions since 1914 as a delegate. He was one of Alabama's "walkout" delegates who left the convention in 1948 in protest against the party's racial platform.

As a member of the legislature in 1945, Boswell wrote the so-called Boswell Amendment which was aimed at preventing mass Negro voting.

The constitutional amendment which was later ruled invalid by the U. S. Supreme Court required prospective new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the federal constitution.



E. C. BOSWELL
Formal Request

Parole Board Receives Plea From Boswell

Advertiser Sat 1-17-56

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HEARING SET

The present Geneva County Board of Registrars has questioned his eligibility as a voter, Boswell wrote the Pardon-Parole Board, and has indicated its intention to take his name off the voting list unless he can show his political rights have been restored.

A hearing is scheduled before the registration board on Feb. 13.

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RECORD NOT FOUND

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prospective new voters to be able to "understand and explain" the U.S. Constitution.

CITIZEN AGAIN
. . . E. C. Boswell

Pardon Board gives Boswell citizen rights

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Jan 26—(AP)—The Pardon-Parole Board today granted a restoration of political rights to E. C. (Bud) Boswell of Geneva, a veteran South Alabama political leader.

Boswell, a former member of the Legislature and now serving on the State Democratic Executive Committee, was convicted of false pretense in Pike County in 1913, court records show, and was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment and fined $48.75.

He was paroled in March, 1914, after the Court of Appeals upheld the conviction.

BOSWELL ASKED the Pardon-Parole Board for a restoration of citizenship two weeks ago after the Board of Registrars in Geneva County notified him his name would be stricken from the voting list there unless he could produce proof his citizenship had been restored.

A hearing is scheduled before the board in Geneva Feb. 13.

The Pardon-Parole Board issued this statement:

"Mr. E. C. Boswell has been granted a restoration of his political and civil rights effective today."

IN HIS APPLICATION to the board, the Geneva attorney who authored the famed Boswell Amendment in 1945 to prevent mass Negro voting, said he received a pardon in 1914 along with a restoration of political rights but that records apparently were lost in a flood in 1929.

Boswell said he filed a certified copy of the pardon and restoration of citizenship with the members of the Geneva County Board of Registrars in office in 1914 and that the registrars refused at that time to remove his name from the voting list.

He said he has searched the state archives and the records in the probate judge's office in Geneva but has been unable to find a record of either the pardon or the registrars' action.

Many courthouse records were washed away in the disastrous flood of 1929, he recalled.

The state constitution disfranchises a person convicted of false pretense unless and until his citizenship has been restored. Loss of his voting rights would disqualify Boswell from public office.

Boswell was one of Alabama's "walkout" delegates who left the 1948 convention in Philadelphia in protest against former President Harry Truman's racial program.

The Vote in Alabama

Advocates of segregation polled a strong vote in Alabama's Democratic primary Tuesday. Charles W. McKay, a virtual unknown in state politics who overwhelmingly defeated Gov. James E. Folsom in the race for Democratic National Committeeman, based his campaign on the segregation issue and had strong Dixiecrat support. The White Citizens Councils conducted an active battle in his behalf. He won by almost three to one over the Governor, whom he accused of being weak in defending segregation. Although the Governor has been on all sides of the issue, he generally has tried to exert a moderating influence. But he succeeded in alienating persons on both sides by his careless and foolish remarks.

The race issue, however, was not the only one of importance. It is difficult to believe that Governor Folsom could have won a favorable vote even if the segregation issue had not been raised. His administration is in exceedingly bad repute as a result of maladministration and charges of corruption. He has offended many persons by his personal habits and contradictory statements. Yet only two years ago he was elected by a tremendous majority. Historians may marvel at the short memory of the voters. Mr. Folsom was first elected Governor in 1946 by a big vote; in 1948, however, he was so unpopular he could not be elected as one of the delegates to the Democratic National Convention. He ended his four-year term a much discredited Governor. Yet after four years at pasture he made a sensational comeback, only to forfeit his popularity in less than two years in office.

Senator Hill won renomination as expected over John Crommelin, a retired rear admiral and perennial candidate. Mr. Crommelin also had the support of the White Citizens Councils and talked about almost nothing but the race issue. Whereas he polled only a handful of votes in his campaign against Senator Sparkman two years ago, he did surprisingly well against Senator Hill, partly, no doubt, because Senator Hill refused to embrace the White Citizens Councils.

Your Vote Needed

Your vote is needed at the ballot box today. No where else does the citizen's ballot have counting value in a democracy. This is a run-off primary today but it is just as important as the earlier primary. For that matter, all elections are important.

Failure of voters to go to the polls today and vote their honest convictions helps no one. Because no one can vote for any other voter. The ballot is the tool of political action. But it is not an automatic tool. It is an individual instrument to be used to make democracy work.

Your vote is needed at the polls today. Political action cannot be done by proxy in a democracy. No one can substitute for any voter at the ballot box. This is a personal service which the voter must perform for himself, like eating, or breathing. Let no one fool you away from the poll. For by going to the polls you can help to pick your public officials. No other way can you do this.

Remember to cast your vote today. Remind your friends, neighbors and other members of your family to vote today. Your vote is needed at the polls today. Be sure to vote.

Judge Grants Chance To Defend Voting Rights

Special to Journal and Guide

CLAYTON, Ala. — Circuit Judge George C. Wallace on Friday granted 32 Negroes the right to contest a suit seeking the removal of their names from Barbour county's voting list. The ruling halts plans to strip Negroes of their voting rights.

Judge Wallace made his ruling after Chauncey Sparks, former governor of Alabama, warned that the court action against the Negroes was "a typical case for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People."

* * *

MR. SPARKS said the suit aiming to take the voting rights from the Negroes without their having an opportunity to be heard would surely invite the federal government to intervene.

The judge put off further consideration of a mandamus petition seeking removal of the Negroes' names from the voting list until next Wednesday. He instructed counsel on both sides to prepare written briefs giving their versions of hoe the law applies.

* * *

MR. SPARKS, speaking in behalf of two of the Negro voters, raised the objections during preliminary argument although his clients were not named defendants in the suit. Speaking informally he demanded the right to intervene or to appear as friend of the court.

Mr. Sparks, a Eufaula attorney, argued that the court has no authority to order the names of voters stricken from the registration list.

* * *

UNDER Alabama law, he said, only the county board of registrars can purge the list and at that only every two years.

The ex-governor challenged circuit solicitor (prosecutor) Seymore Trammell's right to file the mandamus petition although the action was taken on instructions from a recent county grand jury.

* * *

PROTESTING that his clients were facing the possible loss of their right to vote without a chance to defend themselves, Mr. Sparks told the judge and solicitor:

"You're raising a typical case for the federal government to step in....This is a typical case for the NAACP. They're flooding the South with propaganda and we might as well knock it in the head right here and now."

Mr. Wallace said he had no intention to "take away anybody's rights unless I have the authority and unless the allegations are proven. No matter who he is."

34e 1956

Aug. 28 Election Embodies Tax, Segregation Proposals

Advertiser P.J. A
Thurs 6-14-56
Montgomery Ala.

TWO down and two to go is the 1956 election status of the voters of Alabama. Behind them are the two Democratic Party elections—the May 1 primary and the May 29 runoff. To come are a statewide constitutional amendment referendum Aug. 28, followed by the Nov. 6 general election.

The amendment ballot in August is considerably shorter than a similar referendum last December when 30 proposed changes to the Constitution were submitted (29 of them rejected).

Only six proposed changes in the state's organic law are to be voted on Aug. 28, three of statewide application, the other three purely local.

The proposed local amendments, that is those applying only to an individual city or county, are identical to three which were turned down last Dec. 6.

But while the ballot is short in length, it is long in significance.

Two of the three statewide amendments are designed expressly to give the state sweeping legal support in its fight to maintain the separation of the races.

The third seeks to ease what is certain to be a critical shortage of school money in the 1956-57 school term.

★

THE proposed amendments, in the tentative order in which they will appear on the ballot, are as follows:

Freedom of Choice School Amendment: This widely publicized proposal, the fruit of a year-long study by the legislative Interim Committee on Segregation (the Boutwell Committee), if ratified, would constitute Alabama's bluntest answer to the challenge of the U.S. Supreme Court's decree relative to school desegregation. The proposal would make sweeping changes in the State Constitution relative to the operation of public schools. These changes, in brief, can be summed up as:

(1) Allow students to make a choice as to whether they wish to attend segregated or integrated schools. Hence the identification of the plan as a "freedom of choice" proposal.

(2) Eliminates a present constitutional requirement for free public schools, and leaves the way open for the legislature to set up a private school system if such a necessity should arise. It must be emphasized, the Freedom of Choice amendment does not abolish the public school system, it would merely open the door for such a step at a later time which could be carried out by the legislature without the necessity of a statewide referendum.

(3) Makes it unlawful to compel a student to attend school with members of the opposite race.

(4) Empowers the legislature to make school board members judicial officers of the state, thus making them immune to damage suits.

★

SENATOR ALBERT BOUTWELL of Jefferson, who served as chairman of the interim committee which worked out this proposal, is convinced the plan is legally acceptable in that it is entirely free of any coercion. No student would be forced to go to a segregated school, nor would any student be forced to attend an integrated school. Boutwell contends, as have many other legal authorities, that the U.S. Supreme Court did not rule that segregation in itself was unconstitutional, but only that *forced segregation* was u constitutional.

As a result, this amend ent now represents the state's prin ry weapon of retaliation in Alabam s growing arsenal.

★

CORPORATE Income t Amendment: This plan, which has the strong support of Gov. Folsom as well as school officials, proposes to increase the state income tax on corporations from a maximum of 3% to a maximum of 5%. The st effective argument used in behalf of this amendment is that individuals have long since been required to pay on a graduated scale up to 5%, therefore corporations should pay likewise.

While no comprehensive study has yet been made by analysts of the State Revenue Department to determine how much additional money would be produced from this tax increase, it is roughly estimated the hike would bring in at least $5,000,000 annually, all of which would be earmarked for school purposes.

To substantiate the need for this additional revenue, school officials rightly point out that during the current school year some $13,000,000 in onetime money is being collected (from the individual income tax windfall resulting from the new withholding law, plus a changing of deadlines for the payment of corporate taxes). Thus, they argue, steps must be taken to secure money to replace the onetime revenue being used this year. The corporate income tax increase is designed to at least partially ease this very real problem.

★

ALIENATION of Public Improvements: Another segregation proposal, and one that glided through the legislature almost unnoticed, this amendment would permit any city, county, town or other subdivision of the state to alienate (sell) with or without consideration any public improvement such as public parks, playgrounds and public housing projects.

In other words, this would permit a city or county to give away if necessary a public park or swimming pool to some private organization or individual, the improvement thus alienated becoming private and not subject to any decision by the U.S. Supreme Court. (A similar bill was passed in Mississippi a year ago, and since that time has been used in several cities where public parks have been "sold" to civic clubs, organizations, etc., usually at a price of $1.)

The amendment, however, has two safeguards. First, before a city or county can carry out such a plan, it must be authorized through a legislative act and second, the plan must then be approved by a people affected in a local referendum.

This amendment is specifically an answer to the U.S. Supreme Court's decree abolishing segregation in public parks.

★

SPECIAL School Tax for Auburn and Opelika: This is the first of three amendments purely local, and in this case applying only to the two Lee County municipalities. If ratified by the state, this amendment would authorize each of the two cities to call for a local election to determine if the electorate favored the levying of an additional five mill ad valorem tax, proceeds of which would be earmarked for schools in the city involved. This plan was rejected last December, although it was approved in both of the cities.

★

MARION County Industrial Development: Identical to a number of other local amendments adopted by Alabama counties, this would permit th county to use its financial resources and property toward attracting additional industry. It would authorize the county to purchase property, construct plants, buildings, etc., which would be used by incoming industries. Of most importance, however, is that the amendment would permit the levying of a property tax by the county not to exceed 2% on the value of all taxable property in the county. The tax would be levied at the discretion of the county governing body, with no local referendum required. This plan was rejected both in Marion County and the state last December.

★

FRANKLIN County Industrial Development: Identical to that applying to Marion County, and also identical is the record which shows this amendment was rejected both locally and statewide last December. It too includes a paragraph authorizing the levying of an additional tax, but without the normal safeguard of a local referendum to approve such tax.

FOLSOM FACING TEST IN ALABAMA VOTING

Commercial Appeal

Presidential Hopefuls Getting Little Encouragement

Tues. 5-1-36

PRIMARY — P. 19 — TOMORROW

Memphis Sent.

BIRMINGHAM, April 30.—Presidential hopefuls apparently can expect to glean only cautious encouragement from Alabama Democrats who pick 52 national convention delegates in a primary election Tuesday.

Most of the 113 candidates have left themselves wide open, although about 50 have expressed they favor or lean toward Adlai Stevenson. Even many of these have issued weak endorsements with easy escape clauses.

'Kissin' Jim' Is Issue

The burning issue, instead, appears to center around the fate of Gov. James E. 'Kissin' Jim' Folsom and his race for the Democratic national committeeman post. Also at stake are a host of candidates for state and lesser jobs who fall in the Folsom camp.

The colorful chief executive also has in the delegate race some 25 friends who have been careful to keep their commitments "unpledged." As for the Governor, he has said he would like to see former President Harry Truman in the White House again.

Speculation about Governor Folsom and his influence on the convention's 26 votes roce recently when the Governor paid a surprise visit to Kansas City and Mr. Truman. Both described it as a "friendly chat."

Some Kefauver Support

Senator Estes Kefauver has received some kind words from about five convention delegates while Senator John Sparkman has been plumped by one man for a "favorite son" nomination.

Averell Harriman apparently has blocked any chance of Alabama support with his integration pronouncements. Alabama candidates have loudly shouted their support of segregation.

Buried beneath the Folsom chanting has been the other top races in the "off year" primary. United States Senator Lister Hill is seeking nomination to his fourth term against retired Navy Adm. John G. Crommelin. Hill has remained in Washington throughout the campaign.

Other Races Listed

Also to be nominated are nine representatives, but only two, Representative Frank Boykin of Mobile and George Grant of Montgomery, are opposed.

Other posts to be filled include seats on the state Supreme Court, Court of Appeals and Public Service Commission.

Alabama law requires any winning candidate to receive a majority in the race or face a run-off which would come May 29 this year. Estimates of the expected vote have ranged from 400,000 to 450,000, or about half the registered total in the state. Democratic nomination is tantamount to election.

Macon Again Has No Voter Registration

Post-Herald Mon. 4-23-36

Birm. Ala.

Board Lacking Where Negroes Dominate

BY REX THOMAS
Associated Press Staff Writer

TUSKEGEE, April 22 (AP)—Voter registration machinery has broken down again in Macon County where Negroes, many of them college-educated, out number white residents 5 to 1.

For the third time in a decade, the county where famed Tuskegee Institute was founded by Booker T. Washington 75 years ago is without a Board of Registrars and has been for several months.

No one, white or Negro, has been able to register for voting since the board ceased to function in January with only one of the three appointed members remaining in office.

One member, Mrs. J. F. Segrest refused her appointment as soon as she was notified last November. Another, S. S. Humphries, resigned in January, leaving only Chairman W. H. Bentley on the board.

Since it takes at least two members to transact business, the board has been unable to function.

Mrs. Segrest, who incidentally, is a Republican, declined the appointment because she said she hadn't been an applicant and didn't know why she was chosen.

Humphries said he resigned for business reasons.

Negro leaders said Humphries, who had been on the board three years, gave up the office under "pressure" from pro-segregation Citizens Council members. The former registrar denied that.

One of the Negro spokesmen, Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., said white people are reluctant to serve on the board because of the heavy Negro population and the increasing demand for voter registration.

Approximately 84 per cent of Macon County's population of 31,000 is Negro, but only about 900 are registered as voters. By contrast, about 2700 white voters are on the rolls out of a white population of some 5000.

A recent comparison of 1950 census returns and the 1952 voters list showed less than 100 white persons over the age of 21 weren't registered to vote, Gomillion charged.

The same survey disclosed about 12,000 unregistered Negroes of voting age, he added.

But the chairman of the last functioning board, Grady Rogers, insisted that "there are plenty" of white persons who will serve on the board if asked to.

Voting heavy here, polls stay open until 7

News Tues. 5-1-36

Birm. Ala.

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

Voting was heavy throughout Birmingham and suburban areas today, with Sheriff Holt McDowell expecting the total to soar up near the 73,000 cast in Jefferson County two years ago. P. 1

Interest in the City Commission and probate judgeship races, along with that in the Democratic national committeeman and delegate tussles brought voters out early, with lines forming at many poling places.

Balloting began at 8 a.m., with polling places to remain open until 7 p.m. throughout Jefferson County.

"INDICATIONS ARE that today's vote will be well above 60,000 in this county, and it might total 70,000," said Sheriff McDowell.

Not only was balloting heavy in Birmingham, in which five candidates were seeking election to an associate place on the City Commission, but brisk voting was reported in Fairfield, Homewood, Mountain Brook, Bessemer and other areas.

McDowell said "it looks like the voting is heavy throughout the county."

THE SHERIFF pointed out that Jefferson now has a total of 114,000 registered voters, compared with 98,000 two years ago when more than 73,000 votes were cast in the governor's race.

In the Jefferson probate judgeship race, Judge G. C. Boner is opposed by Rep. Paul Meeks, Birmingham attorney, and Dave Battle, Birmingham insurance man.

Five candidates—Eugene Connor, J. T. Waggoner, Lewey Robinson, T. O. Ellis and Lamar Weaver—are seeking the City Commission vacancy.

Barbour jury indicts vote registrar chief

News P. 1 Sun. 7-15-36

Birmingham Ala.

CLAYTON, Ala., July 14—(AP)—The chairman of the Barbour County Board of Registrars has been indicted on a charge of registering or attempting to register a large number of unqualified voters.

A Grand Jury that returned the indictment Thursday called for a purge of what it called unqualified voters of the county voting list.

It asked Gov. James E. Folsom and the other two members of the registrar appointing board to investigate the Barbour County Board.

Sheriff W. J. Adams said Saturday he had served an indictment Friday on Board Chairman W. A. Stokes Jr. of Eufaula and another on Elige Franklin. Adams said Franklin, a Negro, was charged with assisting voters to register illegally.

Legality challenged

THE JURY TOLD Third District Circuit Judge George Wallace that because of the alleged registration on unqualified persons, "there are now more illegal than legal voters" in Beat 4 of District 1.

This was the district in which A. D. Trammell lost to J. A. Grant a May 1 Democratic primary race for the Board of Revenue. Trammell protested to the county Democratic Executive Committee. The jury report made no mention of the protest.

Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammel was called upon by the jury to take lgeal action to remove what it called unqualified voters from the voting list as soon as possible.

Stokes said politics was behind the indictment. He said he was charged with registering Negroes.

MEMBER OF VOTE BOARD

Advertiser P. 1

Barbour Official Faces Trial Monday

Sun. 7-15-36

CLAYTON, Ala., July 14 (AP)—W. A. Stokes Sr., Eufaula, member of the Barbour County Board of Registrars, is scheduled to go on trial Monday on charges of vote registration irregularities.

Stokes was arrested yesterday on a warrant charging 13 counts of "knowingly and willfully registering or procuring the registration of a person not possessing the qualifications of an elector."

Also arrested was Elijah Franklin, Negro, charged with two counts identical of those placed against Stokes.

Franklin was identified as an active member of the Eufaula branch of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People.

Stokes was arrested after the Barbour County grand jury Thursday called for a probe of the board of registrars and a purge of the county voting list.

The other registrars are Chairman J. W. Spencer, Texasville, and Mrs. Emma McLean, Clio.

The jury asked that the appointing board "take immediate action to dismiss, relieve, or otherwise replace any member of said board who has participated in the . . . illegal registration. . ."

The jury reported that they found "approximately as many illegal voters in District One of Barbour County as there are legal voters and in Beat Four of that district, there are more illegal voters according to our best judgment." The district is in the northwest part of the county.

The grand jury investigation grew out of protests made by unsuccessful board of revenue candidate A. D. Trammell who lost to J. A. Grant 88 to 78 in the May 1 Democratic primary.

Despite its charges of registration irregularities the jury made no mention of the Trammell-Grant case which has been investigated by both county and state Democratic executive committees.

Woman charges rights violated—

Reapportionment suit is filed here

BY SALLY SAMUEL
News staff writer

Federal Court Judge Hobart Grooms today was asked to order the Alabama Legislature to reapportion itself in conformity with the most recent U. S. census.

A suit filed here by Miss Mary Jo Perry, 23-year-old legal secretary of Attalla, Ala., named as defendants Gov. James E. Folsom, Lt. Gov. Guy Hardwick, Secretary of State Mary Texas Hurt and the 141 members of the Legislature.

THE SUIT was filed by Alabama City Attys. Kenneth Cain Sr., and J. L. Kerr. The two attorneys employ Miss Perry.

Miss Perry contends that she, as a voter in Etowah County, is deprived of her civil rights as guaranteed by the Fifth and 14th Amendments to the U. S. Constitution by the Legislature's failure to reapportion itself.

ATTY. CAIN

ATTY. KERR

Article 9 of the Alabama Constitution also is cited. The article provides that the Legislature be apportioned in accord with the U. S. census. However, the present Legislature is the same as that adopted in 1901, which was based on the 1900 census.

ETOWAH is one of many North Alabama counties which have less representation in the Legislature than they would if the 1950 census was used as a base.

ATTY. CAIN said the gradual shifting of population from rural to urban areas plus the failure of the Legislature to change has resulted in a "denial of equal protection of the laws."

The attorneys said this fact prevents their client and other persons from having an equal vote.

A number of efforts have been made to change the 1901 allocation of seats in the Senate and House.

An amendment to reapportion the Legislature has already been approved by the House and will be ratified or rejected by the voters in the November election.

The amendment would give each of the 67 counties a full-time senator, replacing the present senatorial districts which have from one to three counties. It also would reshuffle the House on a population bracket basis.

Macon Registrar Vacancy Filled

Board Inoperative For 20 Months

MONTGOMERY, Sept. 20 (AP)—Voter registration machinery in a county where Negroes outnumber white residents 5 to 1 was ready to function again today for the first time in 20 months.

The Macon County Board of Registrars received a working majority with the appointment of Grady Rogers, of near Tuskegee.

The county where famed Tuskegee Institute is located and the proportion of college-educated Negroes is relatively high had only one voter registrar until today.

Chairman W. H. Bentley Jr. of Notasulga had been unable to act on voter applicants because a quorum of two is required on the three-man board.

In July a meeting of about 30 members of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., a Negro group, agreed to work for an active board again. Negro leaders are reported to have approached the three members of the state appointing authrity but there was no indication today that their efforts had produced the appointment of Rogers.

The state appointing authority members are Gov. James E. Folsom, State Auditor Agnes Baggett and Agriculture Commissioner A. W. Todd.

They named Rogers to a place offered Mrs. J. F. Segrest Jr., who refused appointment last November. In January, 1955 S. S. Humphries resigned from the board.

Independent Vote Groups Form Liaison

Alabama's slate of independent presidential electors has established cooperative liaison with the independent electors of South Carolina and Mississippi, it was announced yesterday.

John Frederick Duggar III of Hope Hull, one of 11 men whose names will appear on the Nov. 6 ballot in opposition to Democrat and Republican electors, said the liaison was established at the National States Rights Conference held in Memphis, Tenn., Sept. 13 to 15.

The independent group in this state is composed entirely of pro-segregationists who seek to win Alabama's 11 electoral votes "to gain bargaining power in the Electoral college to force the major parties to adopt a segregation view acceptable to the South."

Duggar, who represented Alabama at the 23-state convention, reported that "should these independent slates be elected in Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi, a meeting will be held after the election to chart a unified course of action for the three states."

Duggar said his information was that the states of South Carolina and Mississippi "stood the best chance of any states to choose independent electors" and that if Alabama voted for the independent group "the three states would have 27 electoral votes . . . that might very possibly be the balance of power in a close election."

With Duggar at the States Rights Convention were Tom C. King of Anniston and Joseph F. Mead of Birmingham.

States at the convention were not all necessarily in favor of segregation, but all favored the right of states to govern themselves.

AT ENTERPRISE

Drive To Register Voters Proves Unexpected Success

ENTERPRISE, Ala., Sept. 4 (Special)—A women's drive to get out the voters was so successful here today the registrars had to call on the state attorney general for help.

When over 100 unexpected would-be voters used up all available application blanks the board of registrars chairman J. W. Parker of Elba was forced to call State Atty. Gen. John Patterson for special permission to extend the registration period for one or possibly two more days.

The campaign was sponsored and organized by a number of Enterprise women's civic clubs under the general chairmanship of Mrs. Revel Searcy and Mrs. Gerstel Allen.

Although barely a week old, the organization swung into action with door-to-door canvassing of the city, publicity and offer of sitters.

Today was the last official day for registration for voting in the municipal election here Sept. 17. After extra registration blanks rushed in from Ozark and Geneva were gone the emergency call to Atty. Gen. Patterson was placed.

Apparently the women persuaded their husbands to vote also for approximately 50 per cent of the registrants were men.

2 Indictments Ruled Improper In Barbour Registrar's Trial

EUFAULA, Ala., Oct. 10 (AP)—The prosecution of a voter registration officer and a Negro farmer was interrupted today by a judge's order holding their indictments improperly drawn.

Registrar W. A. Stokes and Elijah Franklin were charged with illegal registration of 13 Negroes as voters.

The ruling by Circuit Judge George Wallace didn't halt the prosecution but the judge ordered the charged restored to the grand jury docket for the next jury, which meets in December, to investigate.

LEGAL QUESTION

One of the grounds for the defense demurrers which Wallace sustained was the contention that the law under which the indictments were returned has been superseded by the voter qualification amendment written into the state constitution in 1951.

That amendment makes members of boards of registrars judicial officers and immune from suit for their official actions.

BASIS NOT GIVEN

Wallace's decision, however, didn't necessarily mean he agreed with the argument that Stokes is also immune from prosecution. There were several grounds in the demurrers and he didn't say which he based his ruling on.

Stokes was charged with registering the 13 Negroes at his store instead of at the courthouse; with signing them up at a time not provided by law for registrations, and with acting without approval of a majority of the Barbour County board.

Franklin was indicted on charges that he sent the 13 Negroes to Stokes.

NEGROES WIN ROUND IN ALABAMA COURT

May Intervene In Suit Over Voting List

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 26.—(AP)—An Alabama circuit judge Friday granted 32 Negroes the right to intervene in a suit seeking removal of their names from Barbour County's voting list.

The ruling by Circuit Judge George C. Wallace came after former Gov. Chauncey Sparks warned that the court action was "a typical case for the NAACP."

Mr. Sparks said the suit seeking to strip the Negroes of their voting rights without a chance to be heard would be inviting the Federal Government to step in.

The judge put off further consideration of a mandamus petition seeking removal of the Negroes' names from the voting list until Wednesday. He instructed counsel on both sides to prepare written briefs giving their versions of how the law applies.

Mr. Sparks, speaking in behalf

Conscientious Objectors And The Right To Vote

(From The Montgomery Advertiser)

A test of the right of conscientious objectors to vote in Alabama may grow out of the denial of registration to Mrs. W. W. Lumpkin of Pritchard.

The Mobile County Board of Registrars refused to register Mrs. Lumpkin when she answered the routine question, "will you bear arms for your country if called upon by it to do so?", in this way:

> By reasons of my religious beliefs, I am conscientiously opposed to combat service. I will perform any non-combatant service required of me.

In refusing to register Mrs. Lumpkin, the board explained that an affirmative answer is required because otherwise the prospective voter could not honestly sign the oath at the end of the questionnaire to defend the constitutions of the United States and of Alabama.

Mrs. Lumpkin has filed an appeal in Circuit Court, arguing that the board's action violates Alabama's constitutional guaranties of religious freedom and also because it is inconsistent with the law of the land which does not require conscientious objectors to bear arms.

For all we know Mrs. Lumpkin may be a fanatic but her point seems to be sound. The Constitution of Alabama, Sec. 3, guarantees:

> That no religion shall be established by law, that no preference shall be given by law to any religious sect, society, denomination, or mode of worship; that no one shall be compelled by law to attend any place of worship; nor to pay any tithes, taxes, or other rate for building or repairing any place of worship, or for maintaining any minister or ministry; that no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this state; and that the civil rights, privileges, and capacities of any citizen shall not be in any manner affected by his religious principles.

That seems pretty clear. Add to it the prevailing law of the land, decided by the U. S. by the U. S. Supreme Court in 1946, that refusal to bear arms is not a ground for denial of naturalization, and the question still asked by Alabama of its voters seems archaic.

of two of the Negro voters, raised the objections during preliminary arguments although his clients were not named defendants in the suit. Speaking informally, he demanded the right to intervene or to appear as friend of the court.

If allowed to intervene, Mr. Sparks could have the two Negroes made parties to the suit and given 30 days to file answers to the complaint.

Circuit Judge George C. Wallace has not announced a ruling.

The Negro Vote

Lucile K. Woodham In The Florala News

Grover Hall stated in an editorial Wednesday that the Democratic Party is the party of the Negro. Since I am a Democrat I would like to think that the Democratic Party would be getting those votes, but the Negroes I have talked to said "We're goin' to vote for Ike." I'm lost as to which party is what to the Negro voters. Both parties use the Negro for a political football, both parties are grasping for the Negro vote and both parties are working hard to get elected. And both parties are going to get Negro votes, according to all the information I've been able to secure and that is not just here in our little section, but appears general all over the nation. So, again I ask, which party is what to whom?

Registrars Bare Local FBI Probe Of Barred Voters

Complaints By Negroes Stir Move

By BOB MURPHY

The FBI has begun an investigation of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars on the complaint of a Negro woman—one of the principals in the bus boycott—and two others, Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford revealed yesterday.

Thetford said Susie McDonald complained to the Department of Justice in Washington that she was refused registration and that facilities for Negro registration are inadequate.

Mrs. C. B. Willis, chairman of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars disclosed that she and another board member, Mrs. Frankie Mullin, had been interrogated by two special agents of the FBI at the direction of the Justice Department. Mrs. Willis said she was told the complaint concerned three Negro women, including Susie McDonald, and the board's refusal to register them.

FAILED QUESTIONNAIRE

Mrs. Willis said the three women made application for registration on July 6, 1956, and failed to satisfactorily complete the questionnaire. At a later date they returned to take the test again but were refused. Under law, application can be made only once in a term.

In a caustic statement issued last night Mrs. Willis said, "We have registered hundreds and hundreds of Negro voters in the past several years. Apparently the federal government, through investigation and intimidation, is trying to force us to register any Negro who applies, regardless of whether he is qualified or not."

She said FBI special Agent Spencer Robb refused to comment on whether or not any prosecution was contemplated. Sources in the nation's capital have indicated that the Justice Department received the complaint and initiated the FBI investigation.

PROBE CONFIRMED

Thetford confirmed the FBI investigation but said he was not present at the questioning at the request of the board of registrars.

"I have examined the three refused questionnaires and, based on the answers given, the Board of Registrars could not, under the laws, register the women involved," he said.

"To me, this appears to be another example of a biased and prejudiced Department of Justice using federal police to harass, frighten and intimidate competent and honest public officials who are faithfully and fairly administering the laws of the State of Alabama," Thetford concluded.

Of the investigation itself, Mrs. Willis said, "They (the FBI and Justice Department) will not coerce this board into violating our duty and the laws of this state. We shall continue to treat members of both races equally, even though one race is backed by the United States Department of Justice and the other is not."

The questionnaire that started the Negro women's complaint was approved under a state constitutional amendment on Dec. 19, 1951, under Section 181 of the Alabama State Constitution. It provides for questions—established by the Alabama Supreme Court—to be put forth without discrimination to race, creed or color.

Among some of the questions are:

"Name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship."

"Do you regard these duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe any other secular organization when they are in conflict?"

"Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience."

Also included are questions concerning loyalty to the United States.

The McDonald woman, who was described by Thetford as a complainant in the Montgomery bus boycott, was not immediately available for comment last night.

Negro attorney Fred Gray, prominent in the boycott and draft board controversies, refused to confirm if he would handle the legal end of the complaint for Mrs. McDonald and the two other Negro women involved.

Voters Will Pass On Eight Amendment Proposals At Polls On Next Tuesday

News Thurs. 11-1-56 Tuskegee, Ala.

Eight proposed amendments to the Alabama Constitution will be up for decision of voters next Tuesday when they go to the polls for the quadrennial presidental election. Three of the proposed amendments apply to the state as a whole, four apply to certain counties and one only to the City of Gadsden.

Chief interest centers around Amendment No. 1, a so-called reapportionment measure which would give each county one state senator and a number of House members based on population.

Its effect on Macon County would be to provide a senator from this county alone, in contrast to the present arrangement whereby Macon and Bullock Counties share one senator.

Provisions of the other amendments are as follows:

Amendment No. 2 — This amendment would authorize the issuance of $4,000,000 in general obligation funds to be used in improving existing state mental hospitals and aid in the construction of additional facilities.

Amendment No. 3—Identical to an amendment submitted last Dec. 6 which was rejected, this proposal would authorize the issuance of $2,000,00 in general obligation bonds to be matched with Hill-Burton federal funds to be used in the construction of hospitals and improving additional facilities.

Amendment No. 4 — Applying only to Walker County, it would permit the legislature at some later date to enact legislation to alter the costs and charges of courts in the county and the disbursement of these funds.

Amendment No. 5 —Identical to No. 4, but applying to Pike County.

Amendment No. 6 — This amendment would permit the legislature to enact legislation which would place the elected officials of Colbert County on a salary basis rather than the fee system now in effect.

Amendment No. 7 — Another proposal which was carried to defeat last December by the school tax measures, this amendment would authorize the Tuscaloosa County governing body to issue $2,500,000 in bonds to finance the construction of a new courthouse. Such a bond issue, however, would have to be approved by the voters of the county in a local referendum .

Amendment No. 8 — Applying only to the city of Gadsden, this amendment would authorize the city governing body to levy a property tax of not more than one-half of one per cent on all taxable property in the limits of the municipality.

Negroes Get Intervention In Vote Suit

Advertiser Sat. 10-27-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Judge Grants Right To 32 Whose Names May Be Stricken

By REX THOMAS

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 26 —An Alabama circuit judge today granted 32 Negroes the right to intervene in a suit seeking removal of their names from Barbour County's voting list.

The ruling by Circuit Judge George C. Wallace came after former Gov. Chauncey Sparks warned that the court action was "a typical case for the NAACP."

Sparks said the suit seeking to strip the Negroes of their voting rights without a chance to be heard would be inviting the federal government to step in.

The judge put off further consideration of a mandamus petition seeking removal of the Negroes' names from the voting list until next Wednesday. He instructed counsel on both sides to prepare written briefs giving their versions of how the law applies.

Sparks, speaking in behalf of two of the Negro voters, raised the objections during preliminary arguments although his clients were not named defendants in the suit. Speaking informally he demanded the right to intervene or to appear as friend of the court.

Sparks, a Eufaula attorney, argued that the court has no authority to order the names of voters stricken from the registration list.

Under Alabama law, he said, only the county board of registrars can purge the list and at that only every two years.

The ex-governor challenged Circuit Solicitor (Prosecutor) Seymore Trammell's right to file the mandamus petition although the action was taken on instructions from a recent county grand jury.

Protesting that his clients were facing the possible loss of their right to vote without a chance to defend themselves, Sparks told the judge and solicitor:

"You're raising a typical case for the federal government to step in...this is a typical case for the NAACP. They're flooding the South with propaganda and we might as well knock it in the head right here and now."

Wallace said he had no intention to "take away anybody's rights unless I have the authority and unless the allegations are proven. No matter who he is."

Sparks said "a group of white people" were registered under circumstances identical with those for which the rights of the Negro voters are being questioned.

"Why not call everyone who was registered under similar circumstances, white or black?" He asked "Why deny these people (the Negroes) the right to come into court and defend themselves?"

The state contends the Negroes were registered by one member of the Barbour County board of registrars, W. A. Stokes Sr., without approval of a majority of the three - member board as required by law. Tammell also said they were registered at Stokes' grocery store in Eufaula instead of at the courthouse where the board normally functions.

The county grand jury indicted Stokes and a Negro, Elijah Franklin, for violation of the election laws because of the registration of 13 of the 32 Negroes. Franklin was accused of sending or taking the others to Stokes' store.

Wallace threw the indictments out on technical grounds but ordered them restored to the docket for the next grand jury to consider in December.

Negro voters challenged in Barbour County

News P.1 Thurs. 11-25-56

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 25 — (AP) — State authorities have filed a petition in Circuit Court seeking to strike from the voting lists the names of 32 Negro voters they claim were illegally registered.

A hearing is scheduled at 10 a.m. tomorrow in Clayton before Circuit Judge George Wallace.

COUNTY SOLICITOR Sam LeMaistre said the state contends the Negroes were unlawfully registered as voters by a member of the Barbour County Board of Registrars, W. A. Stokes Sr., who was recently indicted by a county Grand Jury because of the registrations.

Stokes and a Negro, Elijah Franklin, were accused of violating the state registration laws—the board member with illegally registering the 32 Negroes and Franklin with sending the Negroes to him.

THE INDICTMENTS were dismissed by Wallace on technical grounds but the charges were ordered restored to the Grand Jury docket for consideration by the next Grand Jury which meets in December.

Defense attorneys, in demurring to the indictments, argued among other things that registrars were made judicial officers by a constitutional amendment adopted in 1951 and therefore are immune to prosecution for their official acts.

The judge in sustaining the demurrers didn't say which of the several grounds he based his decision on.

LeMAISTRE SAID the state contended Stokes registered the Negroes at his store instead of at the courthouse as provided by law; that the Negroes were put on the voting lists without approval of a majority of the three-member registration board, and that they were registered at a time not provided by law.

The solicitor said the petition to remove the names from the voting lists contends the Negroes were improperly registered and that they lack the necessary qualifications for voting. He didn't elaborate.

Supreme Court orders Negroes left on lists

News P.1 from Ala. Mon. 10-29-56

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 29— (AP) —The Alabama Supreme Court intervened today to prevent a lower court judge from taking any action to order the names of 32 Negroes stricken from the voting list in Barbour County.

With six of the seven justices concurring, the high court gave Circuit Judge George Wallace at Clayton, Ala., until Nov. 1 to show cause why a permanent writ of prohibition shouldn't be issued.

Wallace began a hearing last Friday on a petition by Circuit

Solicitor Seymore Trammell seeking to remove the names of the 32 Negroes the state contended were illegally registered as voters.

THE HEARING was continued until Wednesday, however, when former Gov. Chauncey Sparks and ex-State Sen. Preston Clayton, speaking in behalf of the Negroes, challenged legality of the state's action.

Pending the resumption of the hearing, Wallace granted the Negroes the right to intervene in the suit. Trammell's original petition was directed only at Probate Judge Marshall Williams as custodian of the voting records.

Sparks, warning that the state's action was "inviting the federal government to step in," argued that only the county board of registrars has a lawful right to remove names from the voting list and that the probate judge has no authority to do it even under court order.

THE SUPREME COURT'S action came at the request of Atty. Clayton, a former justice on the tribunal, who made a trip to Montgomery today to file the request for a writ of prohibition.

Chief Justice Ed Livingston was absent because of illness in his family but the six other justices all signed the order directing Wallace to take no action pending the Nov. 1 hearing.

The state in seeking to remove the names of the Negro voters contended they were illegally registered earlier this year by W. A. Stokes Sr., a member of the Barbour County Board of Registrars.

TRAMMELL SAID Stokes registered the 32 at his grocery store in Eufaula instead of at the courthouse where the board normally functions; that they were signed up without approval of a majority of the three-member board, and that "many" of them are unable to read and write as required by law.

Stokes and a Negro, Elijah Franklin, were indicted by a county Grand Jury on charges of violating the election laws, but the indictments were dismissed by Wallace on technical grounds and ordered restored to the docket for the next Grand Jury to consider in December.

Franklin was accused of taking or sending the 32 Negroes to Stokes' store for registration.

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 25 (AP)—The controversy over Negro voting focused attention Thursday on this small community where state authorities are trying to purge 32 newly registered Negroes from the voting lists.

Circuit Solicitor (prosecutor) Seymour Trammell has filed a mandamus petition in circuit court seeking to compel the Barbour County Board of Registrars to strike the names on grounds the Negroes were illegally registered.

A hearing is scheduled for 11 a.m. Friday before Circuit Judge George Wallace.

Mr. Trammell and County Solicitor Sam Lemaistre said the 32 Negroes were signed up as voters by a member of the registration board, W. A. Stokes Sr., recently indicted by a county grand jury because of the registrations.

The grand jury charged Mr. Stokes, a grocer, registered the Negroes at his store in Eufaula instead of the courthouse as provided by law, and that he acted without approval of a majority of the three-member board.

Negro Voters on Bandwaaon?

How extensive will be the Negro vote shift to Eisenhower? In the closing days of the campaign this question has the political prophets' guessing. It was evident a month ago that Eisenhower is to be elected; everything pointed that way. Is Eisenhower now to have a great smashing victory augmented by the last minute switch of millions of Negro voters from their 24-year allegiance nationally?

Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was the first prominent Negro Democratic leader to declare himself for Eisenhower. Within the past week other significant similar announcements have been made. The Pittsburg Courier, the largest and most influential of the nation's Negro daily newspapers has declared its support of Eisenhower. In Chicago a Negro Ministers association has formally declared advocacy of Eisenhower.

These declarations seem to have been caused not so much by admiration of Eisenhower as by distrust of Stevenson. Part of the movement is also without doubt a band-wagon movement, a desire to be with the winner.

But whatever it is, it is potentially powerful and could have the effect of making the Eisenhower victory one of most impressive in political history.

As for Alabama it could hardly prove decisive. Even if Alabama has 40,000 Negro voters as is claimed, and all of them should be cast for Eisenhower it could not change Alabama from its Democratic standpatism. Four years ago Stevenson got 275,075 votes in Alabama and Eisenhower received 149,231. Stevenson's 124,844 majority could not be overturned by a switch of 40,000 votes.

At the same time if those votes were cast in a bloc it would add complication to a situation already complicated by the uncertain effects that the Andrews independent states rights ticket might have on the Alabama result.

Nothing but a grass roots revolution could change Alabama and there are no signs of any such revolution in sight.

Independents Offer 'Refuge' For Unhappy Alabama Voters

Journal and Constitution Sun. 10-28-56

p. 17 Atlanta Ga.

11 Presidential Elector Candidates Woo Disgruntled Demos, GOPs

By FRED TAYLOR

Staff Writer, The Birmingham News
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 20—Alabama campaigners for a slate of independent presidential elector candidates have begun kindling the smouldering fires of protest against both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

With preservation of segregation as their battle cry, they're bidding especially for the support of discontented old-line Democrats who don't like "civil rights" planks in platforms of either major party.

And they're offering a haven to erstwhile "Eisenhower Democrats," independents or old-line Republicans who are not happy over positions taken by major party standard bearers on the touchy racial issue.

This hard core of independents,

ALABAMA

who swear by the doctrine of states' rights and who also are referred to as States' Righers and Dixiecrats, have started a widespread direct mail campaign to help arouse the voters. This will be bolstered by newspaper, radio and television advertising in the final weeks of the presidential campaign.

Andrews to Speak

And they're going to bring T. Coleman Andrews, presidential nominee of an independent-conservative coalition, to Montgomery for a speech Nov. 3.

They're also hoping to get Jimmy Byrnes, former South Carolina governor and a militant rebel, to come into the state before election day Nov. 6 to address a rally.

Russell Carter of Montgomery, one of the 11 independent presidential elector candidates opposing the regular lineup of GOP and Democratic presidential elector nominees, put it this way:

"Most of the voters in Alabama are looking for a place to go. We're offering them that place.

"Alabamians don't like the stands taken by both Democrats and Republicans on states' rights and integration. We hope, and believe, we can win in this state.

"This will put us in a position to bargain for the people of Alabama, of the South and the nation."

Joe S. Mead, Birmingham lawyer and another of the independent elector aspirants, lashed out at both Republicans and Democrats and said:

"I feel that a man should be able to vote his conscience, or not vote at all."

He said that neither President Eisenhower nor Adlai Stevenson offered Alabama or the South any encouragement for a state voice in maintaining segregation in schools or states' rights in anything.

Thomas Bellsnyder Jr., Birmingham foundry operator and another of the 11 independent elector candidates, whaled away at both Adlai and Ike on the segregation question.

He also said he held no particular brief for Andrews, former U.S. commissioner of internal revenue under Eisenhower, who was designated at Richmond to carry the States' Rights-tax reform third party banner.

Explains Objectives

"The main thing I want to do is give the people of Alabama, who don't want to vote for either Eisenhower or Stevenson, a chance to register a protest against both," said Bellsnyder. "If we can win, and I hope we can, then we might be in a position to do something."

He was referring to the possibility that neither major party ticket would win the necessary 266 electoral votes for victory, which could throw the presidential election into the House of Representatives.

Luther Ingalls, Montgomery attorney and former state legislator, is spokesman for the independent elector candidates and is helping to direct their campaign.

The Montgomery County Citizens Council has endorsed the independent slate and efforts are being made to line up other councils behind the movement. But the Citizens Councils of Alabama, statewide organization, which has Macon State Sen. Sam Engelhardt Jr. as its executive director, is taking no hand in the campaign as an organization.

"We'd like to have the support of the state organization, but we haven't sought it," said Carter.

Given Little Chance

Veteran political observers give the independent movement little, if any, chance to win in Albama, which heretofore has been strongly Democratic and is expected to give the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket a wide margin.

The other eight candidates on the independent slate are Llewellyn H. Duggar, John F. Duggar III and J. S. Payne, all of Hope Hull, near Montgomery; John P. Eagerton III, Edwin T. Parker, Jack S. Riley and M. L. Griffin, all of Montgomery, and Tom C. King of Anniston.

Barb[illegible] Love Ad. Advertiser Fri. 10-26-56 To Bar Voters Goes To Court

Montgomery

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 25 (AP)—The controversy over Negro voting focused attention today on this small community where state authorities are trying to purge 32 newly registered Negroes from the voting lists.

Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammel has filed a mandamus petition in circuit court seeking to compel the Barbour Board of Registrars to strike the names of the grounds that the Negroes were illegally registered.

A hearing is scheduled here at 10 a.m. tomorrow before Circuit Judge George Wallace.

Trammel and County Solicitor Sam Lemaistre said the 32 Negroes were signed up as voters by a member of the registration board, W. A. Stokes Sr., who was recenty indicted by a county grand jury because of the registrations.

GROCER CHARGED

The grand jury charged Stokes, a grocer, registered the Negroes as his store in Eufaula instead of at the courthouse as provided by law, and that he acted without approval of a majority of the three member board.

A Negro, Elijah Franklin, also was indicted on charges of violating the registration laws. Trammel said Franklin sent or took the other Negroes to Stokes' store.

The indictments against both men were recentlh dismissed by Wallace on technical grounds, although he ordered the charges restored to the docket for consideration by the next grand jury which meets in December.

Trammell said the petition seeking to remove the Negroes from the voting lists contended both that they were illegally registered and that they lacked the necessary qualifications for voting. Specifically, he said "many" of them are unable to read and write as required by law.

OLNEY DENOUNCED

The petition was filed, the solicitor continued, on instructions from the grand jury whch indicted Stokes and Franklin.

Trammel meanwhile joned two other Alabama solicitors in denouncing a statement from Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney in Washington that Negroes have been purged from the registration lists in a mass denial of their voting rights.

Olney didn't mention Barbour County, singling out Montgomery and Macon counties instead along with others in four neighboring Southern states.

Trammell called the Justice Department charge a "feeble political move calculated to destroy our ballot box." He said "there has been entirely too much federal interference with our local self-government and our state laws."

In Macon, Montgomery—

Whites, Negroes deny reports of voter purge

BY HENRY S. BRADSHER

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 25—(AP)—White officials and Negro leaders in two Alabama counties have banded together to deny that qualified Negro voters have been removed from registration lists because of their race.

The denials followed a charge in Washington yesterday that Montgomery and Macon Counties were among a number of Southern counties in which Negroes had been disfranchised.

SPOKESMEN FOR Boards of Registrars and for Negro civic organizations in the two counties said they knew of no such cases, although a U. S. assistant attorney general said criminal prosecution might be sought for cases in those counties.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III also charged that White Citizens Councils were leading a Southwide movement to have voting lists purged of Negroes. Leaders of both major Citizens Council factions in Alabama denied any such activity on their parts.

Onley listed Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina along with Alabama as states in which purges had been investigated. He said the purges were distinct from complaints that qualified Negroes were not allowed to register originally.

THE FBI SAID last Monday it had investigated a charge in Montgomery County of failure to let three Negro women register. In Macon County, where there are five times as many Negroes as white residents, Negro leaders have several times in the last decade complained that breakdowns in registration machinery have made new registrations impossible.

Mrs. C. B. Willis, chairman of the Montgomery board, said it was "untrue" that qualified Negrgoes had been struck from her lists and she knew of no Citizens Council activity toward that end. Circuit Solicitor William E. Thetford said "it's pure poppycock and political propaganda" that Montgomery lists were purged.

THE CHAIRMAN of the registration and voting committee of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., the Negro organization coordinating a 10-month-old bus boycott here, said he knew of no such cases. Rufus Lewis said he had been keeping up with the Negro registration situation.

Macon County board officials were not available, but Circuit Solicitor Tom F. Young of Alexander City said he had had no reports of either list purging or Citizens Council action for it.

THE PRESIDENT of the Tuskegee Civic Assn. in the Macon County seat, Charles G. Gomillion, said he had no knowledge of qualified Negroes losing their votes.

The Alabama Assn. of Citizens Councils, which has councils in both counties, "hasn't done a thing" toward seeking a Negro voter purge, according to State Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County. Engelhardt said the organization which he heads would do "everything in its power" to have unqualified Negroes purged, however.

He joined Thetford in charging Republican political inspiration for Olney's statement.

IN BIRMINGHAM, Executive Secretary Asa Carter of the Alabama Citizens Council, a separate organization from Engelhardt's group, said "there appears to be an effort at mass registration of the Negroes" in North Alabama, but denied his group was applying pressure to have registered Negro voters banned.

A member of the Jefferson County (Birmingham) board, Mrs. Tom Christian, said "We are not disfranchising anybody or trying to keep anybody from registering to vote."

FBI Launches Probe

Alabama Refuses Us Right To Vote, Negroes Tell U.S.A.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.(ANP)--Investigations into the denial of the state of Alabama to allow Negroes the right of voting began here last week as the FBI opened a probe of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars following the complaint of a Negro woman.

Mrs. Susis McDonald, one of the principals in the Negro bus boycott of this city, and two other Negro women brought the action after complaining to the Department of Justice in Washington that they were refused registration and that facilities for Negro registration were inadequate.

The three women, Mrs Louise Champney, Mrs. Susie McDonald and Mrs. Mattie C. Hamilton said they tried to register July 6, but heard no more of it. Last month, they said, they went back to their local board to inquire.

The women said they were then told to come back in Nov. which would mean missing the Nov. 6 voting. They were also told that registration facilities were crowded. The women said that at the time they were told this "there wasn't anyone there."

Mrs. McDonald led the protest and was one one of the plaintiffs in a federal suit that resulted in a three-judge panel's decision that Montgomery city and Alabama state laws regarding bus segregation were unconstitutional. The bus boycott here is continuing while that decision is on appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

Attorney Fred D. Gray, a controversial figure himself in Alabama draft board circles, declined to confirm whether or not he would handle the legal end of the protests in behalf of the women.

Mrs. Champney, a 78-year-old widow, said:

"My years are piled high and I just want the privilege of voting for a president once before I die, but they wouldn't let us register."

The chairman of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars, Mrs. C. B. Willis, said, the reason the women couldn't register was because "they failed to satisfactorily complete the questionnaire required to be filled out by all who register.

FBI Special Agent Spencer Robb said an investigation had been made into the complaint on behalf of the three women, but he refused to comment further. In Washington, the Justice department also remained mum.

Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson, who helped the women, said she heard that a number of legal organizations have requested investigations of the Negro vote registration situation" in Montgomery. There are abou 50,000 Negroes in this city.

Big counties set pace—

State leaders say Negro voters switched to Ike

BY FRED TAYLOR
(New staff writer)

Negro leaders in Birmingham and Montgomery today said a majority of voters of their race switched from Democratic to Republican Tuesday in their respective counties to help carry them for President Eisenhower.

Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro attorney and president of Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, estimated that three-fourths of Jefferson County's 7000 voters switched to Ike this time.

Adams said he believed about the same percentage of Negro voters throughout Alabama did likewise. There are an estimated 40,000 Negro voters in the state.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER carried all three of the state's most populous counties—Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery—where there are more Negro voters than in any other areas.

The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., Negro Baptist preacher of Montgomery, was quoted by The Associated Press as saying that "from the talk I heard," most members of his race voted for Eisenhower in Montgomery County.

Jefferson Sheriff Holt McDowell said that "from information coming to my office, there's no question but what a large majority of Negroes voted the Republican ticket in this county Tuesday."

ADAMS, who said his Abraham Lincoln Republican Club has about 1500 members, said Negroes here decided the Republican Party "best represented the interests of the Negro."

"The Negroes not only feel that the Eisenhower administration has done more for their cause, but they feel that having President Eisenhower continue as president is best for peace and prosperity," added Adams.

Adams also said the Negroes believed that "a vote for the Democrats would be a vote for reactionary senators like Eastland of Mississippi."

The Rev. King, president of Montgomery Improvement Assn. and leader in the 11-month bus boycott against segregated city buses there, said the Negroes who voted for Eisenhower did so "by and large" because of the "civl rights" issue.

KING SAID there are about 2000 Negroes registered to vote in Montgomery and that if most of them supported the GOP ticket they "may well have" cast the deciding votes. Ike carried Montgomery County by about 1500 votes.

Accoridng to Adams' estimate, some 4500 Jefferson County Negroes voted Republican to about 1500 for the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket.

He said a preelection poll taken at Parker High School largest Negro school in Birmingham, showed faculty members favoring the Republican ticket 3 to 11. He added that a similar poll shortly before the presidential election four years ago showed only four faculty members favoring Eisenhower.

First Court Test Won By Ala. Negroes

"TYPICAL CASE FOR NAACP" FORMER GOV. CHARGES IN PLEA

CLAYTON, Ala. — (SNS)— Circuit Judge George C. Wallace ruled Friday that 32 Barbour County Negroes had the right to intervene in a suit seeking removal of their names from the County's voting lists.

The judge's decision came after former Gov. Chauncey Sparks warned that the court action was a "typical case for the NAACP."

The suit seeking to oust Negroes from the voting lists without a chance to be heard would be inviting the federal government to step in, Sparks warned.

WEDNESDAY, OCT. 31

Judge Wallace instructed counsel on both sides to prepare written briefs giving their versions on how the law applies for the hearing to be held Wednesday, Oct. 31.

The jurist put off further consideration of a mandamus petition seeking removal of the plaintiffs names until then.

Sparks, who was speaking in behalf of two of the Negroes, raised objections during the preliminary hearing, although his clients were not named as defendants in the suit.

He (Sparks) although speaking informally, demanded the right to intervene or to appear as friend of the court. If he (Sparks) were allowed to intervene, he could have the two Negroes be made parties to the suit, and would have 30 days to file answers to the complaint.

No ruling was announced by Judge Wallace.

CHALLENGES COURT

Under Alabama law, only the county board of registrars can purge the list, and at that only every two years, Sparks contended in arguing that the court has no authority to order names stricken from voting lists.

TYPICAL FOR NAACP

"Your raising a typical case for the Federal Government to step in . this is a typical case for the NAACP. They're flooding the South with propaganda and we might as well knock it in the head right here and now."

The ex-governor, a Eufaula attorney, challenged Circuit Solicitor (Prosecutor) Seymore Trammel's right to file the mandamus petition although the action was recently taken from a grand jury.

Judge Wallace said that he had no intention to "take away anybody's rights unless I have the authority and unless the allegations are proven. No matter who he is."

VOTE PURGE IS DENIED

County Sought Removal Of 32 Negro Names

CLAYTON, Ala., Oct. 30. — (AP) — State authorities were turned down Tuesday in their attempt to purge 32 Negroes from the Barbour County voting list.

Circuit Judge George Wallace dismissed a petition for a writ of mandamus which sought to compel the Probate judge to strike the names on the grounds the Negroes were illegally registered as voters.

The Alabama Supreme Court had ordered Judge Wallace Monday to reject the state's claim or show cause at a hearing before the high court Thursday why it shouldn't be done.

Judge Wallace responded with a decree which said he would have denied the petition anyway because Alabama law gives the county Board of Registrars the sole right to take names off the voting list.

Federal Action Looms In Negro Vote Purge

Advertiser Thurs. 10-25-56 Montgomery, Ala.

Justice Aide Cites State On Race Bar

P. 1

Threats of federal criminal prosecution in five Southern states including Albama in the event qualified Negroes are denied the vote in the Nov. 6 election were voiced yesterday by a Justice Department official in Washington, D. C.

The Associated Press, in a dispatch from Washington, quoted Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III as saying "disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis" through revision of registration rolls in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. Some of the procedure involved is "fradulent" on the face of it, he said.

Olney disclosed that voter investigations are being made in Macon County, Ala., as well as Montgomery, where The Advertiser reported earlier this week the FBI had questioned two members of the county Board of Registrars concerning Negro registrations.

'PURE POPPYCOCK'

Replying to Justice Department charges that qualified Negro voters are being purged from the Montgomery County rolls, Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford yesterday said:

"That's pure poppycock and political propaganda." He called the charges "completely and factually untrue."

The Montgomery investigation stemmed from a complaint by three Negro women that they were refused enrollment on voters' lists. One of the trio is Susie McDonald, a plaintiff in the Montgomery bus boycott trials. The complaint led to questioning of Mrs. C. B. Willis, chairman of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars, and another board member, Mrs. Frankie Mullin, by the FBI last week.

Olney named the White Citizens Councils, opponents of school integration, as prime movers in the southwide move to have Negroes struck from voting lists.

Thetford said, "The White Citizens Councils have had nothing to do with registration of voters in Montgomery County. They haven't had as much to do with it as the NAACP, probably less."

DONE NOTHING

State Sen. Sam Engelhardt of Macon County, which was also cited by Olney, said the Alabama Assn. of Citizens Councils which he heads "hasn't done a thing" about trying to get Negroes removed from voting lists."

Engelhardt said, "by law, if they're registered illegally they should be removed, and we will do everything in our power to have them removed, but so far we haven't done a thing about removal."

"We would welcome an investigation for taking Negroes off voting lists," Engelhardt said for the more than 100 Alabama Citizens Councils chapters he represent, "but we'd much rather have an investigation for their getting on in the first place.

Macon County registration officials were not available for comment.

NO COMPLAINTS

Solicitor Tom F. Young of Alexander City, representing the circuit which includes Macon County, said he had received "no complaints that either Negroes or white people have been struck off voting lists."

Alabama Atty. Gen. John Patterson said he would have no comment until he had an opportunity to study what the U.S. attorney general's office said. "No reports have been made to my office by any federal authorities concerning this matter," Patterson said.

Olney told newsmen in Washington the "weakness" of existing civil rights tatutes makes it impossible for the Justice Department to move until the right to vote has been actually denied on Election Day—too late to help the voter.

Alabama Vote by Counties

BY THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The county-by-county vote for president in Alabama in Tuesday's general election:

County	Boxes	Eisenhower	Stevenson	Ind.
Autauga	Complete	899	1294	281
Baldwin	42 of 44	3895	3542	94
Barbour	Complete	777	2429	142
Bibb	Complete	1004	1471	104
Blount	35 of 46	2204	2335	73
Bullock	Complete	327	742	138
Butler	41 of 43	1266	2279	241
Calhoun	51 of 52	4422	9043	339
Chambers	Complete	1448	5168	142
Cherokee	Complete	812	2484	—
Chilton	Complete	3139	1838	118
Choctaw	13 of 36	188	520	20
Clarke	19 of 42	561	847	83
Clay	8 of 26	365	637	11
Cleburne	18 of 21	996	1337	2
Coffee	20 of 36	703	2944	86
Colbert	44 of 46	1730	6829	104
Conecuh	34 of 37	742	1462	152
Coosa	Complete	1070	1414	38
Covington	Complete	2251	4879	235
Crenshaw	24 of 32	502	1707	93
Cullman	Complete	REIO	5537	1
Dale	23 of 30	1017	1884	87
Dallas	Complete	2115	1951	833
Dekalb	Complete	5684	5768	10
Elmore	Complete	1619	3318	422
Escambia	49 of 51	1591	3206	144
Etowah	Complete	7151	12,499	369
Fayette	Complete	1948	1968	24
Franklin	Complete	EEOO	EETE	QT
Geneva	11 of 29	293	773	25
Greene	Complete	306	691	44
Hale	Complete	525	1401	108
Henry	20 of 26	398	1848	138
Houston	Complete	2615	3489	489
Jackson	45 of 53	1647	4070	—
Jefferson	303 of 312	42,137	37,730	5,078
Lamar	29 of 32	720	2328	24
Lauderdale	Complete	2421	9404	72
Lawrence	Complete	1253	2956	—
Lee	Complete	1586	3302	163
Limestone	22 of 32	386	3220	6
Lowndes	Complete	320	606	243
Macon	4 of 18	67	104	16
Madison	Complete	2864	7530	141
Marengo	Complete	1019	1861	151
Marion	24 of 29	2203	2599	12
Marshall	16 of 46	751	2437	—
Mobile	Complete	20,436	17,244	1712
Monroe	23 of 37	558	1661	77
Montgomery	Complete	8794	7033	3312
Morgan	48 of 75	1779	4720	44
Perry	13 of 18	304	646	145
Pickens	Complete	993	1666	171
Pike	28 of 37	296	1269	98
Randolph	Complete	1584	3151	26
Russell	Complete	1270	3101	171
St. Clair	Complete	2465	2440	263
Shelby	26 of 29	2618	2199	141
Sumter	Complete	577	980	112
Talladega	45 of 68	2670	3377	100
Tallapoosa	Complete	1879	5070	93
Tuscaloosa	Complete	4827	7940	573
Walker	94 of 106	4666	6688	68
Washington	11 of 26	300	829	32
Wilcox	10 of 26	226	359	93
Winston	21 of 22	2973	1574	2

Vote Denials Prosecution

Herald Bham, Ala.

It is good news coming out of Washington, D. C. that the Federal government plans to prosecute where there is found evidence of unlawful racial disfranchisement. Yet it has been known for a long, long time that such conditions existed. In Wilcox County and Lowndes County in Alabama Negro citizens have been kept from voting since 1900.

But these two counties which have more Negro persons than white persons were not even mentioned. However the two mentioned counties, Montgomery and Macon, have token Negro voting.

Sat 11-27-54

Unless the prosecutions reach Wilcox and Lowndes and strike a blow at boswelling and the "voucher system" it will not get at the root of the problem. Let this not be an electioneering stunt but the beginning of an action which will be carried through no matter how the November 6 election turns out.

The White Citizens Councils have made it part of their program to rip Negro voters from the poll lists and throw up a blocade so that others may never get their names in the voting books.

Wrongfully rejected applicants for the vote and those intimidated from even applying for the registration certificate must take courage and get the facts to the Department of Justice. The blackout of the Negro vote must come to a halt in the South if democracy is to survive in this nation.

The deprived group can help themselves by applying for voter-registration and turning over to the Department of Justice every scrap of evidence pointing to unlawful refusal if they are not registered like all other citizens. A step must be made toward registration before the federal government can step in to help the deprived persons.

Right to vote kept by 32 in Alabama

Afro-American Sat. 11-10-56

Baltimore, Md.

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Obeying an order of the Alabama Supreme Court, Circuit Judge George Wallace Thursday dismissed the state's petition to strike the names of 32 colored voters from the Barbour County registration rolls.

There was no challenge of Judge Wallace's order.

P 5

Circuit Solicitor Seymore Trammell had asked Wallace to order Probate Judge Marshall Williams to strike the defendants names from the list, contending they were illegally registered last year.

* * *

TWO FORMER high ranking state officials — former Gov. Chauncey Sparks and ex-state Sen. Preston Clayton—represented the 32 colored persons.

In arguments before the high tribunal, Sparks and Clayton contended that under Alabama law, only the County Board of Registrars can remove a voter's name and that even registrars can purge the voting list only every two years.

Clayton said that the state would be "inviting Federal intervention" by permitting the probate court to remove the names of the accused from the voting registrar.

The former state senator asked the Supreme Court to step into the case following a preliminary hearing the week before.

* * *

TRAMMELL FILED the petition as the result of a grand jury, which indicted Elijah Franklin and W. A. Stokes Sr. on charges of violating the registration laws.

Stokes was charged with illegally registering the defendants at his grocery store in Eufaula instead of the courthouse and Franklin was accused of sending or taking them to Stokes.

ALABAMA NOTES VOTING RECORD

Times-Picayune

Total Shows 446,838 Tallies Listed

Thurs, 11-3-56

BIRMINGHAM, Nov. 7 (AP)— Heavy voting on the presidential race established a new record for an Alabama general election, nearly complete returns showed Wednesday.

New Orleans, La.

P 9

The total of 446,838 with 2519 of 2887 boxes counted exceeded the turnout of 426,000 in the first Eisenhower-Stevenson contest of 1952.

Late afternoon rains prevented Tuesday's total from going nearer the state record of more than 590,000 cast in the 1954 Democratic primary.

The Alabama vote in the presidential election was: Stevenson 250,693; Eisenhower 177,862; independents 18,283.

Talk Two-Party

Happy Republican leaders were talking of launching a real two-party system in Alabama as they weighed their heavy vote.

President Eisenhower carried 10 of Alabama's 67 counties, including the big city ones of Jefferson (Birmingham), Montgom-

ery and Mobile. Surprisingly Ike's victory in Birmingham was won with help from labor districts which the Democrats had counted in their field.

"A Republican primary is definitely on the way," said Marvin Mostellar, Alabama Republican national committeeman who is a Mobile businessman. "Every effort will be made to build a two-party system throughout the state."

Sounds Similar Note

State GOP chairman Claude O. Vardaman sounded a similar note.

The Eisenhower vote didn't help three Republicans who opposed Democratic nominees for Congress. All went down in defeat. Even in Jefferson (Birmingham) county where Eisenhower led Adlai Stevenson by more than 4000 votes Democratic Rep. George Huddleston defeated his GOP candidate almost 2-1.

In voting on proposed amendments to the state constitution, voters rejected a proposal to enlarge the Legislature but approved two other statewide amendments authorizing hospital bond issues.

Negroes Claim Registration Denied At Montgomery

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 22. — (AP) — Complaints by three Negro women that the Montgomery County Board of Registrars refused to enroll them on voters' lists have been investigated by the FBI.

FBI Agent Spencer Robb confirmed Monday that an investigation had been made but refused to comment on it.

Commercial Appeal

Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford said one of the women was Susie McDonald, a plaintiff in the Federal Court suit that resulted last summer in a three-judge ruling that Montgomery city and Alabama state bus segregation laws are unconstitutional.

Memphis, Tenn.

That decision is on appeal to the United States Supreme Court. Montgomery's bus boycott in protest to segregated seating is in its 11th month.

Complain to U. S.—

Capital Negroes say vote registration refused

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Oct. 23 —(AP)—"My years are piled high, and I just wanted the privilege of voting for a president once before I die," a 78-year-old Negro minister's widow said yesterday.

"But they wouldn't tell us why we couldn't register."

THE CHAIRMAN of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars, Mrs. C. B. Willis, said the reason was that the widow and two other elderly Negro women "failed to satisfactorily complete the questionnaire required to be filled out by all who register."

FBI Special Agent Spencer Robb said an investigation had been made into a complaint in behalf of the three women. He refused further comment. In Washington, the Justice Department had no comment either, although an official confirmed receipt of a complaint.

Fred Hallford, special agent in charge of the Mobile FBI office, sad:

"The Federal Bureau of Investigation made a preliminary inquiry at the request of Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division of the Department of Justice."

Jo Ann Robinson, Negro woman who helped the three applicants, said she had "heard that a number of legal organizations have requested investigations of the Negro vote registration situation" in Montgomery. There are about 50,000 Negroes in this city.

IDENTIFICATION of the organizations was not available.

Circuit Solicitor William F. Thetford reported he had "examined the three refused questionnaires and based on the answers given, the Board of Registrars could not, under the laws, register the women involved.

Both Thetford and Mrs. Willis accused the federal government of trying to coerce local officials. Mrs. Willis said she had registered "hundreds and hundreds of Negro voters in the past several years. . . . We shall continue to treat members of both races equally, even though one race is backed by the U. S. Department of Justice and the other is not."

The widow, Louise Champney, together with Susie McDonald and Mattie C. Hamilton, said they tried to register July 6. Hearing no more of it by last month, they went back to the board to inquire.

THEY WERE TOLD then to come back in November, the woman said, but that would mean missing Nov. 6 voting. They were told registration facilities were crowded, "but there wasn't anyone there then," she said. "Then the woman said there would be a lot later and the place would be busy.

The women reported FBI agents talked to them last week. They would not indicate how a complaint might have been made in their behalf.

Mrs. Willis said yesterday facilities are adequate for a normal flow of registrations and become inadequate only when large numbers of persons seek registration at one time.

Susie McDonald was one of the plaintiffs in a federal suit that resulted in a three-judge panel's decision that Montgomery city and Alabama state bus segregation laws are unconstitutional. Montgomery's 10-month-old bus boycott by Negroes continues while that decision is on appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court.

THE QUESTIONAIRE WAS adopted in 1951 for Alabama. Among the questions are:

"Give a brief statement of the extent of your education and business experience.

"Name some of the duties and obligations of citizenship.

"Do you regard those duties and obligations as having priority over the duties and obligations you owe to any other secular organization when they are in conflict?"

Vote total, GOP set new marks for Alabama

The Republican vote in the Alabama general election passed 194,000 with only scattered boxes still uncounted Saturday.

With 2882 of 2887 boxes tabulated the vote was: President Eisenhower, 194,050; Adlai Stevenson, 277,396, and independents, 19,685.

Biggest ever

THE TOTAL OF 491,131 set a record for an Alabama general election, and Eisenhower's total was the biggest Republican vote in state history.

RESULTS OF OTHER ballot ing:

Amendment No. 1 (reapportionment)—For 128,466; against 222,217.

Amendment No. 2 (mental hospital bonds)—For 301,151; against 60,723.

Amendment No. 3 (tuberculosis hospitals and general sanitoria bonds)—For 244,329; against 78,102.

Amendment No. 4 (Walker County)—For 81,417; against 99,206.

Amendment No. 5 (Pike County)—For 76,257; against 97,767.

Amendment No. 6 (Colbert County)—For 83,356; against 97,684.

Amendment No. 7 (Tuscaloosa County)—For 116,594; against 73,200.

Amendment No. 8 (Gadsden tax)—For 50,296; against 140,233.

Ike popularity

EISENHOWER'S popularity with state voters failed to influence results of the three races where Democratic congressmen seeking reelection had Republican opposition. Results of those races:

Fourth District, 256 of 279 boxes —Rep. Kenneth Roberts (D) 30,342; Roy Banks (R) 11,092.

Eighth District, 132 of 311 boxes —Rep. Bob Jones (D) 26,564; Mrs. James G. Fortney (R) 5471.

Ninth District, 312 of 312 boxes —Rep. George Huddleston (D) 56,414; W. L. Longshore Jr. (R) 29,222.

Election aftermath—

Negro leaders disagree on who voted for whom

BY FRED TAYLOR
News staff writer

A Birmingham Negro Democratic leader today agreed with a Republican member of his race that a majority of Negro voters in Jefferson switched over to the GOP to help carry the county for President Eisenhower.

But Arthur Shores, Birmingham Negro attorney and president of the Progressive Democratic Club, refused to concede that as many as 75 per cent of the county's 7000 Negro voters lined up with Ike. He contends the Negro majority for the Republicans was little more than 50 per cent.

Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro lawyer and president of the Abraham Lincoln Republican Club, estimated that as many as three-fourths of the Negro voters backed the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

MOST OF THIS county's Negro voters supported Adlai Stevenson four years ago when Jefferson, along with Mobile and Montgomery, went Democratic. All three of these populous areas went Republican Tuesday.

Republican Adams said "the Negroes not only feel that the Eisenhower administration has done more for their cause, but they feel that having President Eisenhower continue as president is best for peace and prosperity."

"I definitely don't agree with Adams on his statement that the Eisenhower administration has done more for the Negro cause,' said Shores.

"MANY OF THE Negroes have been blinded by the 'civil rights' issue. They forget about the many benefits which came to them — and to white people — from the standpoint of legislation sponsored and passed by the Democrats. I refer to legislation for public housing, labor measures to help the Negro earn a more decent living, and social security."

Shores added that "even on 'civil rights,' the Negroes fared better under Democratic administrations."

SHORES SAID Republicans were 'extremely active" in seeking the Negro vote here, adding that the GOP brought in Barrington D. Parker, Washington Negro attorney, who campaigned several days in Birmingham and county areas for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

He said that his Progressive Democratic Club brought in Negro State Sen. James L. Watson of New York to address one Negro rally.

THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR., Negro Baptist preacher of Montgomery, was quoted by The Associated Press as saying that "from the talk I heard," most members of his race voted for Eisenhower in Montgomery County. King is president of Montgomery Improvement Assn. and leader in the long boycott against segregated city buses there.

Jefferson Sheriff Holt McDowell said that "from information coming to my office, there's no question but what a large majority of Negroes voted the Republican ticket in this county Tuesday."

In Alabama—

Post Herald
Tues. 11-6-56 P.1

State, National Issues Face Voters Today

Birmingham Ala.

BY ASSOCIATED PRESS

An estimated 450,000 Alabama voters will express their choice for president today and at the same time ratify or reject Gov James E. Folsom's plan to reapportion the Legislature.

Polls open at 8 a.m. throughout the state and close at 5 p.m. in rural communities, an hour later in the cities and at 7 p.m. in Jefferson County.

Folsom made a last-minute television swing through the state yesterday in an attempt to put the reapportionment amendment over, but he told reporters at Mobile it was "an uphill fight."

The proposal to reshuffle the Legislature for the first time since 1901 heads a list of eight suggested changes in the State Constitution. It would give each of Alabama's 67 counties a full-time state senator and increase the House membership from 106 to 152.

In the presidential election, the Democratic and Republican candidates for elector face a challenge from an independent ticket of candidates unpledged to any candidate.

The goal of the independents is to withhold the state's 11 electoral votes from both major parties and force them to bargain on the ticklish issue of civil rights.

Alabama's votes in the electoral college in 1948 went to the states rights ticket, but the electors that year were Democrats not independents.

The Republicans, who made their strongest showing in Alabama four years ago when President Eisenhower was elected, are predicting victory today despite the traditionally Democratic superiority in Alabama.

GOP State Chairman Claude Vardaman told a party rally recently, "we're winning the election and we're winning it here in Alabama."

Democratic Chairman Roy Mayhall scoffed at the claim. He predicted the Republicans will get fewer votes than they did in 1952 when Adlai Stevenson led Eisenhower 275,000 to 149,000.

The vote that year was the heaviest ever cast in a presidential election in Alabama. A turnout of 450,000 today would set a new record.

Besides the presidential race, the GOP is challenging the Democratic hold on three of the nine congressional seats from Alabama—in the Fourth, Eighth and Ninth Districts.

Post Herald

Republican Roy Banks of Pell City is running against Incumbent Rep. Kenneth Roberts in the Fourth; Mrs. James G. Fortney of Florence is opposing Rep. Robert E. Jones Jr., in the Eighth, and W. L. Longshore Jr., of Birmingham is the GOP candidate against Rep. George Huddleston Jr. in the Ninth.

Birmingham

Veteran Sen. Lister Hill, a Democrat, is unopposed for a fourth term along with Reps. Frank Boykin of the First District, George Grant of the Second, George Andrews of the Third, Albert Rains in the Fifth, Armistead Seldon Jr., in the Sixth, Carl Elliott in the Seventh.

Tues. 11-6-56

Likewise without opposition are Democratic nominees for two places on the State Supreme Court, one on the Court of Appeals and for President of the Public Service Commission.

P 4

The reapportionment amendment is the most controversial by far of the proposed changes in the state's organic law. If ratified, it would change the lineup in the Legislature for the first time since the Constitution was adopted 55 years ago.

Folsom made four television appearances yesterday morning in Mobile and returned to Montgomery for similar TV appeals. He was scheduled to wind up the eleventh-hour campaign in Birmingham.

The governor devoted much of his speaking time to renewed attacks on what he calls "them lyin' daily newspapers," most of which have opposed the pending reapportionment amendment.

Opponents have pegged their attacks largely on the grounds that the amendment isn't real reapportionment because it wouldn't divide the representation on a true population basis.

Before making his TV appearances in Mobile, Folsom was asked by newsmen if he thought the amendment would be ratified.

3+c ala

"Well," he replied, "I've got to say it'll pass. I will say this—it's an uphill fight. If we had waged a good campaign out in the branchheads for the last couple of months, I think there would be no doubt of its passing."

Of the remaining seven amendments, only two are of statewide interest.

No. 2 would authorize a four million dollar bond issue for mental hospitals and No. 3 provides two million dollars in bonds for general hospitals and tuberculosis sanitoria. Together, with federal matching, they would make possible a 25 million dollar hospital building program.

The other five amendments are purely local.

Herman Bentley Dies At Residence

Tuskegee News
Thurs. 12-6-56

W. Herman Bentley, of Notasulga, chairman of the Macon County Board of Registrars for the past several years, died Tuesday morning at his home after an illness of several months. He was 62 years old.

Tuskegee Ala.

Born in Columbus, Ga., Mr. Bentley lived in the Notasulga community for many years. He engaged in farming and was active in the social, political and business life of the communtiy.

Mr. Bentley was a member of the Masonic Lodge, the Woodmen of the World and the Antioch Methodist Church.

Funeral services were conducted at 3 p.m. Wednesday at Antioch Methodist Church, with the Rev. Randle A. Vanlandingham officiating. Burial was in the church cemetery, Corbitt's Funeral Home directing.

Active pallbearers were Bill Broach, Luther Pattillo, Howard Lynn, Joe Parker, P. H. Alsabrook and S. S. Humphries.

Members of the Masonic Lodge were honorary palbearers.

Surviving are the widow, Mrs. Lula A. Bentley; one son, Robert P. Bentley, both of Notasulga; two daughters Mrs. Alma B. Patterson, of Ozark, Ala., and Mrs. Gladys B. Gross, of Montgomery.

Civil Liberties Union Asks Probe Of Vote Rights

(ADVANCE) NEW YORK, N. Y. —The American Civil Liberties Union today called on the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights to conduct a "sweeping investigation" into the denial of voting rights to Negroes in the South.

Patrick Murphy Malin, ACLU executive director, wired Senator Thomas Hennings, chairman of the subcommittee, that "recent events in the South, especially in the state of Mississippi, clearly show that a large body of American citizens is being denied this fundamental right solely because of the color of their skin. This right has been infringed through intimidation and coercion and in several cases by the use of violence, resulting even in murder."

The full text of the ACLU statement follows:

"One of the major violations of constitutional rights is denial of the right to vote. The right to express a person's individual political choice is spelled out in the 15th Amendment to the Constitution which states that it cannot be abridged by the U S. or any state 'on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude' and that 'the Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation .clearly show that a large body of American citizens is being denied this fundamental right solely because of the color of their skin. This right has bee ninfringed through intimidation and coercion and in several cases by the use of violence, resulting even in murder.

"The American Civil Liberties Union urges that the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights schedule as one of its primary obpectives a sweeping investigation of the denial of voting rights in the states concerned, with specific reference to t e use of violence to deny Negro citizens their rights. While the 15th Admendment states Congress' power to guarantee voting rights, the proposed invertigation should encompass what changes may be necessary to strengthen this power and the administration of t e present laws."

GOVERNOR HOPEFULS SHUN NEGRO VOTES

Commercial Appeal

Arkansas Candidates Back Segregation Move

Mon. 5-21-56

SCHOOLS ARE BIG ISSUE

Memphis, Tenn.

By KENNETH JOHNSON

From The Commercial Appeal Little Rock Bureau

P. 19

LITTLE ROCK, May 20.—The Arkansas Negro at the moment appears to be in a political "no man's land."

With another campaign summer coming up, the Negro voter doesn't yet have a single gubernatorial candidate who is making a play for his vote. If anything, most of the five candidates appear to have taken steps to "alienate" his support.

That within itself bespeaks the heavy white opposition which has developed in Arkansas to the Supreme Court's rulings outlawing segregated schools.

Faubus OK's Proposals

Gov. Orval Faubus has come out endorsing two proposals for the November general election ballot aimed against integration.

One of Governor Faubus' challengers, James Johnson of Crossett, has taken an even more extreme stand. Mr. Johnson heads the white Citizens Council of Arkansas, and also is sponsoring a proposal to block integration.

Jim Snoddy of Alma, another gubernatorial candidate, hasn't yet announced a platform but has taken pains to point out one thing—that he is "for segregation."

The other two candidates are yet to make their positions known. They are S. K. Prosser of Conway and Ben F. Pippin of Little Rock.

The segregation issue apparently is going to be a top one, if not the one big issue, in the approaching campaign for Governor.

Where, then, does that leave the Negro voter?

Wait, See Attitude

A Negro spokesman Saturday, preferring to withhold his name, said he thought the Negro voters were at the moment taking a "wait and see" attitude. He said in the final analysis, it might boil down to a question of "degrees," that is, of voting for the candidate who took the most "moderate" view on the segregation question.

The present situation is a sharp contrast from recent election years in Arkansas. Only a few summers ago, the question of who would get the Negro vote was a big issue.

Cites Two Results

A former participant in gubernatorial battles said Saturday one effect of the anti-integration stands being taken by this year's gubernatorial candidates could result in two things:

One, a lot of Negro voters are going to "take a walk" when the July 31 primary rolls around. and two, some of them are going to "walk back" to the Republican Party.

That spokesman also didn't want to be quoted by name, but he said some Little Rock Negro leaders had been telling him privately of late that unless the situation changes, they may not vote at all in the Democratic primaries.

Governor Faubus got substantial Negro support in the 1954 election, as indicated by returns from some of the individual wards where Negro registration was known to be heavy.

But many Negro leaders now are known to be "bitter" toward the present Governor for his stand on the segregation question.

Remmel Runs Well

Governor Faubus' Republican opponent two years ago was former Mayor Pratt Remmel of Little Rock, who made the best showing any Republican governor nominee ever has made in Arkansas. There are some who believe Mr. Remmel again will be the Republican nominee this year.

Some of Governor Faubus' advisers appear to realize he has "alienated" Negro support. But one, commenting on this recently, pointed out that so have the other candidates.

This particular aide held to the view that whereas Governor Faubus may be losing Negro support for his recent advocacy of two anti-integration measures, "the other candidates aren't in much better shape."

In past elections, the Negro vote generally has been looked upon as a "bloc" vote—that is, one candidate could usually count on practically all of the Negro ballots.

But at the moment the situation appears to boil down to this—the Arkansas Negro vote this summer probably will be lighter than usual. It also probably will be "split" more than it has ever been.

2 PARTIES ASSUME ARKANSAS RESULT

Times P. 21-C

Democrats Act Confident and G. O. P. Gives Them Cause to Be More So

Wed. 10-12-56

New York

Special to The New York Times.

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Oct. 11—Republicans are seeking to elect a United States Senator, a Governor, an Attorney General and a member of Congress in traditionally Democratic Arkansas in this year's general election.

Democratic nominees are acting as if they have no opposition. And their Republican opponents are campaigning as if they believe the Democrats.

Democratic Gov. Orval Faubus, seeking a second term after winning renomination in a bitter primary, is opposed by Republican Roy Mitchell, a capable yet colorless Hot Springs attorney.

The 53-year-old Republican has limited his campaigning to a few talks before small gatherings, one television speech, and a hand-shaking tour of part of the state. But in none of his activities has there been evidence of enthusiasm for his candidacy.

Governor Faubus has said he plans no campaigning of any sort. It would be a major political upset if Mr. Mitchell won.

There is evidence the Republican candidates will receive a heavy Negro vote. It is known that Negro leaders are campaigning for the Republican nominees in eastern Arkansas, an area with a heavy Negro population. State leaders in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People are also among the G. O. P. campaign workers.

Governor Faubus is an outspoken segregationist.

Mr. Mitchell has said: "The United States Supreme Court held that segregation is unconstitutional. As this is now the law of the land, there appears no valid alternative than to direct our efforts toward gradual integration."

Fulbright Out of State

Opposing Democratic Senator J. William Fulbright is a Harrison attorney, A. Ben Henley. Mr. Henley has not been an active campaigner. Mr. Fulbright has been out of the state for weeks and apparently plans no campaign.

The Third District Democratic Representative James W. Trimble, is opposed by William Spicer of Fort Smith, owner of a chain of drive-in theatres.

The state's major concentration of Republican strength is in Mr. Trimble's district.

A Batesville attorney, Charles Cole, is opposing the Democratic nominee for Attorney General, Bruce Bennett, Eldorado attorney.

FBI reports on vote fraud in colored area

a pro-American

Sat. 12-15-56

Baltimore Md.

WEST MEMPHIS, Ark.—(ANP)—An investigation into irregularities in the conduct of the Nov. 6 presidential election in a predominantly colored precinct here was completed last week by the FBI and the reports have been forwarded to Washington.

P. 2

The probe, conductd in Crittonden County, dealt with a report made by the West Memphis Daily Sun to the effect that one voter out of three in Ward 4 South had not voted, while official returns showed a 97.9 percent vote in the precinct.

A.M. Bryant, special agent in charge of the Little Rock office of the FBI, said the information was sent to Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III of the Justice Department. Olney will determine whether a full scale investigation of the election is warranted. His decision is expected in about 10 days.

The preliminary investigation was made after Bob Chowning, editor of the West Memphis Daily Sun, charged irregularities in ward 4 South here. Chowning claims he discovered discrepancies in the vote count after conducting a door to door canvas in the precinct.

34e 1956

B'nai B'rith Urges Uniform Vote Law, Ballot for D.C.

Blue File 1-2
Sun 11-13-52
Washington D.C.
34e

A three-point program for a uniform national election law yesterday was urged by B'nai B'rith at its 113th annual meeting here.

The Jewish service organization adopted a resolution calling for permanent personal registration, absentee voting privileges for those away from home or ill on election day and reciprocal provisions among the States to protect the voting rights of those who change residence during election year.

The organization also urged voting privileges for the District of Columbia and the elimination of literacy tests and the poll tax, "which drastically reduce voting percentages in the south."

Another resolution stated that United Nations' efforts to stabilize peace in the Middle East must include insuring secure boundaries for all nations of the area and free passage for all ships through the Suez Canal.

SAN FRANCISCO—A majority of California's estimated 156,000 Negro voters will cast their ballots for Eisenhower and Nixon on Nov. 6, in the opinion of Dr. Paul T. Robinson, M. D., Richmond, and Mrs. Vivian Osborne Marsh, Berkeley, two leaders of the Citizens for Eisenhower campaign. Both are accredited among colored voters as being political analysts.

While still unhappy with the tempo of readjustment for his his race over the past four years, Dr. Robinson stated, "The colored voter finds his clearest ray of hope with the Eisenhower and Nixon administration.

"The minority voter is mindful of the Southern alignment of Stevenson and Kefauver and questions the sincerity of Mr. Stevenson on vital issues affecting the welfare of the Negro."

SIMILARLY, MRS. MARSH added, "The Dixie block and its record on civil rights is proving the dominant political influence affecting the Negro vote. Leaders in the Dixie block have endeavored to bottle up our civil rights, particularly in relation to jobs and education.

"Personally, I don't see how anyone can vote Democratic when grown men—members of that party—throw rocks at litle children."

Dr. Robinson, a resident of 1307 Kelsey St., Richmond, and a practicing general surgeon, was active in Louisiana politics prior to coming to California four years ago. Here he has identified himself with committee work on behalf of Eisenhower and Nixon.

Mrs. Marsh served as secretary of the state Republican convention group headed by Lieutenant Governor Harold Powers and aided in organizing the Alameda County Republican League. She resides at 2838 Grant St., Berkeley.

34e 1956

COLORADO

Voter's Guide

Colorado Restricts Mail Registration

Post + Times Herald
Fri. 9-14-56
Washington, D.C.

(One of a series.)

Only members of the Armed rFoces and physically disabled persons can register by mail in Colorado for the coming Presidential election. However, a member of an absentee voter's family rsiding at the for him.

P. 29

Registration, which is permanent, but canceled for failure to vote in the preceding General election, must be made by Oct. 22. Absentee ballots, allowed all qualified voters who will be absent from their county of residence on election day, must be returned by 5 p. m. Nov. 6.

Colorado voters will elect a United States Senator, four United States Representatives, a Governor and part of their State Legislature.

Further information may be obtained from Mrs. Clarence E. Fisher, chairman of the voters service bureau of the D. C. League of Women Voters,

in the lobby of the Star Building, 11th and Pennsylvania ave. nw.* (telephone DIstrict 7-4510).

Saturday: Connecticut)

34e 1956

Voter's Guide

Post + Times-Herald
Washington, D.C. 11-A
Aug 9.16-54

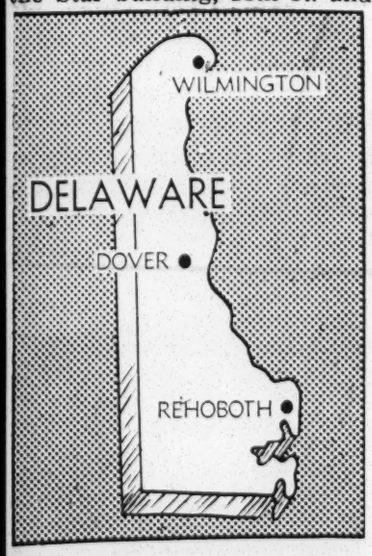
Personal Registration Required in Delaware

All Delaware residents must register in person this year to vote in the November Presidential election, because the state is having complete re-registration of voters.

Registration, which will be permanent unless a person fails to vote in two consecutive elections, can be made Oct. 6 or Oct. 20. Absentee voting is allowed. Deadline for receiving voted ballots is noon on Election Day.

Delaware will elect one United States representative, a governor and 42 members to its State Legislature.

Further information is available from Mrs. Clarence E. Fisher, chairman of the voters service of the D. C. League of Women Voters, in the lobby of the Star building, 11th st. and



Pennsylvania ave. nw. Telephone: DIstrict 7-4510.)

Monday: Kansas

Elected Elsewhere

Post & Times Herald

Voteless D. C. To Get New City Council

Thurs, 11-8-56

Washington, D.C.

1:1-b

By Richard L. Lyons
Staff Reporter

A new City Council for Washington was elected Tuesday without any of its citizens casting a vote.

Membership of the House and Senate District Committees, which do the basic legislating for this voteless town, won't be known until Congress convenes in January. But there are bound to be changes from last session.

Biggest turnover traditionally has been in the nine-member Senate committee which is a first stepping stone for freshmen. With all the high-priced state and municipal administrative talent coming in as first-term senators, Washington could find itself being run by more top-echelon experts than any other city in the nation.

Most new Sentors serve a brief hitch on the District Committee, then move as soon as possible to better assignments. Exceptions have been Chairman Matthew M. Neely (D-W. Va.), ranking Republican J. Glenn Beall (R-Md.) and Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.). All stayed on by choice and are expected to be back next year. Most of the other six probably will want to move into vacant blue chip committee spots.

When Senate leaders sit down to assign backbenchers to the District Committee, they can choose among: Frank J. Lausche, five-term Governor of Ohio and former Mayor of Cleveland; Joseph S. Clark Jr., former Mayor of Philadelphia; Jacob K. Javits, four-term Congressman and Attorney General of New York; Herman E. Talmadge, former Governor of Georgia.

Frank Church (D-Idaho), 32-year-old "baby" of the Senate, would be a likely District Committee candidate. So would John A. Carroll (D-Colo.) if Sen. Gordon Allott (R-Colo.) gets off. It goes against Senate tradition for both Senators from a state to serve on the same committee. Three former Senators—John Sherman Cooper (R-Ky.), Chapman Revercomb (R?W. Va.) and J. Strom Thurmond (D-S. C.)—may escape because of previous Senate service.

House District Committee membership is more stable. Washington area Congressmen usually stay on the 25-member committee to deal with area problems and to protect their people from District tax legislation. A big nucleus of Southern Democrats has stayed on for years, apparently to save the Nation from District home rule.

There are two House District Committee vacancies. Rep. Arthur G. Klein (D-N. Y.) and Rep. Woodrow Wilson Jones (D-N. C.) retired from Congress. Some others may drop off as they did two years ago. But there's no telling who the new members will be. When six new Democratic members were appointed in 1955, all but one had served at least two terms in the House.

D. C. Absentee Votes 20 Pct. Over 1952

Post & Times Herald

Wed, 10-31-56

P. 11-a

Washington D.C.

An estimated 20 to 25 per cent increase over 1952 in the number of absentee ballots sent from the District of Columbia has created a land-office business for voters services here.

"It's the heaviest voting I've ever seen," commented Ethel Y. Black, head of the voters service bureau of the Democratic National Committee. She declined to estimate the number of ballots handled, but said 1000 were processed last Friday and Saturday alone. Voting is very heavy in New York, Connecticut, Delaware, California, Kentucky and New Jersey, she reported.

The Republican State Committee in and for the District of Columbia estimated that it has handled 117,000 to 118,000 requests for help, approximately a 20 per cent increase over 1952.

Mrs. Clarence E. Fisher, chairman of the voters service of the D. C. League of Women Voters estimates a 25 per cent increase in ballots, with voting especially heavy for Oregon, New York and Illinois. The League office has answered over 10,000 inquiries.

Although registration is now closed to all but a few rural areas, absentee voters still have some deadlines to meet for their votes to count on Nov. 6.

The following states have early deadlines for the return of voted ballots: Oregon, Oct. 31; Ohio, Nov. 2; New York, Nov. 2; and Florida, Nebraska, Idaho, Iowa and Kansas, all Nov. 5.

All other states require ballots be returned on or before Election Day, except for the following: California, Nov. 22; Missouri, Nov. 7; Rhode Island, Nov. 19; Washington, Nov. 21; Nebraska, Nov. 15. In the foregoing states, ballots must be postmarked no later than Election Day, with the exception of Nebraska, which has a Nov. 5 mailing deadline.

34e 1956

Negro Candidates Lead In Washington, D. C. Voting

WASHINGTON 1-(ANP)-- Negro candidates for delegates to the National Political conventions from the District of Columbia were leading al other candidates on both the Republican and Democratic slates at press time.

Dr. Margaret Butcher, a member of the D. C. Board of Education and professor of English at Howard University, was leading all other candidates when the last tally was posted late Wednesday.

Judge James A. Cobb was reported as having polled the largest number of votes on the Republican slate, according to the last count.

The greater part of the nearly 60,000 registered voters of the District of Columbia turned out to the 69 polling places in Washington to cast their first vote. It has been 82 years since citizens of Washington have had the opportunity to vote in any capacity.

In this very unusual primary. District citizens did not have an opportunity to vote directly for the Presidential candidates. Their votes were confined to candidates for delegates an dalternates tothe national conventions.

A number of Negro delegates were pledged to Kefauver. a number to Stevenson and some to the Republican party.

The ballots contained more than 100 names of candidates, 12 were candidates for delegates and 12 for alternates on the Kefauver slate, the same number were pledged to Stevenson and to Eisenhower. In addition there were several unpledged delegates running as independents. Then there were candidates for Committeemen in the District, Committeewomen and alternate committeemen. There were also 36 names of candidates for the District Central Committee.

Out of this group each voter was asked to vote for. 12 delegates and 12 alternates, 26 members for the Central Committee, a committeeman and an alternate.

Counting of the ballots began immediately at the close of the polls at 8:00 p. m. and continued counting. It is not expected that the count will be finished for three or four days.

The first count showed Stevenson supporters ahead, and they had remained in the lead at press time.

In commenting on the D. C. primary, Senator Kefauver wired from Florida that he entered the race with some misgivings. He felt, however, that Mrs. Roosevelt's appearance in Washington, in support of Stevenson, on the eve of election was the decisive factor in persuading the undecided voter to support her candidate.

Injunctions Considered To Protect Negro Vote

Attorney General Brownell has made it clear to the Senate Judiciary Committee the administration hopes to make the injunction power of the civil courts an important weapon to protect the voting rights of Negroes if Congress approves its civil rights program.

As the Senate committee began hearings yesterday, Mr. Brownell expressed grave doubt as to the wisdom of passing new criminal laws in the "sensitive and delicate area of civil rights" at this time.

He pointed out that criminal prosecution can only be resorted to after offenses have been committed, whereas injunctions could be applied for in advance when there is reason to believe restraints may be applied to voting.

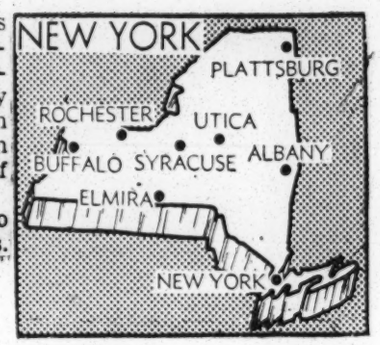
The administration is asking for a commission to investigate infringements in the field of civil rights, broader authority to use the civil courts and appointment of an assistant attorney general to head a new civil rights division in the department.

Senator Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, complained that his constitutional rgihts subcommittee got no co-operation from the Justice Department during the past year, while it was considering four other civil rights bills. The Senator also contended the administration's recent program is the first it has brought forward in more than three years in office.

D.C.

Mr. Brownell replied that his department has been busy during that time conducting litigation which has paved the way for ending school segregation nationally and segregation in eating places in the District of Columbia.

The subcommittee fixed no time for resuming the hearings.



Voter's Guide

New York Allows Mail Registration

(One of a series.)

For the first time the New York state resident whose duties, occupation or business require him to be outside his home state may register by mail for the November election.

Servicemen need not register. State-wide deadline for central registration is Sept. 20. Local registration closes Oct. 13. It is permanent in all communities under 5000 and throughout some counties.

Absentee voting is allowed. Deadline for returning ballots is Nov. 6 for servicemen and Nov. 2 at 5 p. m. for all others. New Yorkers will elect a United States Senator, 43 United States Representatives and 206 members to the State Legislature.

Further information is available from Mrs. Clarence E. Fisher, chairman, voters service, D. C. League of Women Voters, in the lobby of the Star Building, 11th st. and Pennsylvania ave. nw. (Telephone: DIstrict 7-4510.)

44,000 Votes Predicted in D. C. Prima

Post & Times Herald
Washington, D.C.

Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin predicted last night that 44,000 voters will turn out for the District primary election on May 1. P. 64

He offered his prediction of a 75 per cent turn out on the WWDC radio program "Report to the People." If it is borne out and all cast their ballots without too many mixups, it will be because the Board of Elections' staff has been working a 25-hour day to set it up.

The board has created a voting list and voting machinery from zero. It was given only two weeks between the registration deadline and election day to do the toughest part of its job. Sec. 4-22-56

The board had to divide the city into voting precincts, find a suitable polling place in each and tell the 59,000 registered voters where to vote. It couldn't decide any of that finally until last week when registration closed and the board knew the citywide distribution of voters.

Much of this work has now been done. The above map shows the breakdown of the city into 68 voting precincts. Listed below are the polling places in each precinct. Voters must ba et the polling place in the precinct where they reside.

The board plans to send cards to every registered voter next week telling him in which precinct he should vote.

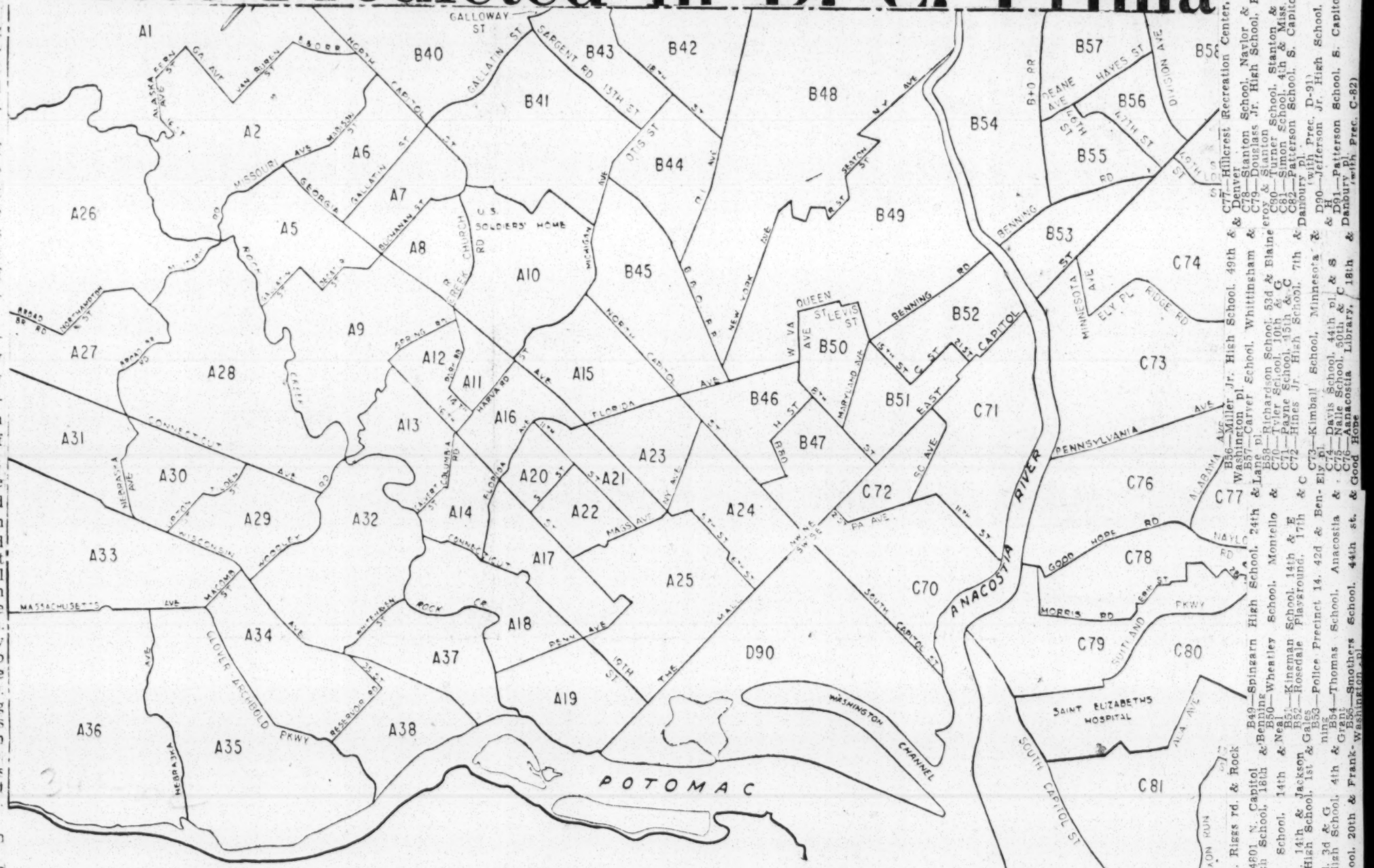
Polls will be open May 1 from 8 a. m. to 8 p. m.

Because of the length of the ballot, the board is making arrangements to let 16 persons vote simultaneously at each place. Secrecy will be provided by placing big cardboard partitions—like those in egg crates—on top of long tables.

Both parties will elect voting delegates to the presidential conventions and party officials.

Democrats will have to work harder than Republicans to vote. Their ballot contains 96 names and two questions—on home rule, and whether the delegates should cast their six votes as a unit or by individuals if they differ.

The Democratic ballot is laid out in two columns about 20 inches long. The Republican ballot is half that length and contains only 45 names.



This map shows the precincts for the May 1 party elections. Letters indicate sections of the city—Northwest, A; Northeast, B; Southeast, C, and Southwest, D. See list of places below.

Names are listed on each ballot alphabetically by office. The voter cannot tell from the official ballot which Democratic delegate candidates are for Kefauver or Stevenson, or which Republican candidates are backed by or opposed to the District party organization. No presidential candidates are listed on either ballot.

The voter will be told who's who by sample ballots which the factions will distribute. Voters may take the samples into the voting booth.

The Board of Elections has devised sealed cardboard ballot boxes. It plans to substitute new boxes in each voting place at 5 p. m. to get a head start on the long counting job. About 700 persons have been employed to check voters in, hand out ballots, handle crises and count the vote.

Following is the list of places where District voters will cast their ballots in the May 1 party elections.

Letters on the precinct designation indicate sections of the city All Northwest precincts contain the letter A; B is Northeast; C is Southeast; D is Southwest. In numbering the precincts, the Board of Elections held back some numbers to provide room for new precincts as registration increases in the future.

A1—Takoma School, Piney Br. & Dahlia
A2—Coolidge High School, 5th & Tuckerman
A5—West School, Farragut betw. 13th & 14th
A6—Truesdell School, 8th & Ingraham
A7—Barnard School, Decatur bet. 4th & 5th
A8—Petworth School, 8th & Shepherd
A9—Roosevelt High School, 13th & Upshur
A10—Park View School, Warder & Newton
A11 Monroe School, Columbia near Georgia
A12—Johnson Annex to Bell School, 16th bet Irving & Park
A13—Mt. Pleasant Library, 16th & Lamont
A14—Adams School, 19th & Calif.
A15—Mott School, 4th & W
A16—Banneker Recreation Center, Georgia & Euclid
A17—Ross Armiral Annex No. 1, 1730 R
A18—Stevens School, 21st bet. K & L
A19—Grant School, G bet. 21st & 22d
A20—Cardozo High School, 13th & Clifton
A21—John L. Young Playground 10th & R
A22—Berret Admiral Annex No. 2, 14th & Q
A23—Bundy School, 420 O
A24—Terrel Jr. High School, 1st & Pierce
A25—Thompson School, 12th & L
A26—Lafayette School, Broad Br. rd. & Northampton
A27—Chevy Chase Community Center, Connecticut & Northampton
A28—Cleveland Pk. Branch Library, Connecticut & Macomb
A29—John Eaton School, 34th & Lowell
A30—Murch School, 36th & Ellicott
A31—Wilson High School, Nebraska & Chesapeake
A32—Oyster School, 29th & Calvert
A33—Janney School, Wisconsin & Albermarle
34—Western High School, 35th & R
A35—Fire House, MacArthur & Reservoir
A36—Key School, Hurst Terr. & Dana Pl.
37—Georgetown Branch Library, R st. & Wisconsin
A38—Georgetown Playground, 34th & O
B40—Keene School, Rigg rd. & Rock Creek Ch. rd.
B41—Fire House, 4801 N. Capitol
B42—Taft Jr. High School, 16th & Perry
B43—Bunker Hill School, 14th & Irving
B44—Slowe School, 14th & Jackson
B45—Langley Jr. High School, 1st & Gales
B46—Logan School, 3d & G
B47—Stuart Jr. High School, 4th & G
B48—Lanedon School, 20th & Franklin
B49—Spingarn High School, 24th & Lane pl.
B50—Wheatley School, Montello & Neal
B51—Kingman School, 53d & Blaine
B52—Rosedale Playground, 17th & Benning
B53—Police Precinct 14, 42d & Benning
B54—Thomas School, 44th st. & Good Hope
B55—Smothers School, 44th & Division
B56—Miller Jr. High School, 49th & Denver
B57—Carver School, Whittingham & Lane pl.
C70—Richardson School, 53d & Blaine
C71—Tyler School, 10th & G
C72—Payne School, 15th & C
C73—Hines Jr. High School, 7th & Pennsylvania
C74—Davis School, 44th pl. & Ely pl.
C75—Nalle School, 50th & C
C76—Anacostia Library, 18th & Good Hope
C77—Hillcrest Recreation Center, 32d & Denver
C78—Stanton School, Navlor & Ala.
C79—Douglass Jr. High School, Pomeroy & Stanton
C80—Turner School, Stanton & Ala.
C81—Simon School, 4th & Miss.
C82—Patterson School, S. Capitol & H
D90—Jefferson Jr. High School, 7th & Danbury pl.
D91—Patterson School, S. Capitol & Danbury Pl. (with Prec. C-82)

34e 1956

D.C.

Voter Registrations Boosted to 59,000

Evening Star P. 13-A

5,300 Citizens Sign Up Here On Final Day

By JOHN V. HORNER

Sun. 4-1-56 Washington

An amazing turnout of 5,300 citizens yesterday pushed the District's voter registration total to approximately 59,000 for the May 1 election.

The books are now closed and the Board of Elections struggled today with the immense job of determining where each qualified voter will cast his ballot two weeks from today.

The city tentatively is divided into 72 precincts, which means that an average of 820 voters will be grouped in each.

It is expected that polling places will be set up in school buildings, so voters can cast ballots at convenient points in home neighborhoods.

Turnout Seen Significant

Robert E. McLaughlin, president of the Board of Commissioners, and Newell W. Ellison, chairman of the Board of Elections, expressed gratification at the unexpectedly large registration. The most optimistic estimates for this first election in 83 years had been 40,000.

Commissioner McLaughlin and Mr. Ellison thanked the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the League of Women Voters and the press for parts played in stimulating voter interest.

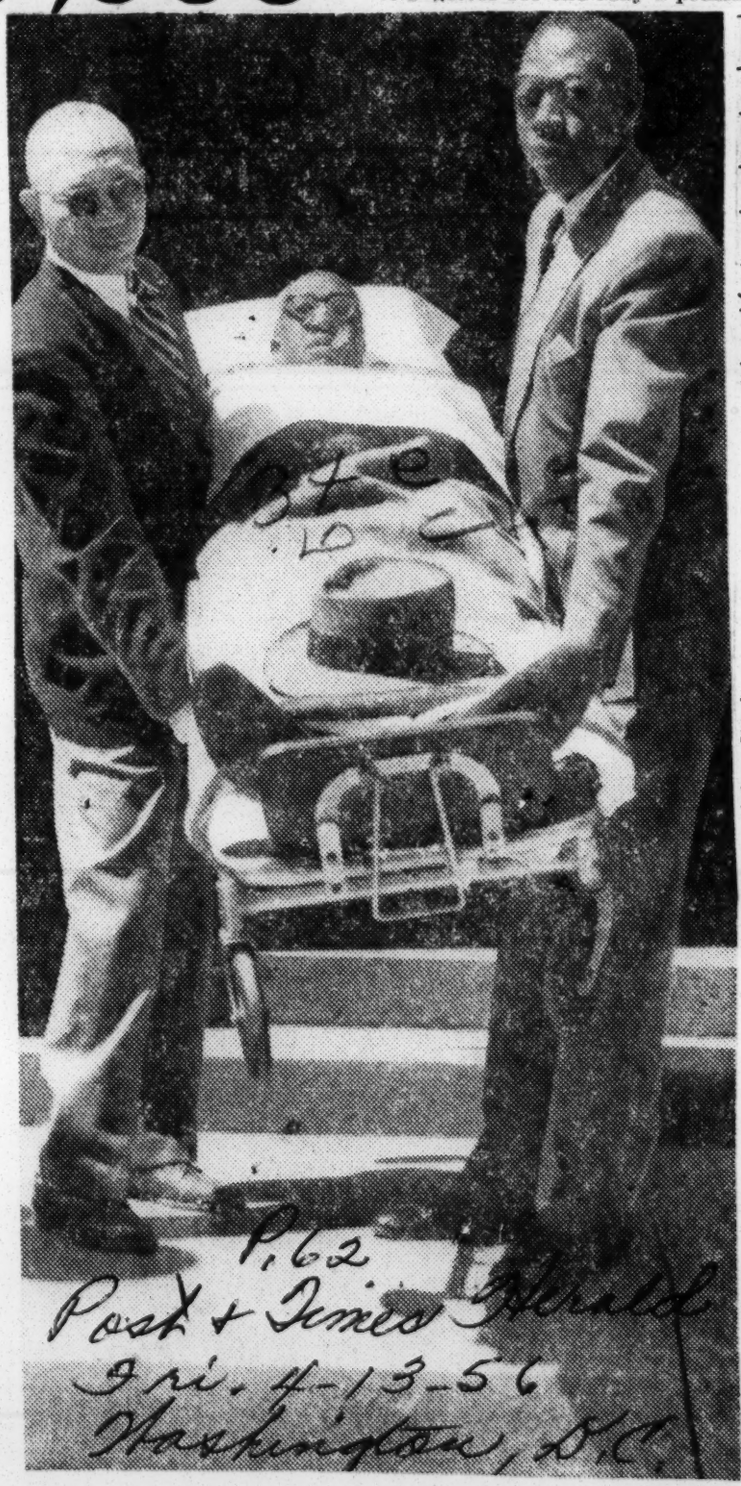
Mr. McLaughlin said the big registration was significant. He said it was not merely a turnout of partisan zealots but a community-wide movement.

Latecomers Jam Corridors

Chairman Ellison expressed special thanks, on behalf of himself and fellow board members Arnold Levy and West A. Hamilton, for the services performed by Attorney Sturgis Warner, board consultant: Daniel F. Noll, board secretary; the latter's chief deputy, Mrs. Virginia Cox, and Mrs. Catherine Connor, another assistant.

Registration facilities were tripled for the heavy load at yesterday's registration deadline. Corridors of the District Building were clogged all day with latecomers. Promptly at 4:30 p.m., the line was cut and the last registration was cleared just 35 minutes later.

The final entry in the registry was the name of Police Pvt. Allen Roosevelt Smith, 24, colored, of 3085 Clinton street N.E., a Republican. The first registrant, in a ceremony several months ago, also was a Republican: Samuel Spencer, then chairman of the Board of Commissioners.



The Rev. Daniel H. Sturdevant, associate minister of the First Baptist Church of Marshall Heights, is carried into the District Building by Thomas L. Jones and M. G. Hall to register for the May 1 primary elections.

P. 62 Post + Times Herald Fri. 4-13-56 Washington, D.C.

D.C.'s Vote By Precincts Fouled Up In Counting

Post and Times Herald 4-15 Thurs. 5-31-56 Washington

Election Officials Now Unable to Get Complete Record of Neighborhood Vote

By Grace Bassett
Staff Reporter

District election officials will be unable to complete a precinct-by-precinct count of votes in the May 1 primary.

An undetermined number of tally sheets, each with 100 votes, carry no record of the precincts where the votes were taken, according to Daniel F. Noll, executive secretary of the District Board of Elections.

Under pressure from political parties for the figures, Noll is due to report to the Board next week the number of precincts in which a complete tally can be expected. He set the votes unrecorded by precinct at less than 3 per cent. But all tally sheets have not been checked for precinct numbers, he said.

The foulup came in hectic days of counting by crews of volunteers the week after the election.

Workers tallying candidates' votes were to enter either a ballot box number or a precinct number on tally sheets. Some numbers apparently weren't entered. Sheets with only precinct numbers were confused because a few precincts had four ballot boxes.

George L. Hart, local Republican State Committee chairman, said precinct totals would be "significant" to his party.

"We've got to know where we are weak and where we are strong," he said.

But he added that area voting trends could be traced easily without totals from each of the city's 69 precincts.

Neibhborhood voting habits should be studied before fall, Hart explained. Republicans now are at work setting up a permanent organization in 69 precincts. Before this year, the party had divided the city into 43 precincts for strictly Republican elections.

"By August, we'll be picking the people to head precinct workers," he said. "There's where precinct figures will count— we want our strongest people in our weakest precincts."

Democratic party chief A. L. Wheeler said figures would be "helpful, but not vital."

He said the District Democrats would keep at work the precinct organizations set up for the primary. Generally, the Democratic Central Committee knows where its voters are, Wheeler said.

Democrats out-registered Republicans, about 31,500 to 26,-50, for the primary. Every precinct west of Rock Creek Park was Republican, and eastward more Democrats voted than Republicans.

This is an inconclusive gauge to political areas, however, because not all eligible voters registered. Thousands of Washingtonians retain voting rights in the states.

REPUBLICAN LEAFLET ROUGHLY DENOUNCED

GOP Bid For Negro Vote Is Likened To Red Way

BOOMERANG PREDICTED

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 21.—Republican efforts to woo the Northern Negro vote were denounced Thursday by a leader of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies, a 27-year-old group that includes more than 100 civic, fraternal and patriotic organizations.

Mrs. W. D. Leetch of Washington, a "lifelong Republican" and daughter of a former Republican governor of Maine, said propaganda being mailed to Negroes by the Republican National Committee is "outrageous."

'Sinister Business'

She said she was "shocked" when she opened an envelope and read the material—apparently mailed to her by mistake..

"I am indignant and outraged," she said. "This stuff follows the communist printing style.

"I wouldn't have been surprised if I had received it from the Communist Party. But to get it from Len Hall (National Republican chairman) and the Republican National Committee is really shocking.

"It's sinister business . . . and I predict it will boomerang. I am indignant over it, and I feel sure hundreds of thousands of others will be, too."

'Always Boomerangs'

Mrs. Leetch, daughter of the late Maine Gov. Nelson Dingley, was particularly angered by a leaflet saying:

"When you feed the head of a dog, you nourish the whole body. Remember, when you vote for a Democratic senator, representative or alderman in New York, Chicago, Detroit . . . or elsewhere . . . you vote to make Eastland and the Southern racebaiters chairmen of the important committees in Congress."

"If I had a chance to interview Len Hall," Mrs. Leetch said, "I would say it's just too bad anybody feeds your head. And I'd say any self-respecting Republican would have the same reaction.

"I'll bet he gets plenty of mail. No one can do a thing like this and get off scot free. It always boomerangs."

A VOTE FOR VOTELESS D. C.

Democratic platform, 1952: "We favor immediate home rule * * * for the District of Columbia."

Republican platform, 1952: "We favor self-government * * * for the residents of the nation's capital."

President Eisenhower's State of the Union message, 1953: "Here in the District of Columbia serious attention should be given to * * * a system to provide an effective voice in local self-government."

President Eisenhower's State of the Union message, 1954: "The time is long overdue for * * * applying the principle of local self-government to the nation's capital. I urge the Congress to move promptly * * *."

President Eisenhower's State of the Union message, 1955: "I renew my request that the principle of self-government be extended and the right of suffrage granted to the citizens of the District of Columbia."

President Eisenhower's State of the Union message, 1956: The above sentence repeated verbatim.

In 1953 the Supreme Court removed any doubt about the constitutionality of home rule for the District of Columbia. The Senate passed the latest of its home rule bills on June 29, 1955, by vote of 59 to 15. That measure is now stuck in the House District Committee, where it will doubtless be pigeonholed to death, as others have been, unless it is blasted out by discharge petition.

It isn't pleasant to say it, but one of the main reasons why a modern home rule bill has never seen the light of day in the House is the unreasoning fear that Washington's large Negro population might control local government in case suffrage were granted. That is an unworthy reason as well as an ill-founded one. The pending bill would, in the words of its preamble, "restore to the inhabitants of the District of Columbia the powers of local self-government which are a basic privilege of all American citizens," and relieve Congress of "the burden of legislating upon purely local District matters." Those objectives are highly desirable, and we hope the discharge petition filed by Representative Staggers of West Virginia will this time be successful

VETERANS' BILL PASSES HOUSE

364-51 Vote Follows Decision to Kill It

WASHINGTON, June 27 (AP)—The House, after hectic debate, today passed and sent to the Senate a bill to increase veterans pensions and extend special benefits to World War I veterans—even those who are not disabled.

The 364-51 roll-call vote came in a topsy-turvy session that saw the House decide at one point to kill the bill. This decision was quickly reversed, however, and the measure was voted along to an uncertain election year future.

In addition to increasing the pensions of veterans who are rated permanently and totally disabled, the bill would provide $90-a-month pensions for all World War I veterans at age 65 who come within specified income limits.

Defect in Measure

Opponents succeeded in knocking from the bill, by a parliamentary maneuver, all provisions for boosting nonpension benefits to veterans with service-incurred disability and to widows and dependents of veterans.

This was done in an effort to ruin the measure's chances of passing the Senate and winning approval from President Eisenhower.

Chairman Teague (D-Tex) of the House Veterans Affairs Committee said any bill that did not give priority to veterans disabled because of military service would be rejected by the Senate or vetoed by Eisenhower, even in an election year.

'Proof Not Forgotten'

J. Addington Wagner, national commander of the American Legion, termed the action on World War I pensions "dramatic proof that the nation has not forgotten or forsaken its defenders."

He said he is now asking the Veterans Affairs Committee to approve separate legislation to increase compensation payments to veterans with service - connected disability and to their widows and dependents.

Teague said he may summon his committee for a meeting on these proposals next week.

Still Increasing

318,000 Register to Vote In D. C. Suburban Areas

Election officials in nearby Maryland and Virginia have reported a dramatic increase in voter registrations over the last three weeks of intensive "get-out-the-vote" drives.

Latest available figures show some 318,000 voters registered for the Nov. 6 election in suburban Maryland and Northern Virginia. There were 270,000 in 1952.

Registrars in Alexandria and Falls Church and in Prince Georges, Arlington, Fairfax and Montgomery Counties said the lists of eligible voters are growing and increasing numbers of persons are asking for eligibility information.

In Prince Georges alone, 1242 persons registered in the past week. In Montgomery County about 11,000 persons have registered in the past month. Special hours for registering at night are in effect this week in the City of Alexandria and in Prince Georges, Montgomery and Arlington Counties.

In northern Virginia the deadline for registering is Oct. 6.

In Fairfax County, qualified residents may register by appointment with any one of the 55 precinct registrars, or at the office of the general registrar in the Fairfax County Court House on weekdays from 8 day of registering, a Saturday, day of registerinf, a Saturday, the office will remain open for late comers.

The latest count of registered voters in Fairfax is 39,411.

In Arlington County, there were 43,500 persons registered as of August 28. The single place to register is the office of the central registrar in the Investment Building, 2049 N. 15th st., across from the County Courthouse. Hours are from 8:30 a. m. to 5 p. m. Monday through Friday.

Until Oct. 6, the office will remain open on Tuesday and Thursday evenings from 7 to 9 p.m.

In Alexandria, residents may register three nights a week at the City Hall, as well as during the day. The Registrar's Office is Room 113 of the City Hall. Hours are from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, and from 7 to 9 p.m. Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. On the final day, Saturday, Oct. 6, the office will be open from 9 a.m. until noon.

The City has counted 25,000 registered voters to date.

In Falls Church, about 10 persons registered each day at the City Hall, 151 East Broad st. Hours are from 8:30 a.m. to 5 p.m.

In Prince Georges County, Sept. 17 is county-wide registration day. Registrars in 62 precincts will be available from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. The deadline for registration is Sept. 22.

This week, election officials will be available at the County Service Building at Hyattsville from 6 to 9 p.m. Otherwise, the residents may register at the Court House at Upper Marlboro from 8:30 a.m. to 4 p.m., Monday through Friday.

In Prince Georges County, the tally of registrants was 93,410 last April 7. By Sept. 7 it had boomed to 95,159.

In Montgomery County, deadline for registering is Sept. 21. An estimated 111,000 have registered to date. Beginning this week and until the deadline, the County Court House at Rockville is the spot for registration from 9 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., and from 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

34e 1956

D. C. Residents Apathetic On Registering to Vote

Star P. 1
Tues 2-7-56

Only 1,850 Out of Some 400,000 Have Qualified for Primary Ballot

P. 1
Washington, D. C.

By JOHN V. HORNER

Washington is going to flunk one of its most important tests in history, unless the city bestirs itself immediately.

For years, the people have clamored for a right to vote.

Congress finally agreed in 1955 to grant the District a limited franchise. It authorized elections at which political parties may select key local officers and take part in nominating candidates for President and Vice President of the United States.

This is something short of the goal of those who advocate national representation and home rule. Nevertheless, it is the first legalized voting here in more than 80 years. And Congress is watching to see how the District responds to the experiment.

First Election May 1

The first election will be held on May 1. Members of both the Democratic and Republican parties will have a chance then to choose delegates to the 1956 National conventions, name two members of the National committees, and pick their local party committees.

To participate, citizens must register by April 16. This is a simple thing to do, which requires about five minutes per person.

Yet, only 1,850 citizens have taken the pains to qualify in the two months since the central registration headquarters opened in an office on the ground floor of the District Building.

Anyone may register if he has been a resident of the District since May 2, 1955, is a citizen of the United States and is at least 21 years old—provided he does not vote elsewhere.

400,000 Could Qualify

It is estimated more than 400,000 persons are in this category. No one expects the registration to approach that figure for the first election but Democratic and Republican leaders hope to turn out from 30,000 to 50,000 for the May 1 balloting. If their hope materializes, speedy action is essential.

Several reasons are assigned for Washington's apathy.

One factor, of course, is ignorance of the law and the procedure for registering and voting. To meet this, various groups and organizations are planning an intensive campaign of education.

A second factor is that the issues of 1956 have not been taken to the people locally. Also no contests have developed here between the candidates for presidential nominations. Hence, general interest has not been aroused.

This condition will change when the backers of Senator Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson start bidding for the support of Washington delegates to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago. Each of these candidates—and possibly others—will nominate slates of delegates to be voted upon May 1. That is sure to stimulate interest.

Must Indicate Party

On the Republican side, if President Eisenhower decides not to seek re-election, a contest for delegate support also will help get out voters.

P. H-E

When registering, it is necessary for each citizen to state his party affiliation. He may belong to the Democratic or the Republican or some other political party. He cannot sign in as an independent, because the purpose of the election is to settle purely partisan affairs.

Among the factors that limit registration here is the large percentage of Government workers who maintain legal voting residences in their home States. They may participate in the District balloting only if they give up their votes back home.

Newell W. Ellison, chairman of the new District Board of Elections, said today a large vote is important to Washington because Congress is watching to see how the people respond to this challenge in citizenship.

Two Drives Planned

Mr. Ellison said the responsibility for getting out a large vote rests with the political party organizations, civic clubs and such groups as the League of Women Voters. All these are ready to join forces in an effort to get the registration campaign off the ground.

The central registration headquarters in the District Building is open daily. The Elections Board and the party leaders recognize that this location is not convenient to everyone. But it has not even been patronized by many of the people who work in the vicinity.

To give the public greater opportunity for registration, the Elections Board will conduct two whirlwind drives in the residential areas, one for four days in March and one for two days in April. Special booths will be set up at convenient locations in 24 places throughout the city—at firehouses, schools and library branches—March 14 through March 17, April 9 and 10.

Booths Ruled Out

A. L. Wheeler, Democratic chairman for the District, said registration is lagging partly because there are not enough places for people to sign up. He advocated "doll house" booths on crowded downtown streets, something like the Christmas doll houses.

Mr. Ellison said the board decided against this for two principal reasons: Insufficient funds and a conviction that the board's duty is to provide the machinery for registering and voting, while it is up to the political parties and civic groups to get out the vote.

George L. Hart, jr., Republican chairman, agreed with the board. He said the Republicans are organized to register its members this year.

In 1952, when the Republicans elected delegates to the national convention at a series of neighborhood "conventions," about 12,000 party members took part.

"Popularity" Contest

The same year, the Democrats held what they called a "primary" election. This involved a popularity contest between Averell Harriman and Senator Kefauver for the presidential nomination. About 18,000 votes were counted in this race and Mr. Harriman won by about 14,000 to 4,000.

This was not a bona fide primary election, however. The Democrats had no system for resigtration. Anyone was permitted to vote. Many Government workers who also voted back home, went to the polls. Even Mr. Harriman cast a ballot, and he was then a legal resident of New York.

So, many of those who took part in the 1952 voting will not be eligible to participate this year.

Also, some Government workers are reluctant to admit in writing that they belong to one party or the other. Unless they do that, they can't cast ballots on May 1.

D.C.

6137 Voters Register for Primary in Single Day

Post + Times Herald P. 1-B
Washington, D.C.

24 Neighborhood Stations Closed; Total of 24,301 Sign Up in Drive

34

By John J. Lindsay
Staff Reporter

A record-breaking total of 6137 District citizens jammed neighborhood registration stations yesterday to send the number now registered to vote in the May 1 primary to 24,301.

It was the largest number to register in a single day since the 24 neighborhood stations opened for business Wednesday.

The crush was so heavy at times that three stations ran short of registration forms.

As a result at least 100 person were turned away. However, some of these went to other stations where they were able to register.

According to Daniel F. Noll, secretary of the Board of Elections, supervisors of three stations requested a two-hour extension of the scheduled 2 p. m. closing time to take care of the crowds.

Saturday Repeat Likely

Noll said that "Saturday registration seems to pay off," and added that he would urge the Board of Elections to consider at least one more Saturday registration day for the neighborhood stations.

This viewpoint was seconded by Sturgis Warner, chairman of the Election Board's operation committee, who said: "We will examine the results of today's registration in the light of our available funds."

Both officials were enthusiastic about yesterday's results and agreed the four-day total had exceeded their expectations.

On Wednesday, 4594 signed up, an additional 5136 registered on Thursday; and bad weather reduced the total for that day to 3578. Saturday's results were particularly significant, officials thought, in view of the fact that most stations were open only from 10 a. m. to 2 p. m., whereas on the previous three days they were open from 1 to 9 p. m.

Spencer May Run

Meanwhile, District Commissioner Samuel Spencer said on the Radio Station WWDC's "Report to the People" program last night that he "probably" will be a candidate for delegate to the Republican national convention.

It was learned that his name is on a slate which a nominating committee will present for endorsement Tuesday to the District Republican State Central Committee. The committee checked on Spencer's availability before drafting the list.

Commissioner Robert E. McLaughlin, like Spencer an early Eisenhower backer, also is on the slate for delegate or local committeeman. He too is available, and the only question is whether he will consider the slate so heavily weighted with old guard GOPers that he will try to buck it.

Spencer retires as commissioner April 5 to return to a private law practice.

Composes Tune To Get D. C. Citizens To Vote

Defender p.1 & Sat. 4-14-56

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Washingtonians, who have been deprived of the fanchise for the past 80 years, and who have been clamoring for home rule in the District of Columbia for almost as long a time, should certainly take advantage of their first opportunity to use the ballot in the coming primary, thinks Amos Vernon Ledbetter.

Ledbetter, a brilliant young songwriter, attempted to emphasize the necessity of registering and voting in his recently published tune called, "Come On, Washington."

Chicago Ill.

This catchy song-hit can be heard coming from the harmonizing voices of the "Diplomats" over radio programs, and television screens and from recordings in the several political headquarters.

"Come on, Washington, You can cast your vote, so register and prove good faith; don't be late!" the song goes.

"Come on Washington, Victory must be, so register and prove good faith; don't be late! Now's the time for bragging, Not the time for lagging; Tell your friends and your kin to register and prove it!"

Then comes the chorus which calls on: "Washingtonians, Washingtonians, You can vote, but don't delay. Come on Washington, You can vote, vote, vote, so register and prove good faith. Don't be late!"

ced their slates of delegates Wednesday.

Out of the 24 delegates and alternates announced on the Kefauver slate, at least six are colored.

The Eisenhower slate included seven delegates to the Republican national convention and six alternates. At least two persons named among the alternates are Negroes.

The Negroes endorsed by the Kefauver committee as delegates are Mrs. Edmonia W. Davidson, Dr. Edward C. Mazique Atty. Frank D. Reeves, and the Reverend Smallwood Williams. Among the alternates were recommended Mrs. Alice A. Dunnigan, Ernest T. Eiland and Atty. Julius W. Robertson.

Those named among Republican alternates were Onton S. Lloyd and Barrington Parker.

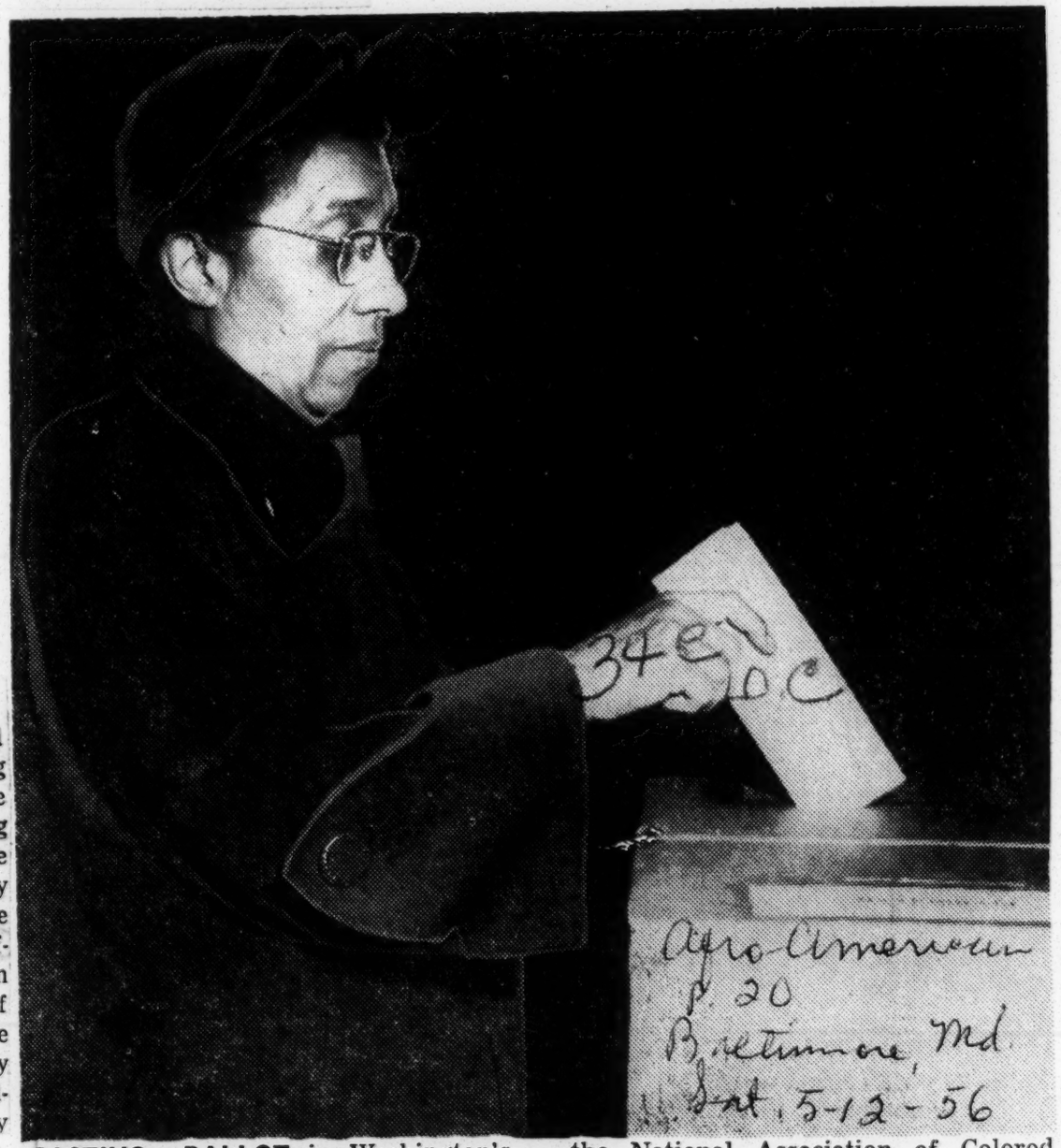
The Stevenson club had not announced its slate at press time.

Voting Interest

Post & Times Herald Wash. D.C. Feb. 4 56 P. 14

There was much merit to the letter we published the other day from Ann McNally reproaching us for our assertion that failure to register in the District primary would be construed as indicating a lack of interest in home rule. It is true, we think, that a small registration will be taken by many members of Congress, and especially by those opposed to granting the District of Columbia self-government, as a sign of local indifference. But in point of fact many considerations operate, of course, to impede registration—reluctance on the part of Government employes to disclose party preference, inability to vote directly for a presidential candidate, desire to vote elsewhere, apathy respecting a primary which can have, at most, no more than a very limited influence on national affairs and no influence whatever on local affairs.

"For an opportunity to participate in a true exercise of our democratic heritage within the District of Columbia—local self-government—I and many like me," says Mrs. McNally, "would forfeit any claim to a 'home state' vote." The trouble is that the primary affords no such opportunity and therefore affords no real indication of interest in it. No one can blame those with a full-fledged vote elsewhere for declining to give it up for a partial vote here. Nevertheless, there is every reason for those who are legal residents of the District to register and vote in the largest possible volume. If they accomplish nothing else, they will gain for themselves a foretaste of what full citizenship can mean.



CASTING BALLOT in Washington's first official election in 82 years is Mrs. Carrie M. Hackley, 767 Columbia Rd., NW, president of the local chapter of the National Association of Colored Women. Mrs. Hackley voted at the Monroe Elementary School, across the street from her home.

NEGROES ACTIVE IN NEW WASHINGTON POLITICAL DRIVE

World Fri. 3-30-56 P.5

Birm., Ala.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — Citizens of the District of Columbia, who are having their first opportunity to vote in more than 80 years, are showing great enthusiasm in the oncoming primary to be held May 1.

Although their franchise is limited to voting for delegates to the two National conventions, they are demonstrating a great interest in that special privilege.

Both the Kefauver committee and the Eisenhower committee announ-

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BY- EMMETT E. DORSEY

By Emmett E. Dorsey

The Democratic Party And the Negro Vote

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mr. Dorsey is a professor in the department of government at Howard University and has, for nearly 30 years, taught and written on politics and government at that institution.

LEGALLY enforced segregation and discrimination are the major ingredients of the "Southern way of life." The social, economic, cultural and, above all, political institutions of the South are based upon jim crow — the elaborate code of disabilities imposed solely on the grounds of race.

For over three-quarters of a century the Southern Democrats in the national Congress have been able to defeat all attempts at civil rights legislation. An alliance of the Southern Democrats with the Republican leaders of Congress has permitted the South virtually a free hand in the institutionalizing of patterns of undemocratic and even un-Constitutional behavior. The dominance of this coalition is assured by Congressional rules of procedure.

Even F. D. Roosevelt with all of his great political skills and popularity was able only for a short time, 1933-1938, to prevail over this constant coalition of Southern Democrats and Republican Congressional leaders. And Roosevelt's victories were in the areas of badly needed economic and social welfare legislation. Neither Roosevelt nor Truman succeeded in getting through the Congress any civil rights legislation.

■

FOR OVER a half-century the Supreme Court acquiesced in the desires of the Southern leaders. The Court so emasculated the 14th and the 15th Amendments that they afford little protection against the multitude of Southern state laws and practices which effectively disfranchised and subordinated the Negro. During the last 20 years, however, the Supreme Court has been steadily strenghtening the Constitutional basis of the Negro's full citizenship rights. This trend of court decisions reached near culmination in the school desegregation decision of May 17, 1954. The reasoning of the court in this great decision will carry the court forward to the invalidation of all law and governmental action which impose special disabilities solely on the grounds of race.

The school desegregation decision has permanently breached the iron curtain of Jim Crow. Further, the implications of this veritable revolution in our fundamental law have incited the Southern members of Congress to rash and desperate behavior. The Dixiecrat Manifesto and recent speeches of Southern Democrats in Congress portray these men as being contemptuous of the values and practices of democracy. Performances of Southern governors and state legislatures verge upon rebellion and revolution.

Recent developments in Congress, the killing of the school aid bill and especially the tragically farcical treatment of

EMMETT DORSEY

civil rights legislation by the House of Representatives have brought into plain view a basic contradictory and anomalous condition of the national Congress. The Democrats control both houses of Congress. The majority of these Democrats in Congress, however, are from the North and the West. The voters who elect the non-Southern Democrats to seats in the House and the Senate desire that the national government reflect a New Deal and Fair Deal emphasis—that of social welfare and civil rights.

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NEGROES IN the great cities of the North and West are among those who are responsible for the Democratic majority in Congress. From 10 to 80 per cent of the big and often crucia Negro vote in these areas has for nearly a generation gone Democratic. Yet as Cabell Phillips of the New York Times states, "the Democratic leadership in Congress is composed almost entirely of Southerners." Twenty-one of the 31 standing committees of the Congress are headed by Southerners. Both the Speaker of the House and the majority leader of the Senate are from Texas.

The Senate Committee which deals with civil rights legislation is headed by Senator Eastland. Further, the leaders of the national Democratic party, Stevenson, Kefauver, Harriman and Butler, believe that the Southern Democrats must be conciliated. The policy stressed is that of party unity. The price which the Southern Democrats are demanding for such conciliation and unity is that of a party policy of muting and subordinating the issues of desegregation and civil rights legislation.

The national Democratic party is at the crossroads. Basic disaffection with the party's present orientation is being voiced by Northern Democratic politicians and spokesmen of labor and the Negro. Democrats in Congress from the East, Midwest and West privately are saying that the time has come for the Democratic party to clean house. It cannot continue part liberal and part reactionary and racist. Epecially must the party free itself of Congressional domination by the Southerners.

From all sections of the country except the South leaders of organized labor are making statements in agreement with Walter Reuther when he recently said that the Democrats must "quit coddling Southern reactionaries—or take a chance of losing much labor support." Further, the Democratic leaders "try to be all things to all men; if they take the easy way to compromise and convenience, they will not win and they have no moral right to win." And finally, Reuther asserted, "I think we ought to say to the leadership of the Democratic party that you can not have Mr. Eastland and us at the same time. You've got to make a choice."

■

NEGRO LEADERS are expressing grave doubts about the wisdom of Negro voters supporting the national Democratic party which to them appears to be firmly under the control of Southern Democrats. They predict that possibly 10 or 15 per cent of the Negro voters of the great Northern cities will defect from the Democratic party and will vote Republican.

In view of the foregoing considerations it appears that intelligent political behavior by Northern Negroes who vote Democratic this fall requires that, (1) They should impress the leaders of the national Democratic party that the price of their continued support is a party platform plank which strongly and unequivocally commits the Democratic party to the support and enforcement of the desegregation decisions of the Supreme Court. (2) Negro Democrats should insist that the Democratic party pledge itself to the support of all of the civil rights legislation necessary to protect Negroes' full citizenship rights. (3) Negroes should now, in this election year, demand of both parties that they do away with the Congressional rules of procedures which give control of the Congress to an alliance of Southern Democrats and conservative Republican leaders.

Negro support of the Democratic party is justifiable only if the party stresses social welfare and civil rights. Such a Democratic party objective would necessitate that the Southern reactionaries and militant racists be driven out of the national Democratic party. They would have to be deprived of their seniority as Democrats in Congress and not be permitted the caucus with the Democratic delegation.

There is now as never before the opportunity to shatter the caste system and to kill Jim Crow. Hard-thinking and forthright and courageous action are demanded. The Supreme Court cannot decree freedom. It has established the conditions under which freedom can be won. And the major victory to be won is in the area of politics.

12 Negroes Withdraw Registration

Herald Miami, Fla. Sat. 4-7-56

BRISTOL, Fla. —(AP)— Eleven Negroes who had registered to vote in this rural northwest Florida county withdrew their registration papers Friday. 2-A

Mrs. Bessie Reese, registration supervisor, said the Negroes walked into her office and said they wanted their names taken of the list. They ave no explanation.

Saturday is the deadline for registering for the May Democratic primaries in which state and county offices will be contested.

Sheriff S. G. Revell said he was advised their action was voluntary.

Their withdrawal left the name of only one Negro woman, who is now in New York, on the registration lists.

Registration of the 12 Negroes early last February was followed by reports of acts of violence.

Roberts Saunders, the NAACP representative at Miami, reported crosses were burned near the homes of two of the voters in the vicinity of Bristol, and that one house was struck by shotgun fire.

It was the first time Neroes had reistered in Liberty county, which is located some 30 miles west of Tallahassee.

But Say Race Doesn't Want Integration

Negro Vote Will Carry Weight, Both Lowry and Bryant Admit

Herald Mon. 4-16-56 Miami, Fla. P. 2L-A

By RON LEVITT
United Press Staff Writer

Two of the candidates for governor admitted today that the Negro vote in Florida will carry weight "at least in the larger cities" in view of the segregation issue.

Segregationist Sumter Lowry in Pensacola and C. Farris Bryant in Miami both said the Negro vote would mean "something" in some of the state's largely populated areas. They named Dade County, Duval County and the Tampa-St. Petersburg area as such areas.

But both said they were sure that the Negro wanted segregation as much as they themselves did.

Lowry, making a bid for the northwest Florida Panhandle vote, said he had spoken to many Negroes on his tour of the state.

"Most of the colored people don't want integration," he said. "It's only those few who are being coerced by the NAACP."

Bryant, preparing for a three day handshaking tour of Dade and Broward Counties, said, "The colored vote will mean something. You can be assured however that the Negroes will cast not a single ballot for one of the candidates." He would not say who that candidate is.

A third candidate, ex-Gov. Fuller Warren, has repeated a similar thought — "The Negro does not want integration."

Gov. LeRoy Collins, back in Tallahassee after a week of campaigning was not available for comment.

In Miami, a Negro leader promised the greatest runout of Negro voters "ever." Large Negro registration has also been noted in Tampa, St. Petersburg, and the Jacksonville area.

Of Florida's near 2,800,000 population, there are some 603,000 Negroes. The voting record in the last major statewide election ran about 989,000 — about one third of the total population. However, in the past the Negro vote has been relatively small.

But Dade County Negro leaders promised that of the county's 98,000 Negroes, some 35,000 to 40,000 would be eligible to vote.

"And they will vote," Dr. E. A. Ward, a Negro civic leader said. "We'll have 100 per cent of those eligible casting their ballots."

The Negro leader said the colored population probably would back one of the major candidates, but he declined to comment on who that candidate would be. He said that two of the other candidates would get a "sprinkling" of Negro votes and that one other would "not get one single colored vote."

Thomas L. Stokes

Herald P. 27-E

Voters Show Less Interest

Miami, Fla.

FOR an election that means so much to two men — Adlai Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver — and perhaps also to the Democratic Party, the near approach of the May 29 presidential primary finds proportionately little excitement among the folks in Florida, or so the politicans and political experts report.

STOKES

For this various reasons are assigned, chief among them that people here were literally "wrung out" by the tense gubernatorial primary here May 8, won by present Gov. LeRoy Collins. Herald 5-24-56

Somewhat pale after that is the contest between two gentlemen who live somewhere else and have been here so often in recent weeks that they are no longer exactly in the "celebrity" category. But, beyond that, you often hear a question when the coming primary is broached which may give another reason for the apathy, to wit:

"Why get excited? What does it all mean? Neither one of them has a chance to beat Ike."

DEMOCRATS naturally don't like that, and you can't blame them. But it must be reported that the complacency that this question denotes and the satisfaction with the symbol "Ike" are widespread as of today here — which also seems to be true elsewhere, although it could, of course, change between now and the November election.

In short, the crop of Eisenhower Democrats down this way is large.

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CHAMPIONS of the two Democratic presidential aspirants, as well as regular organization Democrats, were hoping that the televised debate between the two staged here in Miami Monday night would whip up interest and bring out a bigger turnout for next Tuesday's primary.

The estimates run from 300,000 to 400,000 votes, which compares with 850,000 in the hot governorship primary two weeks ago and 653,348 in the preesidential primary here in 1952. There are 1,162,409 voters registered as Democrats in Florida.

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WHATEVER the size of the vote, and especially if it is small, two groups are expected to be influential in the outcome in this state.

One of these is comprised of the many citizens who are Republicans, but register as Democrats in Florida so they can vote for governor and other state and local offices in the Democratic primary, which is the real election in this state. Actually enrolled as Republicans are only 102,409 of the 1,447,374 registered voters of the state.

Some experts surmise that many will go into the primary to vote for Senator Kefauver in the effort to head off Stevenson, whom most Republicans seem to regard as the most formidable foe in November.

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ANOTHER GROUP, in which there is the potential of swinging the balance in next Tuesday's primary, are the elderly folks who live in retirement here in Florida.

The competition for their support is hot and heavy. Stevenson directed a major speech to them at St. Petersburg. Senator Kefauver likewise is making a strong bid for their votes.

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11 Florida Negroes Ask to be Stricken From Voters' List

BRISTOL, Fla. — (CNS) — Because of the violence in Liberty county, eleven Negroes walked into the office of the registration supervisor and asked to have their names removed from the voters' list. This means only one Negro's name is still registered and she is a woman who is at present in New York.

Having 12 names of Negroes on the voters' list made history in the county last February. Only it was followed by acts of violence with crosses reported burned and a house fired on. A mock investigation was made by Sheriff S. G. Revell at the request of Governor Collins but Revell claimed he couldn't get any information.

Negro Drift to Ike Was No Avalanche

Herald P. 21-a
Tribune, Fla.

By EDWIN A. LAHEY
Chief of Our Washington Bureau

CHICAGO — The Democrats were all things to all men on the civil rights issue in the recent campaign.

Did this position alienate many Negro voters?

LAHEY

There was some drift by Northern Negroes away from Stevenson, but it could hardly be called an avalanche.

The Democrats can still probably run Eleanor Roosevelt into a disaffected Negro ward and get the voters straightened out in their thinking.

The meaning of the drift of Negroes away from the Democratic party on Tuesday varied according to your Negro political authority.

"Uncle Bill" Dawson, the ancient Congressman on Chicago's south side, says to think nothing of it.

"The decline of Negro votes for Stevenson was logical, and did not represent any disenchantment over civil rights," Dawson said.

"The war situation won some new Negro votes for Eisenhower. The women especially felt the danger keenly, and decided to vote for the President.

"And in Chicago the Republicans spent more money than they've ever spent before among the Negroes."

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York, a Democrat who repudiated Stevenson over civil rights issue, takes a different view.

"Negro voters by the droves have temporarily deserted the Democratic Party to vote for President Eisenhower," said Powell.

"This does not necessarily mean the Republican Party. It should serve as a warning to Democratic bosses that no one controls the Negro vote.

"The Democratic Party must rid itself of its fascist elements headed by Eastland of Mississippi, Talmadge of Georgia, and Long of Louisiana. President Eisenhower has promised little but actually done more than any other President in the field of civil rights."

The actual figures on the Negro drift away from their Democratic ties are not impressive, and in no case did the drift build up a majority for Eisenhower in precincts or wards that are almost entirely Negro.

There are four wards on the south side of Chicago and two on the west side that are made up almost totally of Negro voters.

The four south side wards which have many middle class Negro families, showed reduced majorities for Stevenson on election day. The second ward gave Stevenson 68 per cent of its vote, compared with 77 per cent in 1952, the twentieth ward 57 per cent, as compared with 70 per cent four years ago, and so on.

The west side Negro wards, areas of extremely low income families, showed hardly any change in their attitude.

In Manhattan there are four assembly district heavily populated with Negroes. Each of them cast a heavy majority for Stevenson on Tuesday, but with obviously less enthusiasm than they voted for him four years ago.

The twelfth New York (Manhattan) district, home of Congressman Powell, favored Stevenson over Eisenhower in 1952 by a vote fo 41,582 to 11,340.

In Tuesday's election, this district still liked Adlai, but with less passion. The vote was 31,864 against 18,371 in favor of Stevenson.

The eleventh New York assembly district, home of Hulen E. Jack, Manhattan borough president, showed a similar decline in Stevenson sentiment.

This district in 1952 went 22,737 to 4,687 for Stevenson. On Tuesday the district vote was 17,997 for Stevenson to 8,026 for President Eisenhower.

The other New York Negro districts showed similar unspectacular drifts away from Stevenson on Tuesday.

Four Key Negro precincts in Detroit showed nothing to indicate any disenchantment with the Democratic Party.

Ten Negro precincts in Pittsburgh, with a total vote of 4,062, cast 64 per cent of that vote on Tuesday for Stevenson. The same precincts cast a somewhat higher percentage of their votes for Adlai four years ago.

To Investigate Negro Purge

Dispatch Fri, 11-2-56 P.1
Sat. Oklahoma City, Okla.

Federal Government to Act in South's Anti-Negro Voting

WASHINGTON—(ANP)—Warren Olney III, a top Justice Department official, said last week that his office would investigate the "purge" of thousands of qualified Negroes in the South who are being denied the right to vote.

Olney, the assistant attorney general, further stated that he has warned a House Committee that the Constitution provides for a cut in the number of representatives to Congress from states that deny voting rights to its citizens.

Olney is head of the Justice Department's criminal division.

He said FBI agents have been engaged in an "intensive investigation of disfranchising incidents in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina."

The assistant attorney general said that information uncovered so far points out that "thousands" of registered Negroes "are being taken off the lists, wholesale, just because they are black."

He warned that punishment for this type of offense provides oines up to $10,000 and imprisonment of 10 years for denial of civil rights.

"In every instance where we can show that a qualified person is denied the right to vote simply because of his color, we intend to persecute," he added.

He stipulated that this could be done after the Nov. 6 election if Negroes are denied voting rights. He additionally stated that indictments would be sought as soon as grand juries meet in the affected areas.

He told a news conference he has reason to believe there is a full-blown conspiracy among prosegregationists to disqualify Negro voters.

Accvording to Olney, members of white Citizens Councils and other anti-integration organizations have been challenging the registration of qualified Negro voters on fraudulent grounds.

The Justice Department official pointed out that in addition to criminal prosecution, the South hight lose representation in Congress because the 14th Amendment of the Constitution provides for a reduction in the number of Congressmen from a state which denies voting rights.

The reduction would be in proportion to the number of persons involved and would have to be approved by the full House.

Olney said that in the past, Negroes have often been denied the right to register.

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GENERAL

Survey Shows Large Numbers Of Negroes In South Switched To Eisenhower Ranks

By RICHARD L. LYONS
Staff Reporter
The Washington Post and Times Herald

This article on how Negro voters balloted on Nov. 6, is a summary of telegraphic reports collected by The Washington Post and Times Herald from editors and correspondents in key American cities. Participating this pooled news gathering operation were:

The Atlanta Constitution, The Chicago Daily News, The Greensboro (N.C.) Daily News, Station WMBR in Jacksonville, Fla., The Kansas City Star, The Nashville Tennessean, The New York Herald Tribune, The Philadelphia Inquirer, The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, The Montgomery Advertiser, The St. Louis Post Dispatch.

Negro voters in Southern cities reversed habits of a generation this year and switched in large numbers to vote for President Eisenhower.

Northern Negroes switched also, but in far fewer numbers. In some Northern cities the change was hardly measurable, particularly when placed against the voting pattern of the entire community.

Election returns made it evident there had been a significant Negro presidential voting switch away from the Democratic party standard bearers with whom they had been allied since Franklin D. Roosevelt's day. A survey of predominantly Negro precincts by The Washington Post and Times Herald in cooperation with correspondents in key cities points up the extent of the shift.

These facts stand out:

IKE SWEPT NEGRO VOTE

In every city surveyed, President Eisenhower won a larger percentage of the Negro vote than he did in 1952.

The biggest switches were in the South. A typical Negro precinct in Richmond gave President Eisenhower 17 per cent of its vote in 1952 and 80 per cent this year. In Philadelphia, Detroit and St. Louis there was very little change—hardly more than in white precincts.

While Negro leaders gave various reasons for the change, the vote pattern indicated the overriding issue was civil rights, which most Southern Democratic politicians have fought and most Northern Democrats have supported.

Negroes can take credit for holding Tennessee for President Eisenhower. Their switches in Memphis alone were far more than his state-wide margin. Louisiana politicians have called the Negro vote an important factor in that state's switch to the Republican column.

NEGROES CROSSED LINES

For the most part Negroes crossed lines to vote for a man, not a party. They voted for President Eisenhower but generally stayed Democratic in local and Congressional contests — although national Republican officials claim Louisville Negroes elected Thruston B. Morton to the Senate.

The big question is whether these switched votes will stick to the Republican label in future elections and push the South into a real two-party structure. Negroes form a small minority of the total vote. Their total turnout this year was estimated at four million out of about 61 million votes cast nationally. About 500,000 Negroes voted in the South.

But their performance last week served notice that the southern Negro vote has become a factor politicians must reckon with in the future.

Here is the city-by-city story of Negro voting this year:

ATLANTA: Precinct 3-B, considered the "most typical" Negro unit in this Deep South city, cast 33 per cent of its vote for President Eisenhower in 1952. This year it gave him 87 per cent of the 1,850 votes cast. This is part of the district of Rep. James C. Davis (D), pro-segregationist who conducted the House investigation of Washington, D.C. school integration this fall. Davis was re-elected with nearly 60 per cent of the total district vote, but his opponent drew the highest vote ever received by a Republican running for an office below the Presidency.

HAMMERED AWAY

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, said:

"In the South, Republican campaign orators who spoke to Negro audiencies hammered away at the claim that a vote for the Democrats was a vote for Sen. Eastland and all others like him in the Democratic party. (Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), a strong segregationist, is chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee which handles civil rights legislation.)

"This was a valid argument to the Southern Negro," said McGill, "because nowhere in Southern politics was there a Democratic officeholder who had supported him (the Negro) in the segregation issue.

BALTIMORE CITY: In 54 predominantly Negro precincts, President Eisenhower increased his strength from a 34 per cent average in 1952 to 54 per cent. White voters showed a marked, though lesser, shift. The President piled up majorities all over the city, carrying it overall by 56 per cent. Stevenson won 51.7 per cent of the city vote four years ago. In the Senate race Negroes shifted away from Democrat George P. Mahoney toward Republican Sen. John Marshall Butler, although Mahoney won the city by a hair. All three Democratic congressmen were re-elected.

BALTIMORE COUNTY: In two typical Negro precincts in the county just outside Baltimore City, the President's vote climbed from 18 per cent in 1952 to 57 per cent. The county went Republican by a 2 to 1 margin, about the same as in 1952.

CHICAGO: A check of two large Negro South Side wards showed a definite switch away from Adlai Stevenson, but no avalanche. The second ward gave President Eisenhower 32 per cent of its vote this year, compared with 23 per cent in 1952. The 20th ward gave him 43 per cent this time compared with 30 per cent in 1952. President Eisenhower picked up five per cent in the city as a whole and carried it by a narrow margin.

Both wards are in the Congressional district of Rep. William L. Dawson (D), longtime Chicago Negro leader. He attributed the shift to the war scare and more Republican campaign money rather than to "disenchantment" with Democrates over civil rights.

CLEVELAND: Figures received by Val J. Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee, showed gains of 12 to 15 per cent in every Negro ward. In the 18th ward where he had 40.2 per cent of the vote in 1952, President Eisenhower this year drew 54 per cent and carried it by a vote of 4,778 to 3,975.

DETROIT: Edwin A. Lahey of the Knight newspapers reported that a check of four key Negro precincts in Detroit "showed nothing to indicate any disenchantment with the Democratic party."

GARY, IND.: In this steel city where Republicans had carried no Negro precinct since 1936, President Eisenhower this year carried seven precincts and won 42 per cent of the Negro vote compared to 17.2 per cent in 1952, Washington said.

GREENSBORO, N.C.: The precinct with the largest Negro registration — number 5 — showed the most dramatic switch. In 1952 it went for Stevenson, 2,227 to 179. This time it went for Eisenhower 1,038 to 530 — a jump from 8 to 66 per cent for Eisenhower.

Two other Greensboro Negro precincts which had gone for Stevenson by better than 65 per cent in 1952 gave President Eisenhower a 52 per cent majority this year. Wealthier white residential areas voted Republican both years without much change. White laboring areas showed some shift toward Eisenhower this year, but less than Negro areas.

JACKSONVILLE, FLA.: A typical Negro precinct in this northern Florida trading center gave President Eisenhower 11 per cent of its vote in 1952 and 50.5 per cent this year. A typical white precinct gave the President 63 per cent of its vote in 1952 and 59 per cent this time.

Duval County, which includes Jacksonville, went Republican in the presidential contest this year for the first time since 1928. Negro switches apparently were an important factor. Again, there were few Negro shifts below the presidential level.

KANSAS CITY, KAN.: In 17 all-Negro precincts, President Eisenhower increased his vote from 24.5 per cent in 1952 to 43.8 per cent. The Kansas City Star said the shift was only for president.

KANSAS CITY, MO.: Across the river in Missouri, the shift was scarcely perceptible. In one typical Negro precinct the Eisenhower vote rose from 16 to 20 per cent; in another, from 13 to 17 per cent. The Star attributed the Democratic strength to better organization.

LOUISVILLE: Republican National Committee figures show the President's strength among Negro voters jumped from 43 to 58 per cent in this border state city. White voters also shifted to the President, but not by so great a margin.

MEMPHIS: Thirty - eight Negro precincts in Memphis and Shelby County which cast 68 per cent of their vote for Stevenson in 1952 turned around this year to cast 54 per cent for President Eisenhower. This shift of nearly 20,000 votes in the Democratic stronghold of the late Edward H. (Boss) Crump switched the city to Republican and was nearly four times President Eisenhower's state-wide victory margin.

A typical white Memphis precinct cast a larger vote for Stevenson this year than in 1952. George Lee, Memphis Negro leader, said the big issues among Negroes there were "Eastland, Talmadge and the White Citizens Councils."

MONTGOMERY, ALA.: White and Negro voters switched to President Eisenhower for different reasons this year. As a result the "Cradle of the Confederacy" went Republican for the first time since reconstruction days. A slate of pro-segregationist electors plus Negro switches gave the city to

President Eisenhower by 1,783 votes.

But while there were switches in both races, the biggest occurred among Negroes. About 2,500 Negroes voted in Montgomery this year—twice as many as in 1952. Stevenson won all the Negro precincts in 1952. This year 59 per cent of their vote went to President Eisenhower.

Said Thomas J. Sellers Jr., city editor of The Montgomery Advertiser:

"The Negro community has proved itself a bloc politicians must contend with here . . . In an extremely close race, the Negroes could be the deciding factor. To what extent local politicians will attempt to woo the Negro vote to insure their election to office will indeed be an interesting thing to witness."

NASHVILLE, TENN.: In 10 Negro precincts where he won 26 per cent of the vote in 1952, President Eisenhower this year drew 52 per cent. The city as a whole stayed Democratic by a slightly reduced margin.

Biggest Negro switches were recorded in precincts around Nashville's Negro colleges. The Nashville Tennessean quoted one local Negro leader as saying:

"We have seen more concrete gains in civil rights during the Eisenhower administration than in either the Roosevelt or Truman administrations. Negro voters are waking up to this fact."

NEW YORK: In the 14th assembly district, a heavily Negro section in south central Harlem, President Eisenhower took 18 per cent of the vote in 1952 and 26 per cent this year. The President won more votes than lesser Republicans on the ticket, but made little dent in the district despite endorsement by the Negro paper, the Amsterdam News, and the backing of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D) of Harlem.

The Republican National Committee said President Eisenhower made gains averaging 12.5 per cent throughout Harlem.

By contrast, a typical white area, the polyglot 10th Assembly District which Stevenson won 3 to 2 in 1952, went to President Eisenhower this year 5 to 4. Stevenson won the city again, but his margin dropped from 55.4 to 51 per cent.

NORFOLK: Three Negro districts in Norfolk gave the President 13 per cent of its vote in 1952 and a whopping 83 per cent this year. Two years ago Rep. Porter Hardy (D) carried every Negro precinct. This year Hardy lost six precincts in the city. All were largely Negro. There was relatively little switching of white votes to the President, who carried Norfolk both times.

PHILADELPHIA: Negro precincts voted about 3 to 1 for Stevenson. There were no significant defections from 1952, the Philadelphia Inquirer reported.

Philadelphia as a whole voted 57 per cent for Stevenson, a drop of one per cent below 1952. Negroes may have been voting for a man here, too, but he was a Democrat—former Mayor Joseph S. Clark Jr., who was elected to the Senate. Clark wrested city control from a long-entrenched Republican organization. While mayor he worked for equal job opportunity and set up a human rights commission.

PITTSBURGH: In two largely Negro wards, President Eisenhower's vote increased from 24 per cent in 1952 to 39 per cent. But the striking fact was that Negroes stayed away from the polls in droves. Stevenson lost heavily in Negro precincts, but the President made relatively small gains. The Democratic majority in Pittsburgh as a whole dropped from 56.1 per cent to 52.3 per cent.

RICHMOND, VA.: Some of the most sensational Negro switches showed up in the capital of Virginia which has been the leader in the fight to block school integration.

The 18th precinct gave only 8 per cent of its vote to the President in 1952, but gave him 72 per cent this year. In six typical Negro precincts, Eisenhower's strength jumped from 16 to 74 per cent. In Richmond the switch voting carried down through a congressional race and even showed up as a vote against some innocuous constitutional amendments.

Richmond's white voters also shifted to President Eisenhower but in lesser numbers. He carried the city 3 to 2 in 1952 and by nearly 3 to 1 this time.

ST. LOUIS: Little change revealed in Negro areas or in the city as a whole. In three typical Negro districts, President Eisenhower's percentage increased from 21.1 to 24.8. Stevenson won these precincts by 21,071 to 6,950. The vote was 6,000 below the 1952 figure. St. Louis gave Stevenson 61.1 per cent of its vote this year—just a shade under his 62 per cent margin in 1952.

WASHINGTON, D.C. area: Washington residents don't vote. Two Negro precincts in the Maryland suburb of Prince Georges County gave President Eisenhower 31 per cent of their vote in 1952 and 50.7 per cent this year. White voters shifted the other way and cut the President's 1952 county margin of 10,000 votes down to 1,000 votes.

Negro Voters Play Big Role In Ike's Re-election

Shift From Dems To GOP Follows Trend

By LOUIS LAUTIER

WASHINGTON D.C. (NNPA) — Negro voters from New York to California and from Illinois to Florida played a big part in the landslide reelection which President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon won Tuesday.

It appeared Wednesday that there had been an overall shift of 100 per cent of Negro voters from Adlai Stevenson in 1952 to Eisenhower in 1956. It is probable that this shift in some predominantly Negro wards in big cities will run over 50 per cent of the Negro vote going to Eisenhower..

Both the Republican and Democratic parties fought hard for the Negro vote. The Democrats sought to re'ain their hold on this vote, a large majority of which had been Democratic since 1936. The Republicans, on the other hand, drove hard to win back this vote, of which, before 1932, they had been as certain as the Democrats were of the once Solid South.

Estimates generally place the Negro vote which Mr Eisenhower received in 1952 at 20 to 30 per cent. The indications were that in some areas more than 50 per cent of the Negro vote went to Eisenhower-Nixon and accounted for the sweeping triumph of the President and his running mate.

There are also indications, however, that Negro voters engaged in ticket-splitting and were also a factor in the failure of the Republicans to capture the Congress.

In their efforts to win the Negro vote, the evidence shows, both parties spent large sums of money, most of it on mass communications media to reach the Negro voter and for travel and expenses of spellbinders to urge Negro voters to support one of the two major Presidential tickets.

There is no way to approximate the amount of money spent to persuade the Negro voter how he should vote. Both the Republican and the Democratic National Committees spent large sums. In addition, there were several hundred other committees which spent funds for this purpose.

In New York City, Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Democrat, who supported President Eisenhower, told reporters he voted for President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon and for Jacob K. Javits, Attorney General of New York. Mr Javits, the Republican candidate, defeated Mayor Robert Wagner of New York City, for the United States Senate.

Mr Javits will succeed Senator Herbert H. Lehman, Democrat, who was 78 last March 28 and decided to retire.

Mr Powell was reelected in the 16th New York Congressional District. He defeated Joseph A. Bailey, Republican, and Formington Taylor, Liberal.

Mr Powell said the Democratic party "is in need of a radical housecleaning." and that if the Democrats attempt to discipline him for switching to Eisenhower, they might as well kiss the Negro vote goodbye.

Mr Taylor, also Negro, whom the Liberal party put up to oppose Mr Powell, told reporters that Mr Powell had "misguided" Harlem voters, "taking them down the wrong road. Harlem must turn into the right path to obtain injustice, freedom and equality.

In Republican circles here, it was being privately admitted that Mr Powell had been a big help in turning Negro voters to Eisenhower and Nixon. In nearly all of the cities where he spoke the Harlem Congressman drew large crowds. He limited his support, however, to Mr Eisenhower and told voters that both Nixon and Senator Estes Kefauver of Tennessee, the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate, had bad records on civil rights.

One of the big issues which helped turn Negro voters to Eisenhower was Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi. Repeatedly Republican campaign speakers told Negro and mixed audiences that a vote for Stevenson was a vote for Eastland.

This line of argument was used effectively in some areas, but apparently it failed to bring the dividends that Republicans hoped for. It was designed to persuade Negro voters to vote for Republican Congressional candidates to get rid of Eastland and other southerners as chairmen of key Congressional committees.

An analysis of the votes for candidates for United States Senator will have to be made to determine how effective this line of argument was because there were other factors, as well as southern control of committees, which caused Republicans to fail to gain a majority of the seats in the House and Senate.

Other issues urged upon Negro voters by Republican campaign speakers related to the part the Eisenhower Administration played in eliminating racial segregation in public places in the District of Columba, in the armed forces and at military installations.

Representative William L. Dawson, of Illinois, who directed the Democratic campaign among Negro voters, was reelected. He defeated George W. Lawrence, the Republican candidate.

Other Republican Ngro candidats for Congress who were defeated included Dr Horace C. Scott, a physician, who lost to the Democratic incumbent, Representative Earl Chudoff, in the fourth Pennsylvania District.

Representative Charles C. Diggs Jr, Democrat, was reelected over Willis F. Ward, Negro Republican, in Detroit.

Sidney R. Redmond, Republican, was defeated by the Democratic incumbent, epresentative Leoner K. Sullivan, in the Third Missouri District, and Charles H. Loeb, Republican, was defeated by the Democratic incumbent, Representative Charles A. Vanik in the 21st Ohio Congressional District.

President Eisenhower again cracked the "Solid South." He carried Florida, Virginia, Tennessee and Texas.

A blow to Negro people generally was the failure of the Republican bid to elect a Georgia Congressman for the first time in 84 years. Randolph Thrower conceded early to Representative James C. Davis, an ex-Ku Klux Klansman, in the populous Fifth District which embraces Atlanta.

Davis, a race-baiter, was the chairman of the special House District of Columbia subcommittee which investigated integration in the public schools of the District of Columbia.

As an advocate of white supremacy he ranks with Senator Eastland and Representative John Bell Williams of Mississippi, who deserted the Democratic party to support a states right ticket in his state.

Representative Emaruel Coller-Democrat, of New York, and Chairman Paul Butler of the Democratic National Committee have suggested that both Williams and Powell be stripped of their congressional committee seniority for deserting the Democrats.

In Richmond, Va, swung strongly to Mr Eisenhower from Stevenson, who took the bulk of it four years ago. Mr Eisenhower captured several former Stevenson precincts.

Charles City County, Va, where Negroes outnumber whites, provided another indication of the shift of Negro voters to Mr Eisenhower. It went for the President, 661 to 174, with 79 votes cast for T. Coleman Andrews, a third party candidate. In 1952 Stevenson carried Charles City, 492 to 342.

NEGRO VOTE SHIFT HEAVIEST IN SOUTH

Analysis of Returns Shows Smaller G. O. P. Gains in States in the North

By The Associated Press

If you look South, the Negro voter has returned to the Republican party. But if you look North, he is still Democratic, although not so stanchly as four years ago.

And, because there are more Negro votes outside the South than in it, the party of Lincoln still has a long way to go to regain the politico-racial domination that it held so firmly from post-Civil War days until Franklin D. Roosevelt smashed it twenty years ago.

In nearly all the great Northern centers of Negro population there was a definite trend away from the Democratic ticket although not enough to give President Eisenhower a majority over Adlai E. Stevenson in any major area of Negro registration.

Following is a state-by-state analyses of Negro voting in Tuesday's election:

ALABAMA — Although Mr. Stevenson won the state, the Negro vote was an important and possibly deciding factor in President Eisenhower's carrying Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery counties. Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro Republican leader, said about three-fourths of Jefferson County's 7,000 Negroes had switched to President Eisenhower this year and estimated the same shift for the entire state. He said that many Negroes thought a Democratic vote would be a vote for reactionary Senators "like Eastland." He referred to Senator James O Eastland, Democrat of Mississippi.

ARKANSAS—The opinion of most qualified observers is that there was no significant shift in the Negro vote. Mr. Stevenson carried the state.

CALIFORNIA — There was slight indication that some Negro votes had switched from the Democrats to the Republicans in the mixed Twenty-sixth District where Representative James Roosevelt won re-election by a smaller margin than another Democrat, Sam Yorty did in 1952.

There has been no tabulation of the Presidential race by districts. One Los Angeles County Negro leader estimated that "maybe 5 per cent of the Negro vote shifted, but I don't think it was more than that." There are an estimated 265,000 Negro voters in the county, which the President carried by 258,000. The President also won the state.

The Florida Vote

FLORIDA—Gilbert Porter of Tallahassee, director of the Florida Negro Voters League, said there was no question but that the Florida Negro vote, which had been Democratic, was predominantly Republican this year.

Florida has 148,636 registered Negro voters of which 137,868 are Democrats and 10,768 Republicans. In Miami, Negro districts that had voted Democratic gave slight majorities to President Eisenhower. Tampa results showed a definite shift of Negro votes to Republicans and two all-Negro precincts in Walton County, created by the recent legislature, went solidly Republican. The President carried the state.

GEORGIA — The Negro vote in Georgia's two largest cities, Atlanta and Savannah, shifted sharply to President Eisenhower.

ILLINOIS—Only a slight shift was indicated in the Chicago Negro vote. The Negro wards, highly organized by Democrats, gave pluralities to Mr. Stevenson but by a slightly smaller percentage than in 1952. However, there has been a big drop in registrations due to slum clearance projects and other factors. The President carried Illinois.

LOUISIANA—A shift of Negro votes, particularly in New Orleans, is given as the reason for General Eisenhower's majority in Louisiana by Camille Gravel, Democratic National Committeeman. A. P. Tureaud, state attorney for the outlawed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said:

"Negroes wanted to put in a protest vote. They voted in protest against the hostile attitude of the last legislature in passing all those segregation laws and their resentment for Senator Eastland of Mississippi and his attitude on racial matters."

MARYLAND — In Baltimore, Negro districts that in 1952 voted 3-1 and 4-1 for Mr. Stevenson, went 2-1 and 3-1 for President Eisenhower on Tuesday. State Senator Harry A. Cole, a Republican, first Negro elected to the Maryland General Assembly, said:

"I don't believe the Republican civil rights platform had anything to do with it. It was mostly due to the great respect for Eisenhower and to intensive organizing efforts on the precinct level." The President carried Maryland.

MICHIGAN — Neither party claims any shift of Negro votes in the Detroit area. Mr. Stevenson polled almost the same percentage as in 1952. The state went to General Eisenhower.

MISSISSIPPI—H. T. Ashford, Hinds County (Jackson) Circuit Clerk, estimated that the bulk of 4,000 Negro voters in the county had voted Republican. "As usual there was no shift," he said. "The Negroes here always have voted Republican." Mississippi voted for Mr. Stevenson.

NEW YORK—Harlem voted Democratic but by substantially reduced percentages. Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., a Democrat who bolted the ticket to support President Eisenhower, said Negroes had "temporarily deserted" the Democratic party because of "creeping Eastlandism," his term for the segregation stand of Southern Democrats. New York backed General Eisenhower.

NORTH CAROLINA—Indications point to a decided shift of North Carolina Negro votes to the Republican party. Two Negro leaders attribute it largely to resentment against moves of the Democratic state administration to circumvent the segregation decision. The state went to Mr. Stevenson.

PENNSYLVANIA — Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Negro wards voted Democratic but by substantially lower percentages than in 1952.

Joseph M. Barr, State Democratic Chairman, said "I don't think the colored question had one half of one per cent bearing on the entire election." General Eisenhower carried the state.

SOUTH CAROLINA — There was a pronounced shift of Negro votes to the Republicans in South Carolina.

John McCray of Columbia, estimated it as 35 per cent. He heads the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, an organization dominated by Negroes. It considers itself part of the Democratic party.

Mr. McCray attributed the shift to a protest against "certain elements" of the Southern wing of the party and to President Eisenhower's personal popularity. He estimated that less than half of the 80,000 to 85,000 registered Negroes had gone to the polls. South Carolina went to Mr. Stevenson.

TENNESSEE—The heavy Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis) apparently was a major factor in Tennessee's vote for General Eisenhower. In thirty-one precincts where the Negro vote is dominant, President Eisenhower lost them all in 1952 but won twenty-three this year.

TEXAS—Apparently a majority of Texas Negro voters remained Democratic although the President carried the state. Arthur Dewitty, state legislative representative for the N.A.A.C.P., said he knew of no substantial shift in the Negro vote. However, The Houston Post said that in eighteen predominantly Negro precincts where Mr. Stevenson got 95 per cent of the vote in 1952, the vote this year was only 67 per cent for the Democratic nominee.

VIRGINIA—The Virginia Negro vote in a number of major cities swung sharply Republican. The switch was massive in some precincts.

P. B. Young, Negro publisher of The Norfolk Journal and Guide, expressed the opinion that Negroes had switched because they "felt Eisenhower was a bit more sincere in whatever he said on the civil rights issue."

The state was captured by General Eisenhower.

MISSOURI—President Eisenhower polled a slightly higher percentage of votes in the predominantly Negro wards in St. Louis this year, but most sources agree that the race issue had little effect. Mr. Stevenson carried the state.

1,239,500 NEGROES REGISTER IN SOUTH

11-State Increase Is 210,000 Since 1952

LIST 11,072,125 WHITES

By The Associated Press

ATLANTA, Nov. 3.—The Southern Regional Council reported Saturday there are at least 1,239,500 Negroes registered to vote in the 11 Southern states, an increase of 210,000 since 1952.

The Council is an interracial organization of Southerners working in the field of human relations. It reported that while the Negro vote in the South has grown steadily since 1944 and the outlawing of the "white" primary, the percentage of Negroes of voting age registered remains comparatively low.

White Voters Cited

Registration of white voters for the 11 states was estimated at 11,072,125. Voting age white population in the 11 states was 16,882,882 and Negro voting age population 4,980,740, making white registration about 60 per cent of the potential, Negro registration about 25 per cent.

Four reasons for the comparatively low Negro registration were listed:

1—Discriminatory practices—including unusually severe literacy and Constitutional interpretation tests and difficulty in securing registration certificates.

2—Lack of political consciousness and apathy, demonstrated by the fact that in some cities where registration was comparatively easy the number of Negroes registered remained low.

3—Dependency of many Negroes on members of the white community and resultant fear of incurring economic pressures.

Intimidation Listed

4—Violence and threats, still reported in some area, "although generally replaced by more subtle forms of intimidation."

The council gave the following estimates by states:

Alabama—52,000 Negroes registered, an increase since 1952 of 26,776. Negroes represent 30 per cent of the voting age population and six per cent of the total registration.

Arkansas—69,677 Negroes registered, an increase of 8,264; Negroes represent 21 per cent of the total population of voting age and 12 per cent of the total registration.

Florida—149,786 Negroes registered, increase of 28,886; Negroes represent 20 per cent of the voting age population and nine for per cent of the total registration.

Georgia—163,825 Negroes registered, an increase of 18,990; Negroes represent 29 per cent of the total population of voting age (18 and over in eGorgia) and 12 per cent of the total registration.

Louisiana—161,400 Negroes registered, increase of 41,410; represents 30 per cent of total population of voting age and 18 per cent of total registration.

Total Unavailable

Mississippi—19,975 Negroes registered in 1954, registration for 1956 unavailable. Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

North Carolina—135,000 Negroes registered, increas of 35,000; Negroes represent 24 per cent of total population of voting age and seven per cent of the total registration.

South Carolina—100,790 Negroes registered, showing little change from 1952; Negroes represent 34 per cent of total population of voting age and 16 per cent of total registration.

Tennessee—90,000 Negroes registered, increase of 5,000; Negroes represent 16 per cent of total population of voting age and 15 per cent of total registration.

Texas—214,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 32,084 over 1952; Negroes represent 12 per cent of total population of voting age and eight per cent of total registration.

Virginia—83,098 Negroes registered, increase of 13,772 over 1952; Negroes represent 21 per cent of total population of voting age and nine per cent of total registration.

Dixie Trends—

SOUTH'S NEGRO VOTE MAY WIELD POWER

Rise In Registration Could Hurt Democrats

TENNESSEE THREAT SEEN

By ROBERT H. DENLEY
International News Service Writer

ATLANTA, Nov. 3.—There is a chance the Negro vote may achieve in Tuesday's election a significance that has not been reached in a presidential election in the South since Reconstruction days.

More Negroes are eligible to vote this year in Dixie than ever before. Most optimistic leaders of their race think the way Negroes vote might be a decisive influence in some states where the race between President Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson is especially close.

May Swing Tennessee

One of them, William Gordon, an Atlanta newspaper editor, says, "Perhaps Tennessee's Negro vote may throw that state to the Republicans. Some think that might also happen in Florida, although I personally am not so sure."

Gordon, who has travelled the South and dug into the Negro vote question, declares, "I think there will be a pretty strong swing to the President. It's not that the Negro doesn't like Mr. Stevenson, but a realization of his inability to control the whole Democratic Party."

The Southern Regional Council completed a survey of Negro vote registration this week, coming up with these estimates of the number eligible:

Alabama, 52,000.
Arkansas, 69,677.
Florida, 149,786.
Georgia, 163,825.
Louisiana, 161,410.
North Carolina, 135,000.
South Carolina, 100,790.
Tennessee, 90,000.
Texas, 214,000.
Virginia, 83,098.

This is an increase over 1952 in every case.

Unknown In Mississippi

Council spokesmen said the situation in Mississippi is "unknown." The last estimate that most surveyers accept for the state was the 1954 guess of 20,000 Negro vote registrants. Some think the figure has remained constant, while others think it has declined. NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins claimed recently registration of Negroes in Mississippi has dropped to 8000.

While the Negro vote on any statewide level has yet to prove to be of significance in these Southern states, there are claims that the Negro holds the "balance of power" in some large cities, such as Atlanta, Nashville and Knoxville, and Winston-Salem.

In the Atlanta area, particularly, this has some bearing on the hot congressional race between incumbent Democrat James C. Davis, who led the recent House inquiry of school integration in the nation's capital, and his Republican opponent, Randolph Thrower. Negroes in metropolitan Atlanta hired a full-time director and gave him volunteer staff workers to wage an intensive registration drive earlier this year.

Negro Reports Climb

According to Roderick Harris, of the Negro Voters League, registration in the Atlanta area, in the course of a couple of months, was increased from 18,000 to about 26,000. Gordon, summing up his surveys of feeling among Negroes in the Atlanta area, said, "In this district, there won't be a Negro voting for Representative Davis."

That sort of unanimity of opinion makes a difference in any otherwise close election.

Men like Gordon believe the expected increase in voting by Negroes in the South Tuesday is a trend that "definitely will establish that the ballot will be the dominating factor in getting the Negro equal rights."

SOUTH GIVING IKE BACKING IN HEAVY VOTING

Nashville, Tenn., Nov. 6 (AP)—Tennessee, with native son Estes Kefauver running for Vice President on the Democratic ticket, turned out an apparent record vote in today's election.

Returns from 1,453 out of 2,500 Tennessee, precincts gave Eisenhower 137,803; Stevenson 135,641 and Coleman Andrews 5,031.

This state usually votes Democratic but the Republicans won its 11 electoral votes by a razor thin edge in 1952 and the Democrats fought hard this time to get them back.

Ike Won in 1952

Kefauver was teamed with Adlai Stevenson against the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket which carried the state four years ago, the first G. O. P. ticket to do so since 1928.

Heavy balloting was reported thruout the state with votes lined up at precincts everywhere.

Polls closed at varying times, ranging from 3 p. m. [Chicago time] to 9 p. m.

Reece, Baker Returned

East Tennessee, a traditional Republican stronghold, returned Carroll Reece and Howard Baker to the house in today's election. Middle and west Tennessee, both stanchly Democratic, gave six Democratic incumbents new terms in the house and chose one new member.

The new face in the state's congressional delegation will be J. Carlton Loser, 64, chosen from the heavily Democratic 5th [Nashville] district to succeed the late Rep. J. Percy Priest, who died last month.

KENTUCKY

Louisville, Ky., Nov. 6 (AP)—Kentuckians turned out in apparent record numbers today for what officials predicted will be the "highest presidential vote in the state's history.

First returns from 617 precincts out of 4,056 gave Eisenhower 153,639 and Stevenson 111,111. For senator, 648 precincts gave Cooper 146,624 to 112,848 for Wetherby; 617 precincts gave Morton 142,542 to 115,220 for Clements.

Kenton county voters gave President Eisenhower 6,624 votes to 6,123 for Adlai Stevenson in the first 31 precincts reporting today. In 1952, Stevenson carried the county's 84 precincts by a vote of 19,457 to 19,200.

At stake in this border state which Adlai Stevenson carried in 1952 by 700 votes are 10 electoral votes and two senate seats.

For the first time in Kentucky's history 18 year old residents voted in a Presidential election.

Kentucky had given its electoral vote to a Republican Presidential aspirant just three times. The last Republican to win Kentucky's vote was Herbert Hoover in 1928.

Eisenhower came close four years ago. Out of a record 993,148 votes cast in Kentucky, he fell 700 short of Stevenson.

FLORIDA

Miami, Nov. 6 (AP)—A record outpouring of voters jammed the polls in many parts of Florida today to express their preference in the presidential race and a long list of other contests.

First returns from 296 precincts out of 1,782 gave Eisenhower 141,118 and Stevenson 108,404.

Election officials guessed that 1,100,000 out of the 1,600,000 eligibles would cast ballots.

Some Democratic and Republican leaders expressed belief the "war scare" had influenced the larger than expected crowds. But they disagreed on the effects of military developments on the outcome.

Expect Ike to Win

On the basis of polls and surveys, Florida is expected to give its 10 electoral votes

to President Eisenhower, as it did in 1952.

The Democrats had election day help from Estes Kefauver, who flew into Miami at dawn and campaigned thru that pivotal area until his noon departure for Chattanooga.

Aside from the red-hot presidential battle, Florida voters had contests for governor, six congressional seats and 11 constitutional amendment proposals.

One of the unknown factors in thi sfast growing state with its cosmopolitan population has been the political thinking of 267,212 new voters who have registered since 1952.

VIRGINIA

Virginia voters expressed their choice for President in a large turnout today amid indications the Republicans and their Democrats for Eisenhower allies might duplicate their 1952 victory.

Returns from the first 213 precincts out of 1,876 gave President Eisenhower 25,555 votes to 18,093 for Adlai Stevenson and 3,421 for State Righter Coleman Andrews.

An Eisenhower win this time would be the only instance in which the state had indorsed a G. O. P. presidential candidate twice in succession. Eisenhower took the state in 1952 by 80,000 votes over Stevenson in a record turnout of 620,000. Herbert Hoover's 1928 victory was the only other Republican success in modern times.

Andrews Stirs Interest

Races in nine of the state's 10 congressional districts and the third party candidacy of State Righter Andrews helped to stir the turnout in the state.

Record and near record turnouts in cities of the north, central, southeast and west indicated the vote would be near the 650,000 forecast by the state board of elections.

The first small straw in the election wind came from the little Washwoods precinct—a fishing community hard by the North Carolina border. The four qualified voters gave Mr. Eisenhower 3 to Stevenson's 1. Last time Washwoods had 11 votes and gave them al to Stevenson.

TEXAS

Dallas, Nov. 6 (AP) — Texas looked like an even-money state in today's Presidential election after a campaign in which conservative Democrats worked hard for the national Republican ticket. Election judges in metropolitan areas predicted an even greater voter turnout today than in 1952 after polls were jammed during the morning hours, despite showers and heavy fogs.

The Republican and Constitutional parties fielded candidates in some other races in this traditionally Democratic state. But political observers sa wlittle chance of anyone but a Democrat winning any of the offices, with one exception.

Could Go Either Way

That was in a tight race between Rep. Bruce Alger, the state's only Republican Congressman, and Dist. Atty. Henry Wade of Dallas, a Democrat. Most agreed it could go either way.

United States Sen. Price Daniel looked like a shoo-in for governor over Republican William R. Bryant. A third candidate, former United States Senator W. Lee O'Daniel waged an intensive write-in campaign.

A prediction of more than a million votes came from the Texas election bureau. The polls close at 7 p. m. [Chicago time].

Negro Trend

Courier Nov. 10-28-56 Pittsburgh Pa. P.13-t

The GOP drive for Negro votes seems to be making slight headway against the powerful Democratic organizations in most Harlem districts. The Republicans are hammering on integration, which a confidential survey shows is the overwhelming issue among Negroes. They are also concerned about the high cost of living and inadequate housing, the survey shows.

As an example of the stress the Republicans are placing on the Negro vote, the White House sent presidential aide Max Rabb, former aide Charlie Willis, and FDR's son John Roosevelt to New York to help Negro Congressman Adam Clayton Powell launch his campaign for the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket.

The drift is toward the Democrats, however, in Jewish communities. And the man who is costing the Republicans many Jewish votes is Secretary of State John Foster Dulles. His "muddle East" policy has convinced many Jews, rightly or wrongly, that he's on the side of the Arabs. The surveys show that Jews who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt, then switched to Eisenhower in 1952, are returning to the Democratic fold.

Dulles is equally unpopular among Greek-Americans who don't like his policy toward the rebellious Greek Cypriotes. This will cost the Eisenhower ticket crucial votes, particularly in Massachusetts, the surveys show.

One thing is certain: in many key states, the minorities will play a vital, if not decisive role, on Nov. 6.

Is Powell Planning New Independent Voters Group

Daily World Sun. 12-16-56 Atlanta, Ga.

P.1 34e

BY A. E. WHITE

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Is Adam Powell planning a national independent voters' group?

With rumors flying that the Democratic party plans to read him out of the party and that the Republicans are reluctant to accept him in their ranks — and the Congressman himself adamant in declaring himself a Democrat, the stage is set for the formation of a group independent of either party and strong enough to influence leaders of both.

This is not the first time such a plan has been considered. Years ago, a disgruntled group of colored voters went so far as to meet in Atlantic City, hoping to unite in a forceful group. Personal wrangles broke up the meeting and the colored voters lost that opportunity.

Today, the situation similar in some respects, sees colored Americans without a forceful leader able to rally all segments in what would be a voters fight for first class citizenship. Many will not follow Powell, clinging to their former allegiances in the hope that the threat of a new group will spur liberals in both parties to action.

This was indicated by the announcement of several powerful Democratic senators in their proposal to wage war on the infamous Senate filibuster in the opening session of Congress. Some Republicans have indicated a willingness to go along in the fight too.

Again, Democrats, calling for the removal of Chairman Butler seek to wrest control of the party from the eastern division of the party—particularly New York, which long has called the shots.

Now California, with an ever increasing population, is challenging New York's domination of the party.

Meanwhile, the big brass of the Democratic party, meeting in Washington last week, had as an important item on its agenda, next to wiping out the million dollar deficit the committee faces as a result of campaign expenditures, the fractious civil rights situation.

Strong support for revitalizing the party's civil rights program has been promised by James A. Finnegan, the powerful Philadelphia leader who is regarded as one of the shrewdest of the party's new leaders.

Meanwhile, New Yorkers are having some of their complacency shaken through rumors that the white Citizens Council is active in the Empire state with a going chapter operating right in New York City.

IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL:

Voter participation in Miss., Ala. lowest of all U.S. states

Afro-American Sat. 4-28-56
L.S
Baltimore, Md.

The two states, Mississippi and Alabama, which impose the severest restrictions on voting qualifications, have the lowest voter participation of any states in the country.

In fact, 10 of the 11 Deep South states have the lowest voter participation of any states in the country. In these, participation ranged from 13.1 per cent in Mississippi and 13.9 per cent in Alabama to 29.8 per cent in North Carolina.

By contrast, the voter participation was 43.6 per cent in Pennsylvania, 43.9 per cent in Michigan, 46.5 per cent in Ohio, 47.8 per cent in Missouri, 48.6 per cent in California, 50 per cent in New Jersey, and 54.7 per cent in Delaware.

* * *

THUS, IN these states, where voting qualifications are imposed without regard to race or color, voter participation was anywhere from twice to four times that of one or several of these 10 southern states.

Even in the one-party states of the North, voter participation was much greater than in the one-party states in the South.

To a large voter participation extent, in the states where colored citizens are denied the right to vote there is the greatest lack of voter participation.

This is due to the fact that there is no restriction that can be written into the voting laws that will not catch some white citizens.

* * *

FOR EXAMPLE, in the five poll-tax states of Alabama, Arkansas, Mississipp, Texas and Virginia, poor whites as well as colored citizens are kept from voting by the poll tax.

Likewise, literacy tests requiring the ability to read and interpret any provision of the Federal or state constitutions catches illiterate whites as well as colored persons.

These laws, however, were put on the statute books chiefly to keep colored citizens from qualifying to register and vote, and they are administered with that result in mind.

* * *

ADDED TO these unfairly administered restrictive laws are threats, intimidation and violence to keep colored people from registering and voting.

The Democratic Party in Mississippi aspires to be lily white, Tom J. Tubb, chairman of the Mississippi Democratic executive committee, has told county committees to challenge voters on the ground that they are not qualified members of the Democratic Party.

Mississippi already had a restrictive amendment, passed in 1954, requiring voters to read, write and interpret the Constitution.

After taking this hurdle, colored persons at some polling places last year in the gubernatorial primaries were confronted with questions such as: "How long have you been a member of the Democratic Party?" and "What does the Democraitc Party mean to you?"

* * *

ECONOMIC PRESSURES and threats of violence have been employed against colored persons who persist in voting.

In Macon County, Ala., the seat of which is Tuskegee, colored people outnumber whites by better than four to one.

Yet the white minority is able to maintain control by holding down registration to the point where, of 25,000 colored people in the county, only about 1,000 are registered and qualified to vote.

State Sen. Sam Englehardt, who owns a 6,000-acre plantation and means to keep the colored man in a position of second-class citizenship, blames Gov. James E. (Big Jim) Folsom that any colored persons at all are voting in Macon County.

* * *

ATTY. GEN. Herbert Brownell Jr. has asked Congress to give him authority to invoke civil remedies for enforcement of voting rights, particularly authority to apply to the courts for injunctive relief against violation of voting rights.

Mr. Brownell has made out a strong case for such authority.

He told the House Judiciary Committee that civil proceedings by the Attorney General to forestall illegal interference and denial of the right to vote would be far more effective in safeguarding the free exercise of the voting right than the private suits for damages or criminal proceedings which can never be instituted until after the harm is done.

But, because of the unfair representation which the states with low voter participation enjoy in the Congress, the seniority system which puts great power in the hands of Representatives and Senators from such states, and Senate rules, it will be extremely difficult for such legislation to gain passage.

Voter participation in the 1952 Presidential election, based on the 1950 population figures, follows:

State	Percent of Population Participating	State	Percent of Population Participating
Mississippi	13.1	South Dakota	45.4
Alabama	13.9	Oregon	45.7
South Carolina	16.1	Nebraska	46.0
Virginia	18.7	Minnesota	46.3
Georgia	19.0	Washington	46.4
Arkansas	21.2	Ohio	46.6
Louisiana	24.3	Wisconsin	46.8
Texas	26.9	Idaho	46.9
Tennessee	27.1	Kansas	47.0
North Carolina	29.8	Colorado	47.6
Kentucky	33.7	Utah	47.8
Arizona	34.8	Missouri	47.8
New Mexico	35.0	New York	48.1
Florida	35.7	Iowa	48.4
Maine	38.5	California	48.7
Maryland	38.5	Indiana	49.7
Vermont	40.5	New Jersey	50.0
Oklahoma	42.5	Massachusetts	50.8
North Dakota	43.6	New Hampshire	51.2
Pennsylvania	43.6	Nevada	51.3
Michigan	43.9	Illinois	51.4
Wyoming	44.5	Rhode Island	52.3
West Virginia	44.6	Connecticut	54.6
Montana	44.8	Delaware	54.7

Voters' Registration Dates

Courier Pittsburgh Pa.
Sept. 3-24-56

Following are deadline dates by which voters must REGISTER in each of the 48 states in order to VOTE in the Nov. 6 Presidential election:

Alabama	Oct. 27	Kansas	Oct. 16 d	Nebraska	Oct. 26 m
Arizona	Oct. 1		Oct. 26 e		Oct. 27 n
Arkansas	No. regis'n	Kentucky	Sept. 8	Nevada	Oct. 6
California	Sept. 13	Louisiana	Oct. 6	New Hampshire	Oct. 27
Colorado	Oct. 22	Maine	Oct. 18 f	New Jersey	Sept. 27
Connecticut	Oct. 13 a	Maryland	Sept. 22 g	New Mexico	Oct. 8
Delaware	Oct. 20		Oct. 6 h	New York	Sept. 18 p
Florida	Oct. 6		Oct. 9 k		Oct. 13 q
Georgia	May 5	Massachusetts	Oct. 5	North Carolina	Oct. 27
Idaho	Nov. 3	Michigan	Oct. 8	N. Dakota	No reg's'n
Illinois	Oct. 8	Minnesota	Oct. 16	Ohio	Sept. 26
Indiana	Oct. 27 b	Mississippi	July 6	Oklahoma	Oct. 26
Iowa	Oct. 27 b	Missouri	Oct. 9-13	Oregon	Oct. 6
	Nov. 6 c	Montana	Sept. 20	Pennsylvania	Sept. 17

Rhode Island	Sept. 7
South Carolina	Oct. 4
South Dakota	Oct. 29
Tennessee	Oct. 17, 27
Texas	No registration
Utah	Oct. 31
Vermont	Nov. 3
Virginia	Oct. 6
Washington	Oct. 5
West Virginia	Oct. 6
Wisconsin	Oct. 24
Wyoming	Oct. 22
Alaska	r
Hawaii	Oct. 10

a Some towns Oct. 20; b Des Moines; c elsewhere; d Wichita, Topeka, Kansas City; e elsewhere; f to Nov. 1; g Baltimore, Montgomery, and Prince George counties; h in other permanent registration counties; k elsewhere; m Lincoln and Omaha; n elsewhere; p central; q local; r established locally. District of Columbia, no voting.

• Register NOW—and vote!

The Northern Negro, how he will vote—

Indications are Northern Negro will go heavily Democratic

(EDITOR'S NOTE: The Negro vote in the North has gone heavily Democratic in recent national elections. With GOP observers claiming a new trend back to their party, the Institute has conducted a special study in key Negro districts in the North to determine whether the trend is real or imaginary.

To get the answer, an experienced "team" of reporters from the Institute canvassed Negro districts in selected states north of the Mason-Dixon line. Aided by 70 specially trained interviewers from the field staff, they talked with hundreds of Negro voters to get the true picture of Negro opinion today.

The following article—first of two—is by John M. Fenton, who directed the field operations of the study and headed the Institute's team.)

BY JOHN M. FENTON

Gallup Poll staff representative

No matter what happens in Chicago's International Amphitheater next week on the civil rights issue, present indications are that Northern Negroes will go heavily Democratic in this November's election.

Nearly four years of a Republican administration—during which the Supreme Court's decision on school integration was handed down—have done little to win Northern Negroes away from the Democrats.

In short, the Negro still tends to base his politics on his pocketbook rather than on his race—and when the Negro thinks of his pocketbook, he thinks Democratic.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS issue has had some effect on Northern Negroes. Emmet Till, Arthurine Lucy and "the bus boycott" are household words today in New York's Harlem, Detroit's Paradise Valley and Chicago's South Side.

But memories of the late President Roosevelt and his efforts to improve the Negro's lot don't fade easily. With many Northern Negroes out of work and "just walking the streets" at present, the typical Negro in the North is still basically a Democrat.

This reporter has recently been talking with Negroes in metropolitan areas of the North. Working with 70 resident reporters from the Institute field staff, representatives from the Princeton office sought to probe behind the facts and figures to get the "reasons why" the Northern Negro is still firmly wedded to the Democratic Party.

To make sure that a true picture of Negro opinion was obtained, the Institute assigned both white and Negro reporters to work on this study. It is interesting to note that both white and Negro interviewers obtained nearly the same results.

Basic to the Negro's present attachment to the Democratic Party are his feelings on which party has done the most for his race in recent years.

Democrats did most

Taking the period since 1946, for example—the years since World War II when both the Democratic and Republican administrations were active in behalf of the Negroes—the Negro is overwhelmingly of the opinion that the Democrats have done more for him, as the following figures show:

"Which party—the Republican or the Democratic—has done the most for Negroes in the last 10 years?"

Northern Negroes	
Democratic	67%
Republican	16
No difference, no opinion	17

The casual observer might be puzzled about such a heavy vote for the Democrats, considering the civil rights efforts which have been made since the Republicans took office in 1952. The 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregation in schools and the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling of 1955 have been heralded as two of the most important civil rights measures since the Civil War.

One quickly discovers, however, that several factors lie behind this note of confidence that the Negro gives the Democratic Party.

First concern money

THE NEGRO'S first concern today is that of getting enough money to food, clothe and keep his family in a decent fashion. Only after this is accomplished, does he find the time and interest to think about the civil rights problem. Until he has a job and sufifcient money to pay his bills, Autherine Luey and her plight have secondary importance.

But even when the Negro is considering the question of equal rights and de-segregation, he is not ready to give the GOP all the credit.

Many Northern Negroes, for example, think very highly of President Truman for his civil rights efforts with the FEPC. They have seen the Fair Employment Practices Commission at work; they have yet to see Mississippi's schools integrate the races. Although they realize de-segregation cannot come about immediately in the South, Northern Negroes want to see widespread action taken on the school question just as they want some action on the state of their pocketbook.

In brief, before the Northern Negro goes back to the "party of Lincoln," he wants, first evidence that the Republicans—both in good and bad times—will see that he has employment, and, second, that any GOP civil rights measures are ones which actually take some action and do not just state policies. To date, the typical Negro in the North does not feel the Republicans have provided the evidence on either of the above counts.

Impact of Roosevelt

Another important factor behind the Northern Negro's Democratic allegiance is the extraordinary impact that Franklin D. Roosevelt had—and still has to a large extent—on the Negroes.

Previous to the late President's administration, Negroes had voted Republican since the War between the States. The freeing of the slaves was a key issue in the formation of the Republican party. But the measures which Roosevelt put through for the benefit of Negroes during the early years of his administration were greatly successful in winning the colored vote away from the GOP.

One finds the allegiance won 20 years ago still very much alive in the Negro areas of the large Northern cities. The older Negroes remember the Roosevelt era and the younger ones have had the influence passed down to them by their parents.

Because of this primary importance that the Negro gives to the job situation, much of the campaign efforts on the part of GOP Congressional aspirants in heavily Negro districts are likely to go for naught.

Many Republican candidates for Congress have used the Eisenhower administration's civil rights record as an argument why Negroes in their districts should vote Republican in November.

But the fact of the matter is that if the elections for Congress were being held today, Negroes in the North would likely go Democratic by the same heavy margin they did in the 1954 Congressional elections.

Vote for Congress

Here is the question asked on that score and the results compared with the Negro vote in the North in the last Congressional election:

"If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in this state—the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?"

The vote today, compared with the Negro vote in 1954:

NORTHERN NEGROES	Today	1954
Democratic	77%	77%
Republican	23	23

(A total of 5 per cent of all Negro voters interviewed in the study were undecided as of today.)

A question that naturally arises when discussing the Negro vote for Congress is the effect that the Southern white Democrats would have on the Negro vote—particularly in light of incidents in the South since the Supreme Court's decision. Many observers have wondered how the Northern Negro could vote for a party that included in its ranks such "white supremacists" as Sen. James Eastland of Mississippi, or Georgia's Gov. Herman Talmadge.

With the Northern Negro, however, the explanation seems to be one of "out of sight, out of mind." Negroes in the North are aware of the Southern Democrats—but this awareness does not seem to be having an appreciable effect on their party allegiance.

One gets the impression when talking with Northern Negroes about the Southerners, that the typical Negro thinks, in effect, of two Democratic parties—the one in the South, representing much that he opposes, the other in the North, a party that has long looked out for his welfare. It is the "second party" that determines his vote as of today.

The next article will discuss the Northern Negro's attitude on the leading Democratic contenders and the kind of a race President Eisenhower is likely to run this Fall.—(c).

Rabb Reported Stressing Importance of Negro Vote

By the Associated Press

Delegates to a Young Republican leadership training school quoted White House aide Maxwell M. Rabb yesterday as stressing the importance of the Negro vote in the coming campaign.

Addressing a convention session that was barred to newsmen, Mr. Rabb reportedly said Negroes hold a balance of power in some 60 Northern congressional districts.

Delegates said he listed what he considered outstanding achievements by the Eisenhower administration in race relations, then asserted that while some Democrats have said a great deal about civil rights, they have done nothing.

Mr. Rabb's speech followed by three days a talk on the Negro vote by Richard L. Tobin, public relations director for National Citizens for Eisenhower. Mr. Tobin told the citizens group race relations developments should be used as "major ammunition" among Negroes in the campaign.

A reporter asked Mr. Rabb, who handles minority affairs for the White House and serves as secretary to the cabinet, for the gist of his remarks. He replied pleasantly: "Oh, that was all off the record. I spoke only on that condition."

Other top Republicans addressing the training school included Presidential Assistant Sherman Adams and G. O. P. Chairman Leonard W. Hall.

Mr. Hall contended that a Nation-wide poll taken by Wesleyan University in Middletown, Conn., shows a "tremendous Republican breakthrough" among the young voters

GEORGIA EDITORS LOOK OVER THE STATE:

Journal + Constitution

Georgia Registration Act Causes Confusion in Voting

Sun. 12-2-56 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 17-E

The (Crawfordville) Advocate-Democrat

WHEN THE POLL TAX was abolished in Georgia, it made it next to impossible for the County Board of Registrars to keep an accurate and clean registration list.

When a voter failed to pay his poll tax, he became a defaulter. The defaulter list was checked against the registration list, and the names removed. Therefore, those who died and those who moved out of the county automatically appeared among the defaulters.

Now the registrars have to check the voters' list, and if a voter hasn't cast his ballot in two years his name is removed.

It's hard to get capable people to serve on the board of registrars.

Ten years ago, the editor of this paper was chairman of the board of registrars. The Negro voters were challenged. We had hearings.

The FBI came in later and spent a day or two investigating.

Who wants to serve on the board of registrars when you are subject to all kinds of Civil Rights suits?

Georgia needs to revise the registration act.

Many people can't prepare a ballot for voting. They call on a friend, who is a professional ballot marker and is placed at the polls for such a purpose.

Columbus Ledger

THERE MUST BE no misunderstanding—and there should not be, on the record—about the nature of Kluxism, under whatever name. When several KKK organizations were placed on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations and also after several states passed anti-masking and anti-crossburning laws, Kluxism faded away for a while. In the last year or so—trading on resentment of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision—several groups have tried to revive Kluxism under different but similar KKK names. But if the names are changed, the motives evidently are not.

The Kluxers are not interested only in expressing dissent with the Supreme Court decision. This is the appeal they have for some who do not understand the movement. They have shown over and over that they are hate groups and that the hatred is not limited to the school decision or Negroes. . . .

Klansmen appeared at a meeting addressed by the notorious hate-peddler John Kasper in Birmingham last September, and Kasper said he was "deeply honored" and "We need all the rabble-rousers we can get. . . . We want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it." Kasper has a long record of peddling hate booklets, directed mostly against Jews, in New York and Washington. He is a darling of the Kluxists and evidently from what he said in Birmingham he returns the affection.

That is Kluxism—a proposition dedicated to hate of all but white protestants; of observing laws with which it agrees and otherwise being the law. Kluxism remains subversive under any name.

Jeff Davis (Hazlehurst) Ledger

ONE OF OUR county schools, that at Denton, was among the first to put into practice a good policy—"See Georgia First."

The idea is growing and now the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce is pushing the idea by letters to school officials throughout the state.

There are many excellent reasons for our young people taking their class trip within Georgia. There is the natural beauty of the state; the lower cost per student; reduced time and distance; variety of scenery, recreation, historical and geographical knowledge that can be had in a Georgia tour.

"Too few Georgians are aware of the travel enjoyment offered by their own state, so the same must be true of our school-age youngsters," said Howard Callaway, who is chairman of the tourist department of the State Chamber of Commerce. "Seeing Georgia first will prove of real educational value and result in greater appreciation of their home state."

Savannah Morning News

NEXT TUESDAY bids are scheduled to be opened here for construction of the concrete portion of the Hartwell dam, located on the Savannah River about 65 miles above Clark Hill between Georgia and South Carolina. Approval for this phase of the Hartwell project was given by Congress last summer in the greatest pork barrel spending spree of all time. This phase of the Hartwell project will cost a little more than $10 million, while the entire project is expected to cost about $100 million of the taxpayers' money.

Last summer and earlier congressmen, senators, chamber of commerce officials, mayors, and assorted other citizens from both sides of the Savannah River were thumping the drums for immediate approval of the Hartwell project. The reasons were somewhat obscure, consisting of glowing generalities about future development of the whole area. Nothing specific was proposed except an expensive method of capitalizing an electric generator, and the expenditure of millions of dollars in Georgia and South Carolina to which congressmen from the area would point with pride. . . .

Back in 1952 those who favored Hartwell dam had a much stronger argument than they have today. Then, they said, Hartwell was a military necessity because the Savannah River Atomic Energy Commission installation sorely needed additional electric power that could come only from a hydroelectric dam at Hartwell. But, it turned out, the H-bomb plant didn't need the electricity after all, so by early 1953, Hartwell became a lovely dream, but an unnecessary one. But that did not discourage those who like to build big dams, whether or not there is a good reason, and proponents of the project proceeded on a "damn the torpedoes—full speed ahead" basis.

Macon News

INDEPENDENT COLLEGES in other states have found it necessary to band together in the common cause of obtaining adequate financial support and Georgia has finally joined the parade.

The Georgia Foundation for Independent Colleges has been organized with the able president of Mercer University, Dr. George B. Connell, heading the group. Other schools in the foundation, besides Mercer, are Oglethorpe, Tift, Wesleyan, Shorter, LaGrange, Brenau, Agnes Scott and the Liberal Arts College of Emory University.

The idea is to go after contributions from industry with an appeal to save liberal arts colleges, rather than stressing donations for individual schools. Separate fund-raising activities, however, may also be carried on.

This type of money-raising organization has reportedly been successful in other states. We hope it is in Georgia, too, for the financial problems of the schools are obvious and our liberal arts colleges are irreplaceable.

More About The State Voting List

Daily World Tues. 12-4-56

The voting list is the fountainhead of the stream that bears the consent of the governed; it must be pure and uninterrupted in its fluid seep for the nutrition of the sinews of government which seeks to be of the people and for the people. Any other course could be nothing less than class regulation for class participation and class enjoyment.

Atlanta, Ga.

Rumors now current that many of the counties are not carrying out the regulations governing the viting list according to law, make no contribution to the claim of those who boast so loudly during campaigns about honest government.

P. 6

So, those acquainted with recent happenings of elections involving splinter candidates, strategy devised to combat majority opinion through county units, the challenging of certain voters who have no other option at times than voting against those apparently unfriendly to them, and the possibility of more people voting in some of the county units than there are actual inhabitants in the county, will view with alarm what in the end amounts to the election machinery of the state.

Voting is a sacred principle; it rises high above the objectives of a football game or a pastime at checkers.

It will be recalled that during the Georgia two-governors dispute that one citizen testified with the utmost complacency that "it is a custom down in these parts that fellows coming to town would vote for each other."

As has been stated in a former release, it would not seem consistent to lay such gross irregularities to just an oversight, casual carelessness and otherwise something overlooked and not intended for fraud, when a few years ago counties were witch-hunting the names of Negro voters, challenging and throwing them off the voting lists by the thousands.

Murray Ballot Violations Charged; Tax Chief's Victory Challenged

Constitution State News Service

CHATSWORTH, Nov. 23. Widespread voting irregularities were charged Friday in a petition contesting the Nov. 6 election of the Murray County tax commissioner.

Gerald Leonard was reelected tax commissioner in the election. Official returns gave Leonard 1,512 votes.

Charles Richards, who polled 909 votes and ran second in the three-man race, asked that the election be set aside and declared void "in view of the widespread irregularities and fraud practiced . . ."

Richards filed a petition of contest through his attorney, Bobby Lee Cook of Summerville. Gov. Marvin Griffin has held up Leonard's commission pending disposition of the contest.

A hearing before a Murray justice of the peace was set for 10 a.m. on Nov. 30. Records of testimony at the hearing will be sent to the Murray Superior Court for a ruling.

In his petition, Richards charged that irregularities "were so great and in such flagrant abuse and disregard" of election laws "that the true result of said election is not deducible."

He alleged that in the Tennga precinct, "No voting booths or other private compartments were provided by which the various voters could vote a secret ballot." He said voters "had to vote the ballot by marking it on a table, and anyone was at liberty to view the ballots . . ."

Richards claimed that in all precincts the election managers and their representatives "were allowed to carry ballots to the homes of various persons . . . and several ballots were handled in this fashion in each of the voting precincts . . . all in fragrant violation of the law."

He charged that all 231 absentee ballots cast in the election were illegal because "none of the applicants gave both a notice of intention to vote by mail and an application by mail for an absentee ballot."

He also contested a large number of absentee ballots on several grounds. He said in many cases election officials did not forward ballots to the voters at least nine days prior to the election, qualified persons did not apply for the ballots, and many voters did not meet residential requirements to vote in Murray County.

An investigation by The Atlanta Constitution earlier this week showed that a number of persons who moved from Murray County several years ago voted there by absentee ballot in the Nov. 6 election.

Three former Murray residents who have been living in Atlanta since 1948 voted by absentee ballot in Murray County. And the wife of one of them also voted although she has never lived in Murray County.

Tax Commissioner Gerald Leonard pointed out to a reporter that two of the Atlantans pay taxes on personal property to Murray County. But the state attorney general's office said personal property should be returned in the county where it is located. In this case the property is located in Fulton County.

Jury in Miller Denies Negroes Can't Register

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 9-20-56 P. 16

Constitution State News Service

COLQUITT, Sept. 19—Charges that Negroes have been denied the right to register for voting are untrue, the Miller County grand jury declared here Wednesday.

The jury met in special session to investigate statements by John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Georgia League of Voters, that Negroes had not been allowed to register.

The jury reported its investigation into actions by the county Board of Registrars showed "honest, fair handling of our registration list."

Dobbs, a Negro leader from Atlanta, was subpoenaed to testify before the jury and was ordered to produce a letter which allegedly came from Miller County substantiating statements attributed to him.

In an affidavit signed before the jury, Dobbs denied he had such a document.

Dobbs declared in the affidavit: "I do not have in my possession any letter or other written instrument that charges that Negro voters are being denied the right to vote in Miller County."

Peter Zach Geer Jr., attorney for the registrars, said Dobbs claimed he had been misquoted (by the Associated Press) about registration and voting in the county.

Atlanta Negro Gets Subpoena In Vote Charge

Journal & Constitution
Sun. 9-16-56
Atlanta, Ga.

COLQUITT, Ga., Sept. 15 (AP)—An Atlanta Negro leader who charged that members of his race are denied the ballot in Miller County Saturday was issued a subpoena by the county grand jury, called into special session by Judge Walter Geer.

P. 8-A

The subpoena was served in Atlanta on John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Georgia Voters League, by a Miller deputy sheriff who flew there for the purpose. Dobbs was ordered to appear Wednesday before the grand jury to give his testimony.

Court officials said the grand jury investigation resulted from a petition to Geer by members of the board of registrars that Dobbs' charges, made on Sept. 6, be looked into.

Also subpoenaed was a letter Dobbs claims came from Miller County substantiating his charges.

Negroes Can Register, Jury Declares

Daily World
Sat. 9-22-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Miller County's grand jury declared that Negroes in the county can register and vote, following a special session, Wednesday.

P. 1

The investigation was prompted after John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Georgia League of Voters, was alleged to have said, that Negro voters were being denied the right to vote in Miller County.

Mr. Dobbs stated in an affidavit "I do not have in my possession any letter or other written instrument that charges that Negro voters are being denied the right to vote in Miller County."

Peter Zack Geer, Jr. attorney for the registrars, said Mr. Dobbs charged he had been misquoted about registration and voting in the county.

The jury reported that its investigation showed that the county "Board of Registrars showed honest, fair handling our registration list."

Mr. Dobbs, a resident of Atlanta, was subpoenaed to testify before the jury and was ordered to produce a letter which allegedly came from Miller County, substantiating statements attributed to him.

Mr. Dobbs affidavit was attacked to the grand jury's presentments, which praised the registrars and tax collectors and said the registration list" has been handled according to the law of the state.

Ga. citizens file suit for vote rights

Afro-American
Sat. 9-1-56
Baltimore, Md.

ATLANTA, Ga. (ANP)—After several colored citizens testified last week that their names had been removed from the voter's list, preventing them from voting in the county primary and in future elections, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett took under consideration a suit demanding restoration of some 180 names to the list.

P. 3

The suit asked that the board of registrars of Pierce County be required to restore the names of the colored citizens to the voter's list.

At a two - hour hearing in Brunswick, they testified that the removal of their names from the list prevented them from voting in the past Aug. 15 county primary.

* * *

THE WITNESS for the defendant registrars was County Attorney S. F. Memory of Blackshear, who represented the registrars.

Memory said the names were stricken after an Aug. 7 hearing held according to the latest Georgia law, which he said requires only one to 10 days' notice.

He admitted that some of the notices were mailed at the minimum one-day prior to the hearing, but said "not over 60" were challenged and "only about 15" were removed.

He said the registrars were required to act after challenges were filed against the colored citizens by a Pierce County voter, John C. Parker of Patterson, an asbestos worker.

* * *

HE SAID he did not know why Parker had filed the challenges, but those removed from the list had failed to sign the voter's oath required by law.

The county attorney said no one was denied the right to vote because of race or color as contended by the plaintiffs, although he admitted that only colored persons were challenged by Parker.

Colored witnesses said they had voted previously without incident and had registered with the county tax collector as provided by law.

Some witnesses told of receiving notices of the hearing after it was held and some said they found out they could not vote only when they went to the polls.

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 9-13-56
P. 1

GETTING OUT TO VOTE PROVED TO BE A FAMILY AFFAIR — High political interest resulted in a heavy turn out of Atlanta voters in Wednesday's state Democratic primary. One interesting side feature was the increasing number of instances where husband and wife teams showed up at the polls together to cast their ballots. In left photo Mrs. J. W. Robinson talks with a poll clerk prior to filling out her card, while Mr. Robinson awaits his turn. In center photo Mr. and Mrs. John Wesley Dobbs check slip before entering booth. In right photo Mr. and Mrs. W. G. Golden, veteran voters, for the first time showed up at the polls together. They talk with clerk Mrs. W. R. Thrasher. — (Photos By Terry)

Names of 321 Removed From Buford Voters' List

Constitution State News Service

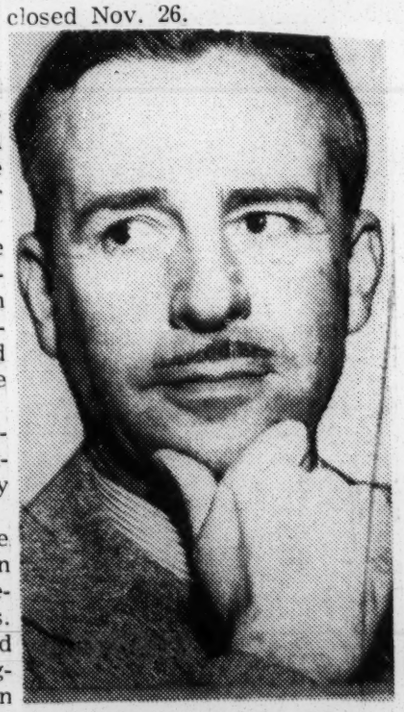
BUFORD, Oct. 25—The voters' registration list for the city of Buford was purged of 321 names Thursday by a committee appointed by the city commission, bringing the total list down from 1,419 to 1,098.

The committee was appointed after members of a citizens' committee, which is seeking to have a public referendum on a question of whether or not Buford schools should merge with those of Gwinnett County, requested the City Commission to remove the names of those dead or moved away.

Lionel Drake, chairman of the City Commission, Wednesday appointed Guy D. Buice, chairman of the Citizens Committee; Milton McLain, Chief Garner and Noah Herrington to revise the list.

The committee finished its revision late Thursday and an unofficial tabulation was made by City Clerk J. C. Merritt.

Before the referendum may be held under local law, a petition must be signed by at least one-fourth of the registered voters. The new total of registered voters, 1,098, means that 275 registered Buford voters must sign the book which will be opened Friday morning in the city clerk's office. The book will be closed Nov. 26.



EYE ON GEORGIA
Warren Olney

Suit by Negroes To Regain Vote In Pierce Won't Affect FBI Probe

The Federal Bureau of Investigation will continue its investigation of Negro voter purge charges in Pierce County regardless of what decision a federal judge hands down in a pending civil suit on the matter, a Department of Justice spokesman said in Washington Thursday.

G. Frederick Mullen, director of public information for the Justice Department, told The Constitution the pending civil suit would not affect the FBI investigation.

And in answer to charges the probe is designed to "catch a few Negro votes," Mullen quoted a statement issued Thursday by Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III:

"It is true the action being taken is political because it is a matter of fundamental political principle, a political right—the right to vote. But it cannot be claimed that the action taken is partisan when nine of 10 are Democrats being disenfranchised by Democrats."

Pierce County Atty. Foster Memory Thursday made the charge the FBI investigation was made "just to catch a few Negro votes."

Memory said the names of some Negroes were removed following a report that the Negro voter list was "padded." They were taken off, he continued, on the grounds that they "hadn't taken the oath that was required by law" and that they "were not able to answer certain prescribed questions."

The county attorney said the names of "about 300" Negroes were challenged and some 60 or 70 showed up for a check of their qualifications. Some 130 who did not attend the hearing were stricken from the list of qualified voters.

The 130 have filed suit in federal district court to be reinstated. Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett of Brunswick has said he will hand down his decision next week.

Judge Scarlett said he has issued an injunction to prevent anyone "from interfering in any way with their (the 130 Negroes) right to vote."

Olney said Pierce County is one of six "particular trouble spots" where the Department of Justice plans prosecution after the Nov. 6 election.

Pierce Bars Negro Vote, Probe Told

The head of the U.S. Department of Justice's criminal division said Wednesday his department is investigating charges that Negroes were deprived of their right to vote in Pierce County, Georgia.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney told the Senate Subcommittee on Campaign Practices in Washington that the Justice Department is studying the possibility of court action there and in two counties in Louisiana.

However, Pierce County Democratic Party officials, labeling Olney's charge "political, designed to influence the Negro vote in the North," said the only Negro vote complaint registered there already is pending in federal court.

RESTRAINING ORDER

Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett said at St. Simons he has issued a temporary restraining order to prevent Pierce officials from interfering with the voting rights of 130 Negroes until he hands down his ruling during the week of Oct. 29.

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce board of registration, said "there was nothing illegal" in removing the Negroes from the voting list. "The colored people weren't challenged as a whole, just some of them."

He said a registered voter, J. C. Parker of Patterson, challenged some 300 of the 400 registered Negro voters. Echols said 95 per cent of the challenged Negro voters who appeared at a board of registration hearing retained their voting rights.

"IGNORANCE OF LAW"

He blamed "ignorance of the law" on the part of the 130 Negroes as the cause of their being removed from the rolls. "By not appearing before the board, they were removed," he said.

Echols said this is the only "disenfranchisement" complaint he knew of in the county.

LOUISIANA CASES

The FBI's Savannah office Wednesday had "no comment" when asked if they were investigating other complaints.

Olney said the other specific complaints regarding the loss of Negro voting rights came from Ouachita and Rapides parishes (counties) in Louisiana.

Olney urged the subcommittee to hold hearings on the matter before the Nov. 6 election. The hearings, he said, "would result in hundreds of voters being restored to the rolls."

INVITES ACTION

In Pierce County, Harvey D. Griffin, chairman of the county Democratic executive committee, said, "We'd be glad for them (the Justice Department) to bring some court action down here, because the case was properly handled."

34e 1956

GEORGIA

The Voting Mills Sometimes "Grind Slowly"

The rumblings of the machinery set up for divers ways and means of annihilating the Negro vote ever since the restoration of the ballot back in 1946 are having answers at last from the office of the U. S. Department of Justice.

In many sections of the country the running sores of subterfuge, outright denial and those extenuations meant for the keeping of free men from a free expression on men and measures at the ballot box, became so obvious as to attract world-wide attention.

The condemnation of these practices came from many high and disinterested sources and naturally in time they would reach such proportions as to draw fire from those whose task it is to bargain through the offices of good relations for those tolerant principles which bade for peace all over a troubled world.

Now, there comes word from the office of Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney of the criminal division, that his department is investigating charges that Negroes are being deprived of their right to vote in Pierce County, Georgia. Olney told the Senate Subcommittee on Campaign Practices in Washington that Attorney General Brownell's Justice Department is studying the possibility of court action there as well as in two parishes in Louisiana.

For some time there has been questions raised regarding the methods employed for the purpose of keeping the Negro from the ballot in Georgia.

Back in 1946 when the ballot was being restored to the Negro in such proportions as to cause the vote challenge practice to exceed the usefulness of its purpose, the safeguard of the ballot from irresponsible and otherwise disqualified persons. It got to the place where the practice was definitely confined to Negro voters and in one single Georgia County, Randolph the practice became so outrageous in the way school teachers, ministers and other professional persons were being challenged that court action ensued on the part of those challenged.

It is of record that a federal court in Columbus, Georgia not only found the practice out of line but issued a declaratory judgment for the names of the persons challenged to be restored back to the list. In addition to this, damages were awarded complainants at bar.

It is of interest to voters all over the state that Federal Judge Frank Scarlett of Waycross, Georgia has issued a temporary restraining order preventing the removal of the names of 130 Negroes in Pierce County until he hands down a ruling on October 26th., in the matter.

It is well that such practices, as was cracked at Columbus, are being drawn under fire before the November election.

The Georgia State Negro Voters League in its last meeting at Macon became advised of the spurious methods whereby hundreds of legal voters were being kept from the polls. It heart complaints of the Randolph County case from some of those challenged.

Many well meaning and public spirited citizens have complained of the un-Democratic practices, meant on the whole to defeat our basic principle underlying free government by and for a free people.

A one-party system, county units and vote-challenge — three musketeers — defending minority office-holding and splinter candidates, must sooner or later sit down quietly at the table of consequences.

FBI To Probe 'Purge' Of Pierce Negro Voters

The federal government Wednesday singled out Pierce County, Georgia, as one of six "particular trouble spots" in disfranchising Negro voters and ordered an "active investigation" by the FBI.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, head of the department's criminal division, mentioned the Georgia county by name along with five other counties in five southern states where the government plans prosecution for "wholesale purges" of qualified Negroes from voting lists.

Olney said that at least three or four areas each in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and North Carolina are being investigated. Asked to specify the other Georgia places, Olney replied that he would not pinpoint the other areas at this time.

Olney said that in Pierce County 25 to 30 per cent of the Negro voters had been stricken from the lists while no white voters had been challenged.

ACT AFTER ELECTION

Olney said the government will act after the Nov. 6 election on "many thousands" of complaints by formerly qualified Negroes that will not be allowed to vote.

He said the prosecutions could not be undertaken on a sound legal basis until after the Negroes actually are blocked from voting.

"In every instance where we can show a person was denied his right to vote by reason of his color, we intend to prosecute," Olney said.

Also singled out as particular trouble spots by Olney were Montgomery and Macon Counties in Alabama, and Grant, Ouachita and Rapides Parishes in Louisiana.

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County Board of Registration, said two FBI agents questioned him "last week" regarding the removal of some 130 Negro voters from the registration book.

130 NAMES STRICKEN

The official said the 130 Negroes, who he added were among some 300 to 400 Negroes whose voting rights were challenged by J. C. Parker of Patterson, were stricken from the registry after "failing to appear to meet the challenge at a board hearing."

League Of Women Voters To Name Officers Tonight

Mrs. Ruby Blackburn will be installed as president of the League of Negro Women Voters, Inc., during a dinner meeting, scheduled for 8 p. m. ,tonight at the Waluhaje ballroom.

The installation services are scheduled to be performed by Juvenile Court Judge Charles A. Wofford.

Other officers to be installed include: Mrs. J. B. Blayton, Sr., education chairman; Mrs. John Taylor Sr., city register; Atty. (Miss) Doris Blayton, legal counselor and Mrs. Frances Fouch, business manager.

Also to be installed are 44 board director members:

Mrs. Florine Paschal; Mrs. Pearl Redmond, Mrs. Marjorie Fowlkes, Miss Cleopatria Lewis Saunders, Mrs. Lula Cornelius, Mrs. Katie Anderson, Mrs. Mattie Austin, Mrs. Eddie Lee Grady,, Mrs. Mildred Powell Thomas.

Mrs. Lucille Pass; Mrs. Evelyn Comer Scott; Mrs. Lillian Stedman, Mrs. Inez Davidson, Mrs. Lucille Hunt; Miss Hattie R. Elder; Miss Hattie Holmes; Mrs. Annie K. Aaron, Mrs. Amanda Harper; Mrs. Frankie E. Johnson; Mrs. M. J. Mays; Mrs. Sujette F. Crank, Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, Mrs. Ella B. White, Mrs. Emma Burson, Mrs. Meldora Harden; Mrs. Idella Lamar, Mrs. Ruth Seals, Mrs. C. E. Calloway, Mrs. N. G. Ellington, Mrs. Mamie Render, Miss Gwendolyn Parks, Mrs. Georgia B. Jones, Mrs. Eunice Cooper, Mrs. Vashti Scott Ellis, Mrs. Doris Sims, Mrs. Fannie M. Austin, Mrs. Ramona Robinson, Mrs. Ella Ramsey Martin; Mrs. Pauline Cochran, Mrs. Mary Steggle, Mrs. Pearl Davis, Mrs. Roy Perkins, Mrs. Johnnie Thornton.

Whitney Young, head of the Atlanta Univ. school of social work will be toastmaster. Honored guests will be introduced by Mrs. Blayton, Sr.

Among guests who are expected to attend are:

Collie B. Whittaker, president of Peoples bank; Jesse Blayton vice pres. of Mutual Federal and Saving bank; A. D. Miller, pres. of Citizen Trust bank; Rev. Spalding C. Usher ,pastor of St. Paul Epiccopal church; Rev. J. Weldon; W. J. Shaw ,secretary of the State Republican Central Committee; L. D. Simon, president of the South Atlanta Voter's League; Samuel G. Chisholm, president of the community Civic League; W. H. Aiken, owner of the Waluhaje Apts.; Atty. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie, president of the West Side Voters League.

Representatives are also expected from the Butler Street YMCA's men club; Esquire club, Whatnot club and the Negro Women's Federated club.

The League of Negro Women's Voters is a non-partisan organization.

Members of the entertainment committee consist of Mesdames Johnnie Thornton, Frances Fouch, Roy M. Freeman Georgia B. Jones, Sadie Whitehead, Pearl Davis, Inez Davidson, Frankie E. Johnson, John Taylor, Majorie Fowlkes, Eunice Cooper, Lucille Pass, general chairman of the affair; Miss Cleopatria Louis, historian; and Miss Hattie Holmes.

Mrs. Ruby Blackburn told about four new chapters, recently organized. They are Union Baptist church St. John AME on Eighth St.; St. Paul's Episcopal and Liberty Baptist church.

GEORGIA EDITORS LOOK OVER THE STATE:

Georgia Registration Act Causes Confusion in Voting

The (Crawfordville) Advocate-Democrat

WHEN THE POLL TAX was abolished in Georgia, it made it next to impossible for the County Board of Registrars to keep an accurate and clean registration list.

When a voter failed to pay his poll tax, he became a defaulter. The defaulter list was checked against the registration list, and the names removed. Therefore, those who died and those who moved out of the county automatically appeared among the defaulters.

Now the registrars have to check the voters' list, and if a voter hasn't cast his ballot in two years his name is removed.

It's hard to get capable people to serve on the board of registrars.

Ten years ago, the editor of this paper was chairman of the board of registrars. The Negro voters were challenged. We had hearings.

The FBI came in later and spent a day or two investigating.

Who wants to serve on the board of registrars when you are subject to all kinds of Civil Rights suits?

Georgia needs to revise the registration act.

Many people can't prepare a ballot for voting. They call on a friend, who is a professional ballot marker and is placed at the polls for such a purpose.

Columbus Ledger

THERE MUST BE no misunderstanding—and there should not be, on the record—about the nature of Kluxism, under whatever name. When several KKK organizations were placed on the attorney general's list of subversive organizations and also after several states passed anti-masking and anti-crossburning laws, Kluxism faded away for a while. In the last year or so—trading on resentment of the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision—several groups have tried to revive Kluxism under different but similar KKK names. But if the names are changed, the motives evidently are not.

The Kluxers are not interested only in expressing dissent with the Supreme Court decision. This is the appeal they have for some who do not understand the movement. They have shown over and over that they are hate groups and that the hatred is not limited to the school decision or Negroes. . . .

Klansmen appeared at a meeting addressed by the notorious hate-peddler John Kasper in Birmingham last September, and Kasper said he was "deeply honored" and "We need all the rabble-rousers we can get. . . . We want trouble and we want it everywhere we can get it." Kasper has a long record of peddling hate booklets directed mostly against Jews, in New York and Washington. He is a darling of the Kluxists and evidently from what he said in Birmingham he returns the affection.

That is Kluxism—a proposition dedicated to hate of all but white protestants; of observing laws with which it agrees and otherwise being the law. Kluxism remains subversive under any name.

Jeff Davis (Hazlehurst) Ledger

ONE OF OUR county schools, that at Denton, was among the first to put into practice a good policy—"See Georgia First."

The idea is growing and now the Georgia State Chamber of Commerce is pushing the idea by letters to school officials throughout the state.

There are many excellent reasons for our young people taking their class trip within Georgia. There is the natural beauty of the state; the lower cost per student; reduced time and distance; variety of scenery, recreation, historical and geographical knowledge that can be had in a Georgia tour.

"Too few Georgians are aware of the travel enjoyment offered by their own state, so the same must be true of our school-age youngsters," said Howard Callaway, who is chairman of the tourist department of the State Chamber of Commerce. "Seeing Georgia first will prove of real educational value and result in greater appreciation of their home state."

Savannah Morning News

NEXT TUESDAY bids are scheduled to be opened here for construction of the concrete portion of the Hartwell dam, located on the Savannah River about 65 miles above Clark Hill between Georgia and South Carolina. Approval for this phase of the Hartwell project was given by Congress last summer in the greatest pork barrel spending spree of all time. This phase of the Hartwell project will cost a little more than $10 million, while the entire project is expected to cost about $100 million of the taxpayers' money.

Last summer and earlier congressmen, senators, chamber of commerce officials, mayors, and assorted other citizens from both sides of the Savannah River were thumping the drums for immediate approval of the Hartwell project. The reasons were somewhat obscure, consisting of glowing generalities about future development of the whole area. Nothing specific was proposed except an expensive method of capitalizing an electric generator, and the expenditure of millions of dollars in Georgia and South Carolina to which congressmen from the area would point with pride. . . .

Back in 1952 those who favored Hartwell dam had a much stronger argument than they have today. Then, they said, Hartwell was a military necessity because the Savannah River Atomic Energy Commission installation sorely needed additional electric power that could come only from a hydroelectric dam at Hartwell. But, it turned out, the H-bomb plant didn't need the electricity after all, so by early 1953, Hartwell became a lovely dream, but an unnecessary one. But that did not discourage those who like to build big dams, whether or not there is a good reason, and proponents of the project proceeded on a "damn the torpedoes—full speed ahead" basis.

Macon News

INDEPENDENT COLLEGES in other states have found it necessary to band together in the common cause of obtaining adequate financial support and Georgia has finally joined the parade.

The Georgia Foundation for Independent Colleges has been organized with the able president of Mercer University, Dr. George B. Connell, heading the group. Other schools in the foundation, besides Mercer, are Oglethorpe, Tift, Wesleyan, Shorter, LaGrange, Brenau, Agnes Scott and the Liberal Arts College of Emory University.

The idea is to go after contributions from industry with an appeal to save liberal arts colleges, rather than stressing donations for individual schools. Separate fund-raising activities, however, may also be carried on.

This type of money-raising organization has reportedly been successful in other states. We hope it is in Georgia, too, for the financial problems of the schools are obvious and our liberal arts colleges are irreplaceable.

Bus Boycott Leader Reminds NAACP Rally of Vote Power

COLUMBUS, Dec. 9 (AP)—A leader in the Tallahassee, Fla., bus boycott, said Sunday that the protest there is directed against "evil principles, not people."

The Rev. Charles K. Steele spoke to an applauding audience at the final session of the 1956 Georgia Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Negroes will never go back to riding the buses until they are treated "in a fair, equitable and democratic manner," he said.

NON-VIOLENCE

The Negro "must not bow or cringe before the idol of race prejudice," Steele said, but he added that Negroes' weapons must be "the techniques of nonviolence in their heads and the ballots in their hands."

"Guns are powerful, money is effective, but there is nothing the white politicians fear more than the ballot."

The 1957 convention will be held Nov. 29-30, Dec. 1, in Decatur, it was decided.

W. W. Law of Savannah was re elected president of the Georgia Branch.

Other officers include John H Calhoun, Atlanta, first vice president; J. F. Mann, Brunswick second vice president; M. F. Adamson, Albany, third vice president; Dr. Clayton C. Powell, Atlanta, secretary.

12 OTHER ATLANTANS

Miss Rosella Williams, Decatur, assistant secretary; D. L. Hollowell, Atlanta, chairman of legal redress; T. E. Harris, Atlanta, chairman, youth division, and Dr. Samuel D. Cook, Atlanta, chairman, youth adviser.

Elected to the executive committee were W. R. Wilkes, Atlanta; J. S. Delaware, Savannah; L. H. Pitts, Atlanta; W. R. Walters, Columbus; R. L. Hill, LaGrange; W. W. Chamblee, Greenville; A. T. Walden, Atlanta.

R. E. Thomas Jr., Atlanta; Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, Atlanta; R. W. Quarterman, Allenhurst; Chavene King, Atlanta; A. W. Thompson, Columbus; Dr. D. L. Boger, Atlanta; Thomas B. Harper, Macon; W. W. Hodges, Atlanta, and John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta.

U.S. Judge Rules Against Negroes in Vote Purge

Petition Contended Pierce Registrars Improperly Struck Names From List

BRUNSWICK, Ga., Nov. 3 (AP) — U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett Friday ruled against Pierce County Negroes who contended their county board of registrars improperly struck their names from the voters list.

Scarlett dissolved a temporary restraining order against the board. The charges, however, also are under investigation by the U.S. attorney general's office.

The judge's order said that testimony that an Aug. 17 hearing here failed to support contentions that 130 Negroes had been struck from the list summarily after challenges by a Patterson, Ga., construction worker, John C. Parker, whose motives were never brought out.

* * *

SCARLETT POINTED out that Pierce County Atty. S. Foster Memory of Blackshear testified that he personally mailed notices of hearings following Parker's challenges, that the hearings were held and that of 60 Negroes challenged only 15 were struck from the list.

Memory testified that no one was struck because of race or color but because the hearing supported Parker's contention that they failed to sign a voters' oath required by Georgia law when registering.

The Negroes contended that adequate notice of the Aug. 7 hearing was not given. Memory said that the law was complied with, although some got only the minimum one-day notice.

* * *

PIERCE HAD ITS Democratic primary Aug. 15.

Scarlett said that none of the Negro witnesses supported the contentions of the suit.

As for the Dept. of Justice inquiry, Memory last week charged that its purpose is "just to catch a few Negro votes." He made his statement after Chmn. Earl Echols of the county board of registration disclosed that two FBI agents had questioned him.

Court Denies Negro Appeal On Vote Purge

BRUNSWICK, Ga., Nov. 2 (AP)— U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett today ruled against Pierce County Negroes who contended their county Board of Registrars improperly struck their names from the voters list.

Scarlett dissolved a temporary restraining order against the board. The charges, however, also are being investigated by the U.S. Attorney General's office.

The judge's order said that testimony at an Aug. 17 hearing here failed to support contentions that 130 Negroes had been struck from the list summarily after challenges by a Patterson, Ga., construction worker, John C. Parker, whose motives were never brought out.

Scarlett pointed out that Pierce County Atty. S. Foster Memory of Blackshead testified that he personally mailed notices of hearings following Parker's challenges, that the hearings were held and that of 60 Negroes challenged only 15 were struck from the list.

Memory testified that no one was struck because of race of color but because the hearing supported Parker's contention that they failed to sign a voters oath required by Georgia law when registering.

Negro Vote Is Heavy In Ga. For Ike

ATLANTA, GA. — (SNS)

Although Atlanta and Georgia gave the Democratic candidates a majority, the Negro voters in Atlanta gave 85% of their votes in support of the Republican candidates. Results from nine of the Atlanta precincts, which represent entirely or largely Negro voters, gave the Republican presidential candidates 9,565 votes to only 1,640 for the opposing Democratic candidates. In the Georgia Fifth congressional district contest, the same precincts gave Republican candidate, Attorney Randolph Thrower, 10,328 votes, while his Democratic opponent, Incumbent Cong. James C. Davis, received only 1,112 votes.

The 1956 results were more than a reversal of the 1952 presidential vote in Atlanta Negro community. In 1952, Atlanta Negro precincts gave the Republican candidates only 31% of their votes, while in 1956, the Republicans received 85%, an increase in vote of 54%.

It is estimated that 85 to 90% of Atlanta's 25,000 Negro voters went to the polls in Tuesday's election.

Atlanta and Fulton County, a part of the Georgia Fifth Congressional district, cast 37,632 votes for President Eisenhower and 52,032 votes for Governor Stevenson. In the Congressional race, the vote for Thrower was 40,807, as against 51,530 for Davis.

Presidential votes cast for Mr. Eisenhower in Georgia, Tuesday indicated that there is a leak in the dike of the Democratic dam. Throughout the state the Republican piled up more votes than he did in 1952.

Here in Fulton county he won at 16 of the 88 polling places. At some polls he won as high as 10 to 1. At others he barely nosed out Adlai Stevenson. The greatest shift from the traditionally straight Democratic ticket to the Republican camp was cast in precincts heavily populated by Negro.

In DeKalb county, only two of the 40 polling places gave President Eisenhower a majority.

Ten of the state's counties went Republican, according to unofficial returns. The counties were Effingham, Fannin, Gilmer, Glynn, Liberty, McIntosh, Muscogee, Pickens, Richmond and Towns. Total vote received by Eisenhower was 194,802 to Stevenson's 375,716.

Election returns Tuesday night changed nothing on the political horizon in the Fifth Congressional district. Democratic James C. Davis, the victor, is still the representative and Republican Randolph Thrower, the vanquished, is still an Atlanta attorney — perhaps a little sadder but much wiser about campaign strategy. Each will continue sailing on the same course as they were before the political storm beclouded the scene.

However the votes cast for Thrower in Fulton county cannot be completely ignored. Despite the non-change in the total results, it does show that no longer can Democratic office seekers hope to continue to win elections by simply winning a Democratic Primary.

The forty thousand votes cast for him in Fulton is indicative of a desire for a two-party scheme for politics.

Thrower's greatest strength was shown in Fulton. Davis won overwhelmingly in DeKalb and Rockdale counties. One of the county's polling places failed to cast any votes for the Republican. Davis also won by a large margin in East Point.

The defeat Thrower indicated on election night that he was not a fair-weather Republican, but will continue to build a "strong two-party system in Georgia."

Total votes received by Davis were 84,131 to 57,812 for Thrower. A record 141,944 went to the polls. The September Democratic Primary drew only 112,000.

Thrower won 40 per cent of the total votes cast. In 1954 Charles Moye, first Republican to attempt to unseat Davis received 35 percent of the vote.

Fulton County gave Thrower, 40,807 to Davis' 51,530. DeKalb County gave Davis 30,523 to Thrower's 16,726. In Rockdale Davis received 2,078 and Thrower 279.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD OF DAVIS TOLD TO VOTERS

Showing enthusiasm in his bid to be elected to Congress from the Fifth Georgia District, Atty. Randolph Thrower, declared yesterday he would carry on a continuous fight against the Unit System if he is elected.

Appearing before the membership of the Frontiers Club at its weekly meeting at Joe's Holiday Room, the 43-year-old attorney said he would give fair representation to the citizens of the district if they chose him over incumbent James C. Davis who has made "no constructive record."

Thrower, the challenging Republican, said since 1949 Davis has had 12 opportunities to vote on housing and he has cast twelve votes against it." Rep. Davis, Democrat, reinstituted the unit system in the Fifth District after his nomination in the primary in 1946. He is still a strong defender of it while his opponent in the current contest is equally strong against it.

The November 6th election will be decided on the popular vote basis, efforts some years ago by the Democratic leaders to extend it to the general election having failed. Republican Thrower has pledged to eliminate it in the district and continue a fight against it in other areas of the state if he wins. He argues the system has "disenfranchised" voters in populous Fulton and DeKalb counties.

WHISTLING AND WORKING

Referring to a remark made earlier in the campaign by Gov. Griffin to the effect that the Republican candidate was "whistling in the

A presidential aid, he was a Central Committeeman for the District of Columbia and an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention in the 1952 and 1956 presidential convention. It is being sponsored by the Republican club.

Thursday, Nov. 1, at Fair Baptist Church, 2193 Vesta St., N. W., at 8 P. M. It will be sponsored by The Community Civic Club.

Thursday, Nov. 1 at Warren Memorial Methodist Church, 181 Ashby St., S. W. Randolph Thrower will be the main speaker. Sponsor is the West Side Voters League.

Monday, Nov. 5, at Anderson Park Recreation Center on Anderson Ave., N. W., opposite of Turner High School, at 8 P. M. Thrower will be the principal speaker. It is being sponsored by the Community Civic Club.

Dark" in his try to defeat Mr. Davis the young attorney said he was whistling but working hard and full time in search of victory, which he said is possible if the mass of voters go to the polls.

Candidate Thrower was presented by J. H. Sanders, a former president of the Atlanta Civitan Club. President Jesso O. Thomas of the Frontiers presided and expressed the hope that all voters will go to the polls, adding that the Thrower candidacy makes voting easy on Nov. 6th.

At a similar meeting of the Westside Voters League, a representative of Mr. Thrower spoke.

The representative for Thrower, said this is the first time within 36 years he had a chance to participate in a Republican campaign in the state of Georgia. The representative, John W. Lundeen, spoke at a political meeting sponsored by the West Side Voters League at St. Mark AME Church, 491 Chestnut St., N. W., Tuesday night.

"Atlanta or Fulton county have no political strength. There are three nearby counties with a collective voting population of 25,000 These counties elect five senators and six representatives. Yet, Fulton county with 400,000 population can only elect one senator and three representatives. This is all because of the county unit system in forced here," said Lundeen.

Taking a slap at incumbent Democrat Congressman James C. Davis, the speaker said: "Mr. Davis is responsible for the Washington, D. C. School investigation which is embarrassing not only to you but to the whole United States. He did it to promote himself and the one-party system here in Georgia," said Lundeen, a Fulton County Republican Club member, who is head of the Seventh Ward.

"We are ready to cut the props from under the Democrats' one-party system of politics here in Georgia, which will not permit anybody to register to vote after six months before an election. No other state in the union requires a six-month pre-election registration," continued Lundeen.

Presiding at the meeting was Atty. Cassandra Maxwell Birnie, president of the league, who pointed out that the league was ont a partisan organization. "We have in our membership Democrats as well as Republicans. We are interested in all candidates and political issues. Mostly, we are interested in everybody voting," she said.

Atty. Birnie discussed the various constitutional amendments, which will be placed on the Nov. 6 ballot She also discussed the voting machine.

SEVEN MEETINGS

Seven other meetings are on tap for the Republican party in Atlanta

Wednesday's meeting is scheduled for 9 A. M. at chapel on the campus of Morehouse College. It is sponsored by the Republican club on the campus.

The other six mass meeting are scheduled as follows:

Thursday, Oct. 25, at the Butler Street YMCA. Postmaster General Arthur Sommerfield will be the principal speaker. It is being sponsored by the Republican party. The exact hour will be announced later

Friday, Oct. 26, at Lamar Chapel AME Church, corner of Lamar Ave. and Gordon Rd., N. W. at 8 p. m. Randolph Thrower or his representative will be main speaker. It is being sponsored by the Community Civic Club, which is headed by Samuel L. Chisholm, 7-A co-precinct leader.

Tuesday, Oct. 30, at Washington High School's gym, at 8 p. m Atty. Barrington P. Parker of Washington, D. C. will be the main speaker

League Of Negro Women Voters To Install Officers

Daily World
Thurs. 11-29-56
Atlanta, Ga.

The League of Negro Women Voters Board of Directors, along with 50 chapter presidents, will take the oath of office at the Waluhaje Ballroom, Friday, Dec. 7, at 8 p. m.

Using as its theme "Education in Politics," the League will begin its educational classes in the various chapters in January, 1957. The first session will be devoted to instructions on how to make application for a ballot.

Realizing the importance of the ballot and politics in our American democracy, a few pioneering women organized the League, which now has grown to 50 chapters throughout the state of Georgia.

These women hope to have three times as many chapters by the next election and all of the women who join the League must be registered voters.

The books are now open for people to register in the Registrar's Office.

Mrs. J. B. Blayton, Sr., our educational chairman, has literature for all the chapters at the office, 219 1-2 Auburn Ave., N. E. The chapter presidents may receive this literature while attending the Board of Directors meeting every Wednesday, 7:30 p. m. at the office.

Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, president of the women voters throughout Georgia, asks the mothers' committee for delegates to attend legislature contact the office.

FBI To Probe 'Purge' Of Pierce Negro Voters

Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 10-25-56 p. 1

The federal government Wednesday singled out Pierce County, Georgia, as one of six "particular trouble spots" in disfranchising Negro voters and ordered an "active investigation" by the FBI.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, head of the department's criminal division, mentioned the Georgia county by name along with five other counties in five southern states where the government plans prosecution for "wholesale purges" of qualified Negroes from voting lists

Olney said that at least three or four areas each in Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and North Carolina are being investigated. Asked to specify the other Georgia places, Olney replied that he would not pinpoint the other areas at this time.

Olney said that in Pierce County 25 to 30 per cent of the Negro voters had been stricken from the lists while no white voters had been challenged.

ACT AFTER ELECTION

Olney said the government will act after the Nov. 6 election on "many thousands" of complaints by formerly qualified Negroes that will not be allowed to vote.

He said the prosecutions could not be undertaken on a sound legal basis until after the Negroes actually are blocked from voting.

"In every instance where we can show a person was denied his right to vote by reason of his color, we intend to prosecute," Olney said.

Also singled out as particular trouble spots by Olney were Montgomery and Macon Counties in Alabama, and Grant, Ouachita and Rapides Parishes in Louisiana.

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County Board of Registration, said two FBI agents questioned him "last week" regarding the removal of some 130 Negro voters from the registration book.

130 NAMES STRICKEN

The official said the 130 Negroes, who he added were amongures some 300 to 400 Negroes whose voting rights were challenged by J. C. Parker of Patterson, were stricken from the registry after "failing to appear to meet the challenge at a board hearing."

Registration Laws Must Be Revised

Constitution p. 4
Thurs. 12-6-56
Atlanta, Ga.

Any proposed changes in Georgia's election laws most certainly should include a provision to shorten the period between voter registration deadlines and elections.

As retiring Sen. Everett Millican of Atlanta told the Georgia League of Women Voters Tuesday, state laws require a longer period between registration and elections than any other state. It is unrealistic and does not meet the modern needs of Georgia politics.

Some states keep their books open until the day before election. This seems extreme and does not give enough time to prepare ballots and otherwise plan for elections. But the waiting period could be shortened to two months or six weeks and the state would benefit.

Voter participation in Georgia elections is about the lowest in the nation. This is due in large measure because a larger percentage of people of voting age simply are not registered. This is true of every county in the state.

The Constitution recently investigated registration lists in a number of Georgia counties. Some have not been revised for years. Dead people and those who have moved away still are on the lists as qualified voters. Such a situation invites fraud and could be used to thwart the will of the people.

Voter registration should have top priority in any consideration of election laws revision. The people should be encouraged, not discouraged, to take part in decisions which affect their lives and welfare.

The General Assembly owes it to the people of the state to protect and to extend their right to vote. The biggest failures in that respect today are in loose registration practices.

Negro Women Voters' Officers Installed Here

Daily World p. 13
Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 12-3-56

Officers and directors of the newly organized Atlanta League of Negro Women Voters, Inc., were installed Friday at the Waluhaje Apartments ballroom.

City Traffic Court Judge Charles A. Wofford administered the oath of office to Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, founder and president; Mrs. J. B. Blayton, education chairman; Mrs. John Taylor Sr., city register; Miss Doris Blayton, attorney, and Mrs. Frances Fouch, business manager and journalist.

Members of the board of directors installed included Mrs. Lucille Pass, Mrs. Evelyn Comer Scott, Mrs. Lillian Stedman, Mrs. Inez Davidson, Mrs. Lucille Hunt, Miss Hattie Holmes, Mrs. Mattie R. Elder, Mrs. Annie K. Aaron, Mrs. Amanda Harper, Mrs. Frankie E. Johnson, Mrs. M. J. Mays, Mrs. Sujette F. Crank, Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, Mrs. Ella B. White, Mrs. Emma Burson.

Mrs. Meldora Harden, Mrs. Idella Lamar, Mrs. Smith Seals, Mrs. C. E. Calloway, Mrs. N. G. Ellington, Mrs. Mamie Render, Miss Mildred Powell, Miss Gwendolyn Parks, Mrs. Georgia B. Jones, Mrs. Eunice Cooper, Mrs. Vasti Scott Ells, Mrs. Doris Sims, Mrs. Fannie M. Austin, Mrs. Ramona Robinson, Mrs. Ella Ramsey Martin, Mrs. Pauline Cochran, Mrs. Mary Steggle, Mrs. Pearl Davis, Mrs. Roy Perkins and Mrs. Johnnie Thornton.

Montgomery Pastor Will Be Mass Meeting Speaker Today

Daily World Sun. 4-29-56 Atlanta Ga. P1

A minister of Montgomery, Alabama will be the featured speaker today at 4:00 P. M. at the mass meeting of the Atlanta Voters League today at Wheat Street Baptist Church.

The featured speaker for the occasion will be Rev. Solomon Seay pastor of the AME Zion Church, Montgomery, Ala., who is one of the ministers indicted in the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Mr. Seay is an outstanding speaker and Atlantans can look forward to a rare treat.

In addition, the Rev. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church; Rev. B. J. Johnson, Mt. Calvary; Rev. E. W. McEwen, First Congregational; Rev. William Potter, Shaw Temple Rev. L. M. Terrill, Zion Hill; and Rev. R. B. Shorts of Butler Street CME Church.

In addition to the above ministers, a number of other ministers have indicated their intention of cooperating in order to make this Mass Meeting an outstanding one.

It was felt by the committee in charge of arrangements for the meeting that several items of importance to the community should be discussed in a public meeting and in addition, C. A. Bacote, chairman of the Registration and Jesse O. Thomas, executive director, will report on the Registration Campaign to date.

Since this is the first major mass meeting in a long period of time held in Atlanta, every citizen interested in the welfare of the Atlanta Community, and interested in maintaining good Human Relations is urged to be present in order that questions may be raised and an attempt to answer problems that are coming before the citizens of the community. The meeting will last about one hour and a half.

The meting is under the joint auspicies of the ministers of the community and the Atlanta Negro Voters League. Registration will be among the topics for discussion following the main speech.

The occasion will be an open meeting to all citizens of Atlanta.

"One Hundred Percent" Voters Among The Blind

Daily World P.1 Sun. 8-26-56

About two hundred blind citizens and their friends met Thursday at the headquarters of the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Blind, to enjoy a "One Hundred Percent Voters" party they sponsored for themselves and their friends.

Atlanta Ga. B2

Admission to the affair was restricted to registered voters who plan to vote in the September primaries and in the general elections in November. Not even members of the sponsors' immediate families were admitted to the all day affair if they could not offer evidence of having met all requirements for voting. In coming elections.

The "Voter's Party," which featured assorted sandwiches and soft drinks, group singing and an address by C. Eric Lincoln, Professor of Philosophy, at Clark College, also provided an occasion for some local candidates to do some hand shaking and to otherwise make themselves known to what is perhaps one of Atlanta's strongest voter organizations. Candidates who did come to pay their respects are certain to have been impressed by the fact that the MAAB not only represents the world's largest organization of blind voters, but it also represents one of the best informed local groups found anywhere. As one candidate for a local post marked, "It looks for a lo- you have to be blind to really find out what's going on around here."

Moving aegis of the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Blind is Dr. P. J. Woods, educator, lecturer and Executive Director of the Association. Woods, himself blind since college days, has held teaching posts at various colleges through out the country, and since 1943 he has been active in many civic enterprises in Atlanta. His chief work here has been with the rehabilitation of the blind.

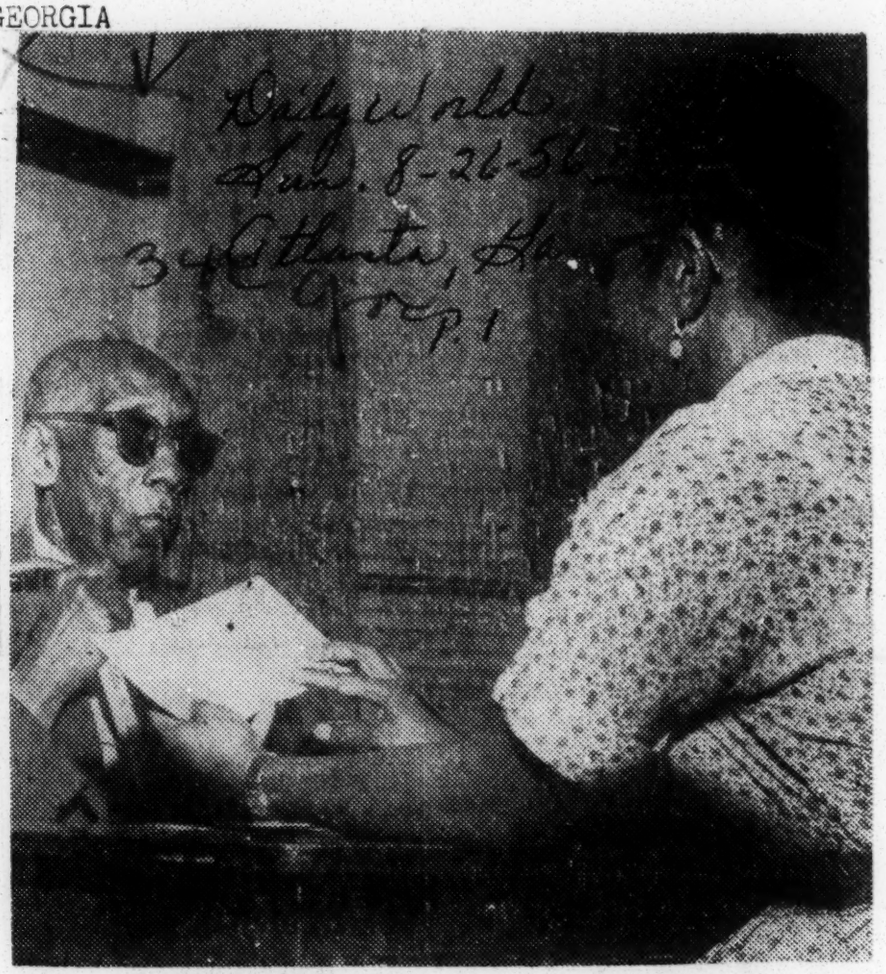
Daily World

He is dedicated, he said to making every person so handicapped a "full man and a useful citizen completely integrated into the total life of the community." That his dedication has borne fruit is as much evident from the renown and prestige the MAAB enjoys throughout the Southeast, as from the countless awards that cover the walls of his office. One is immediately impressed that his group would follow him "wherever," because he has tried (and with signal success), to restore to them the dignity and status of "full men."

In his address to the group, Mr Lincoln paid tribute to the "unique leadership the blind citizens of Atlanta are providing for those of us who are presumed to see." He termed it "a reversal of the way of things ought to be when blind men and women must show the sighted the way to the registration desk and to the polls." Commenting on the importance of voting, the Clark professor declared that "neither houses nor land, nor money nor the ability to see constitutes man's most precious possession." Instead, he said that "freedom is the jewel of human existence, and in a democratic society the freedom of individuals can be experienced only in a direct relation to the exercise of the ballot, again and again and again." The satisfied masses have never made any significant contribution to social progress, he said. "Rather, it has always been those who have been constructively dissatisfied with things as they are who envisioning a better world, have inconvenienced themselves to realize the dream."

The Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Blind is located at 293 Sunset Avenue. Twenty-one skills in crafts, etc. are taught under its training program. Its referral services cover thirty-one local, state and national agencies and institutions.

Rev. H. C. McEwen spoke to the group during the morning session. The MAACB is a Red Feather Agency.



(Photo By Perry)

SIGHTLESS PREPARE FOR COMING ELECTION — From braille notes Miss Deria Mae Mike goes over the ideals of each candidate in the coming election with J. T. Raiford. Mr. Raiford has qualified, now stands ready to cast ballot.

Atlanta Negro Gets Subpoena In Vote Charge

Journal & Constitution Sun. 9-16-56 Atlanta Ga.

COLQUITT, Ga., Sept. 15 (AP)— An Atlanta Negro leader who charged that members of his race are denied the ballot in Miller County Saturday was issued a subpoena by the county grand jury, called into special session by Judge Walter Geer. P33-a

The subpoena was served in Atlanta on John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Georgia Voters League, by a Miller deputy sheriff who flew there for the purpose. Dobbs was ordered to appear Wednesday before the grand jury to give his testimony.

Court officials said the grand jury investigation resulted from a petition to Geer by members of the board of registrars that Dobbs' charges, made on Sept. 6, be looked into.

Also subpoenaed was a letter Dobbs claims came from Miller County substantiating his charges.

23,849 Negro Voters Could Turn Some Elections in Fulton Primary

By RICHARD ASHWORTH

Atlanta's 23,894 Negro voters can decide the outcome of a number of races in the Fulton County Democratic primary Wednesday.

The success of Negro leaders in their hope of getting at least 12,000 of their voters to go to the polls is the most important factor on whether Negro voting will have the effect of its potential. Other factors are whether they vote in a bloc, follow their leaders or give concentrated support to any candidate.

Interest of white voters or their apathy and how many of them go to the polls will be the off-setting factor in the climax to a somewhat dull election campaign.

Lack of interest on the part of both white and Negro voters in the contests has prompted election and registration officials to estimate that only about 60,000, or half of the county's 124,389 voters, will cast ballots.

NO BLOC VOTE

Negro leaders are unable to say just what direction their voters will take. They think there are some indications there will be no bloc vote as such, but a vote based more on the individual records of the candidates.

"It is not right to call it bloc voting when, due to the anti-Negro record of a candidate, the Negro voter has no choice but to vote against him," said one spokesman.

"There will be no bloc voting as such when the race question is taken out of politics," another said.

John Wesley Dobbs of Atlanta, president of the Georgia Voters League, a Negro organization, gave one indication there will be no organized attempt to control Negro voting in the primary. He announced the league will not participate in the primary as an organization.

RECORD TO TELL

Endorsement of M. E. Thompson's candidacy for the U.S. Senate by an Atlanta daily Negro newspaper shows Negroes will base their voting on a candidate's anti-Negro record. The paper said Thompson's opponent, Herman Talmadge, is "standing on his same old basic plank — the race issue. . . ."

There is more and more evidence on the part of Negroes towards "independent thinking" in elections. Their leaders point out, however, that Negroes, like any minority group, are still willing to follow "sound, honest leadership."

They do not think there is any great change in the thinking of Negro voters. They give little credence to reports that some leaders are now supporting candidates they opposed in the past on the "if - you - can't - beat - them-join-them" theory.

INTEREST UP

Despite the general dullness of the campaign, Negro leaders have made a concentrated effort to arouse interest in it. They organized registration drives back in August which built Negro registration from 19,000 to present figure. This effort was headed by the Atlanta Negro Voters League, with help from 20 groups.

To keep up the interest, the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, oldest Negro college fraternity in the nation, sponsored a series of citizenship schools around the city, giving certificates to persons who attended four meetings on the issues, duties of office and makeup of the government.

Then, as the campaign got under way, several organizations — including the league, the West Side Voters League and the South Atlanta Civic League — sponsored more than a dozen rallies for candidates around the city. Three final ones are scheduled Monday and Tuesday.

Because of the nature of the offices at stake, interest has not been as high as leaders had hoped for. Attendance has been only about 65 per cent of that of former campaigns but has been satisfactory.

Negro organizations, which say they have served to "inform and not control" voters, are organized to "make a real effort" Wednesday to "get out the highest percentage possible" on Negro votes.

Dr. C. A. Bacote, an Atlanta University history professor who served as chairman of the registration drive, said leaders "feel it would be a waste of time to get all the people registered and then for them to not vote."

Thrower Would Abolish The County Unit System

Those liberal minded patriots who have twice carried th county unit to court and those otherwise opposed to a systen unbalancing our Democratic forms were pointed a way out b Randolph Thrower, candidate for Congress from the Fifth Distric on the Republican ticket to succeed Congressman James C. Davis who seeks re-election as the Democratic nominee.

CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS

Speaking to a record crowd this week, the candidate said the way for the Fifth District to rid itself of the county unit system is to vote Republican in the general election.

Mr. Thrower drew his opponent over the coals and vigorously castigated him for employing the county unit system.

Mr. Thrower would leave no doubt that he is all out in opposition to the county unit which makes it possible for a small vote from two non-populous counties to change the decision of those furnishing the bulk of the votes.

The charge was made that "people are becoming aware that the party label has been used here in Georgia to assure the retention o political power by a few under a ystem that contradicted the basi principles of government in whic we all believe in. "The country uni s neither Democratc with a capi al D or democratic with a smal l" he went on.

Suggesting that the county uni evil should be challenged at th tate -level, Mr. Thrower went on the first step is to defeat the Crow Prince of the county unit systen here in the Fifth District."

A further suggestion that h would try to get the Fifth Distric reapportioned" indicated the ton and tenor of his seriousness i freeing thousands of Democrats a well as Republicans by turning ou minority office holders who see such places by the route of th county unit.

Comes November, from indica tions of some daily releases in th press, there will be a glorious chal enge set up to seriously effect th restoration of free governmen back to a free people regardless o political affiliation of faith, by the election of Thrower.

Mr. Thrower assured those who desired a more balanced system of government and a more representative Democracy to find their way out of this morass of confusion and misrepresentation by the route of the Republican party.

Ga. citizens file suit for vote rights

ATLANTA, Ga. (ANP)—After several colored citizens testified last week that their names had been removed from the voter's list, preventing them from voting in the county primary and in future elections, U.S. District Judge Frank M. Scarlett took under consideration a suit demanding restoration of some 130 names to the list.

The suit asked that the board of registrars of Pierce County be required to restore the names of the colored citizens to the voter's list.

At a two - hour hearing in Brunswick, they testified that the removal of their names from the list prevented them from voting in the past Aug. 15 county primary.

* * *

THE WITNESS for the defendant registrars was County Attorney S. F. Memory of Blackshear, who represented the registrars.

Memory said the names were stricken after an Aug. 7 hearing held according to the latest Georgia law, which he said requires only one to 10 days' notice.

He admitted that some of the notices were mailed at the minimum one-day prior to the hearing, but said "not over 60" were challenged and "only about 15" were removed.

He said the registrars were required to act after challenges were filed against the colored citizens by a Pierce County voter, John C. Parker of Patterson, an asbestos worker.

* * *

HE SAID he did not know why Parker had filed the challenges, but those removed from the list had failed to sign the voter's oath required by law.

The county attorney said no one was denied the right to vote because of race or color as contended by the plaintiffs, although he admitted that only colored persons were challenged by Parker.

Colored witnesses said they had voted previously without incident and had registered with the county tax collector as provided by law.

Some witnesses told of receiving notices of the hearing after it was held and some said they found out they could not vote only when they went to the polls.

Negroes Claim Ban To Voting

By the Associated Press

A charge that Miller County is refusing entirely to permit Negroes to register for voting was repeated Thursday by John Wesley Dobbs, president of the Georgia Voters League.

The league is made up of Negro voters.

Dobbs' statement about Miller County was made originally Wednesday in announcing that the league would not take part as an organization in the Sept. 12 Democratic primary.

In making that announcement, Dobbs estimated that 200,000 of the approximately one million Negroes in the state have registered to vote. The league's goal is 300,000 registered Negroes.

An examination of vote registration lists Thursday in the office of Ben Fortson, secretary of state, showed six Negroes registered to vote in Miller County this year. The 1954 list also showed only six Negroes registered. The county had a population of 9,023 in the 1950 census. The Negro population totaled 2,686.

Griffin Says 'No' to Plan For 3rd Slate

A request for a special legislative session to permit independent electors on Georgia's November general election ballot of independents the ballot without the a petition of 5 per registered voters. it would give Geor- isfield with both par- ce to vote for some ard bearer in a move ganization which is with both the Democratic and Republican platforms and presidential tickets this year.

"Georgia law provides a means whereby electors of any political party nominating candidates for president and vice president may place their names on the general election ballot," he said.

The request had been made by Hugh G. Grant of Augusta, acent of the regleader in a "For America" or- He said it wo- aimed at throwing the presiden- gain a place on the n into the House of tion ballot," he said. tives.

Grant urged the special session into the Griffin replied to Grant Thursday, "I do not think any good will be served by calling such a session.

Thursday by mit the placing electors on the b was turned down Gov. Griffin.

34e 1956

County Units And Unit Counties

Daily World p.6

Georgians are acquainted with the arguments around the county unit practice, setting forth that it is not only unrepresentative but outmoded and unfair in principle.

Under the scheme it takes one hundred and twenty votes in Fulton county to equal one vote in the sparsely settled rural county of Chattahoochee.

Tues. 5-29-56

For a long time those opposed to the system waged bitter campaigns against it; setting forth that it invited and encouraged minority rule and enabled candidates having a majority vote to lose in favor of a candidate who happened to get the county unit vote.

34e Atlanta, Ga.

Suits against the county unit have been sent back by the Supreme Court to the state-level for the exhaustion of local resource. In other words the Supreme Court of the United States dropped the county unit back in the laps of those who made it to unmake.

Collier's Magazine, in a survey of Georgia politics in which "Ole Gene" is featured in one of his spurts in what it termed, buffoonry and otherwise demagogic approach to question of government and state, sets out that in such populous counties in which cities like Atlanta are located, the Negro vote would be an effective contender in th earea of elections; that the heavy Negro vote offset by the county unit which allows the sparsely settled counties to write off the power of the heavy urban Negro vote with the county unit.

It was said sometime ago that Georgia was the only state in the Union with a county unit system, but it would not hold here to state that she is the only state in the Union with unit counties. We have such counties all over the South. That is those counties in a unit against representative government and over the years have sponsored a program to keep the Negro away from the polls.

After the restoration of the ballot to the Negro many of these counties went over in a unit to counter that measure by the route of the vote-challenge practice. In that thousands of Negroes were challenged for the sole purpose of removing their names from the registration lists.

The Negro vote was cut down at such an alarming rate that they sought redress through the courts. In the case of the Negroes vs. County registrars Randolph county, they not only won damages but the right to have their names restored to the registration list.

In the case of the county unit, it will be seen that its sponsors and late worshippers are falling out with it; it is hurting their interests and enterprises and discouraging their clientele in registering and voting while those under no such restrictions to the contrary are building up their registration.

So, while the county unit system is canceling out the power of vates in the populous counties, the unit counties are unable to hold the registration line of those whose choices are other than the Democratic party, the maker and sponsor of county units and unit counties.

GEORGIA

4 Register, One Vote, As Ga Whites Protest

Inquirer p.1

Houston, Tex.

FAYETTEVILLE, Ga. (NNPA)—Negro voters registered for the first time were intimidated by a parade of cars and white-robed men carrying a burning cross preceding the Fayetteville city election Wednesday.

5-21-56

Four Negroes were registered but only one voted.

Police Chief Grady Cochran said there were about 17 or 18 automobiles in the parade which moved through the Negro section of town at about 8 o'clock Tuesday night.

The men wore robes, Chief Cochran said, but there were no masks or hoods. He added that there was no disorder at the time of the demonstration or during the voting Wednesday.

A special platform was constructed outside the courthouse for Negro voters. The lone Negro voter dropped his ballot in the box through a window from the platform.

There was no commotion or protest from white persons, Chief Cochran said.

previous elections. In national and state elections he had always voted without hindrance.

He was taken by surprise recently when presenting himself for his ballot. He had to mark it on the lawn of the court house and mount a specially constructed platform to deposit it through a window.

Anderson, who was finishing up a job in another community, said he voted in the early hours. He was one of the first.

He said his wife, Mrs. W. J. Anderson, rushed to the Court House during the early afternoon to find the voting booth closed. The lone voting place closed before 3 P. M.

A Courier reporter was told the reason for the early closing was "light voting." Less than 800 were said to have cast ballots for a mayor and four council members.

■

THE TWO other registered voters were faced with the same problem. They were listed as Joseph R. Stinchcomb, a bricklayer, and George Jones.

A motorcade of more than 20 cars with white-robed men carrying a flaming cross paraded through the colored section the night before the election. It was reported also the men were without masks or hoods.

Casts His Vote Thru Window

Courier

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Apr. 8-4-56

FAYETTEVILLE, Ga.—In this little sawmill community, 22 miles from Atlanta, a lone Negro defied the Ku Klux Klan and voted for the first time in a recent city election.

1, 2

Four Negroes were registered.

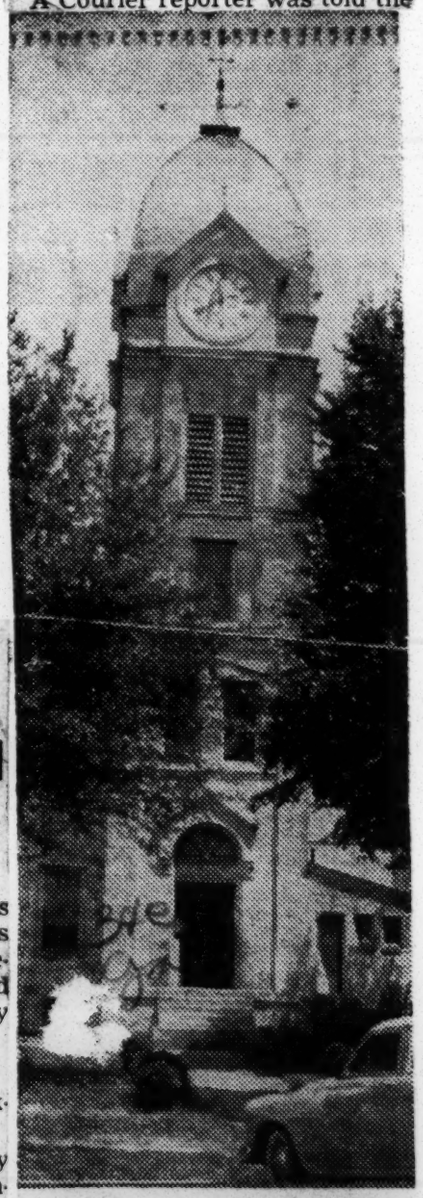
The man who voted is ex-Marine W. J. Anderson.

He has lived in the community eight years, and is a building contractor.

34e Ga

■

ANDERSON told a Courier reporter he had sought to vote in



THE COURT HOUSE FAYETTEVILLE, GA.
. . . for Negroes, a special platform

Voting 'Booth'—Fayetteville, Ga., believes in all-out jimcrow. Negro voters (four of them) must climb this specially built platform and stick their ballots through a side window of the ancient courthouse during city elections. This is Fayetteville's democratic (?) process. —Lowe Photo. (Story on Page 2.)

Fulton County

Daily World

Reports Show 24,441 Negroes Registered

Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 7-11-56 P. 1

Atlanta registration leaders have registration reports showing 24,441 Negroes in Fulton County are eligible to participate in this year's important elections. The number surpasses the 1953 total by 4,441.

Jesse O. Thomas, C. A. Bacote and A. T. Walden were key leaders in a recent All-Citizens Registration Campaign which is believed responsible for the increase.

A special campaign was waged several months ago by the All-Citizens group in connection with the Atlanta Negro Voters League by the interest shown by local citizens.

In addition to county and state elections, voters will express their preference for M. E. Thompson or Herman E. Talmadge in the Sept 12 primary.

Early in August the Voters League will begin setting up citywide organizations, urging qualified voters to go to the polls on election day.

In 1953, 17,891 out of 20,000 qualified voters cast ballots. The total is not even a fractional part of the total population of Negroes in Atlanta but vote leaguers were buoyed

Be Not Confused By Reported "New Negro Voting" Philosophy

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

A news story in the white daily press Thursday suggesting that there has come upon the surface some such styled "new Negro voting philosophy" which would make the impression that certain leaders among us have decided upon an "if you can't lick 'em, join 'em" attitude. In that, support would be given under this "new" order to those candidates who heretofore had shown racial intolerance in their pronouncements.

Sat. 8-11-56

In order that our people be not confused or misled, let it be stated here and now that no such "new philosophy" is taking shape officially in the Negro Voters League. Some individual person may have expressed such a view. But in our opinion such a view is unsound. Of course we are always willing to recognize a change but it must be based on reason and logic.

All along during our political life, we have had but one philosophy, which is by no means new. It is as old as the freedom of our fathers who at the early stages of their citizenship had many occasions in which the only option left in voting was against their enemies. Down this line we have come, supporting those who espoused the cause of democracy and justice for all and opposing those who have expressed racial prejudice.

Surely there is nothing new about this philosophy.

A battle of words and ideas has been raging ever since the Supreme Court decision of May 17th., 1954; around this bulwark men have fanned political fumes and flames from the ward level on through a national campaign for the nomination of candidates for the United States Senate.

For the record's sake, to our certain knowledge, the Atlanta Voters League has made no preference as yet relating to candidates for office in the current election. We believe it has friendliness toward all candidates whose records would conform with honest principles and purposes, free of the taint of race-bait and those issues stirring up hatred and division.

We stand for an honest vote and fair count; these must obtain if a democracy of representative government would obtain; there is no such animal as a "new voting philosophy."

There is only one sound voting policy and that is to support those candidates who are qualified and not prejudiced against the votes because of any reason.

LEAGUE NOT SUPPORTING WHITMAN, SAYS JACKSON

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Commenting on a report which appeared in the local white press Thursday afternoon to the effect that some local Negroes who have been active in political affairs were considering a change in the previous policy of voting against candidates that had expressed racial extremeness in their views, Rev. W. M. Jackson, co-chairman of the Atlanta Negro Voters League, stated to the Atlanta Daily World that the organization had not endorsed any candidate in the current primary and denied that the League was considering any change from its previous policy regarding candidates and their racial views.

Sat. 8-11-56

The article referred to above had indicated that some officers of the League had indicated that they might support George P. Whitman, Jr., a candidate for the state legislature in the Sept. 12th primary.

Atty. A. T. Walden, the other co-chairman of the league, was out of the city and could not be reached for comment.

The so-called "change in Negro strategy" article also stated that a high official in the N.A.A.C.P. had invited Mr. Whitman to a meeting. The World contacted Pres. J. H. Calhoun of the local branch of the N.A.A.C.P. but he refused to comment.

Mr. Whitman, who has a long record of opposing measures which would aid Negroes has been chairman of the State Board of Education since his efforts apparently greatly helped elect Gov. Griffin to office.

It was last summer when Mr. Whitman joined Atty. Gen. Cook in endorsing a move to fire any teacher which the NAACP. Mr. Whitman has also gone on record opposing the U. S. Supreme Court's decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools. The Voters league have usually been non partisan, except in naming candidates whose records and statements show them to be opposed to the interest of Negroes.

News leaders were planning to support Whitman after a recent meeting of the Atlanta Negro Voters League in which the candidate appeared, a-

S. Atlanta Civic League Opens Voter Campaign

Daily World
Thurs. 1-5-56
Chicago, Ill.

Attorney A. T. Walden will address the South Atlanta Civic League Tuesday when the organization launches its voter registration campaign in a meting to be held at Thornton's Funeral Home, 1424 Jonesboro Road at 8 p. m.

The League is in a mammoth drive to increase its membership in the South Atlanta area and also to increase registration for voting among the residents of that area.

On Sunday, League President L. D. Simon was honored at the League's annual banquet which was held in the dining room of Bethlehome Center. Rev. M. Lee acted as toastmaster for the occasion.

Mr. Simon was presented with a watch by Miss Mary Hughley on behalf of the field workers of the League. Also honored were: Sloan Bailey, first vice president: Leonard Pitts, second vice president and Gabriel McCray, treasurer. Other workers were also honored.

Among those appearing on the program were: A. Hill, Carver Community; C. L. Gideons, Carver Evening School; Rev. T. P. Grissom, pastor, South Atlanta Methodist Church Rev. A. G. Belcher, pastor Allthonia Baptist Church; Rev. J. A. Baxter, Mallilieu Baptist Church, East Point; C. McCray, director, Bethlehem Center; Miss Evelyn Brown, Mrs. Zolla Crolley, Miss Margaret Arnold and little Dianne Allen.

Cong. Dawson Speaks To Voters Here Today

Daily World P. 1
Sun. 1-29-56

The Atlanta Negro Voters League is holding its annual meet- at 4 p. m. today at Bethel AME Church.

Atlanta, Ga.

Voters League co-chairmen Austin T. Walden and Rev. W. M. Jackson urge all Atlanta citizens to attend this meeting which will have Congressman William L. Dawson as featured speaker.

Other speakers will be Atlanta World C. A. Scott, Voters League Vice Prsident, and C. R. Yates, Treasurer.

Another feature of the meeting will be the report of community projects and achievements for the year 1955. The league nominating committee will submit its slate of officers for the ensuing year.

The main speaker, Mr. Dawson is the oldest (in point of tenure) Negro in the Congress of the United States. In addition to serving as a representative from the First Congregational District of Illinois, Mr. Dawson is chairman of an important Congressional Committee charged with responsibility in the Executive Department.

He is also vice president of the National Democratic Committee and perhaps more than any other Negro lawmaker presently in Congress, has built up a voting constituency in Chicago which plays im portant part in the governmental operations of the city.

Congressmen Dawson will speak strictly on a non partisan subject as the Voters eague is non partisan. The meeting is open to the public.

OUR NEGRO COMMUNITY

Constitution

Voting Lethargy Rapped By Illinois Congressman

Mon. 1-30-56 P. 3
Atlanta, Ga.

By CLAUDE GEORGE SR.

Southern Negroes should snap out of political lethargy and go to the polls with their community problems, an Illinois congressman told members of the Negro Voters League Sunday.

Rep. William L. Dawson, who addressed the league's annual membership rally at Big Bethel AME Church, said staying at home and complaining won't solve the problems. He said officials don't pay much attention to the unregistered voter.

Politics is second only to religion, the lawmaker said, and too many Negroes still are depending upon the prayers of their forebears.

"The Negro has paid the full price for his citizenship," Dawson said.

Dawson, a native Georgian, urged league members not to run away from their problems but to remain in the South and fight through the ballot box.

He said the South could be the "garden spot" of the nation if Southern politicians would "stop wasting energy trying to keep the Negro down."

BENJAMIN SHORTER

Citizens Honor Defenders Of Race's Voting Rights

Daily World P. 1
Sun. 1-29-56

Two Georgians—Attorney Daniel Duke and Benjamin Shorter will be presented plaques here this afternoon during a joint Citation program. The program is being conducted by a Citizens Committee in cooperation with the Atlanta Chaper, Frontiers of America, and is scheduled for 4:30 P. M. at First Congregational Church, Courtland and Houston Streets.

Atlanta, Ga.

Attorney Duke is being honored for his "legal courage and judicial integrity' according to an announcement of the Citizens' Committee.

The attorney has long championed the rights of people and has fought for the upholding of the United States Constitution.

More recently Attorney Duke won a case in Randolph County, to secure the voting rights of colored citizens. He entered the case when a group of registered voters' names were removed from the books by election officials.

HEADS VOTERS EAGUE

Benjamin Shorter, president of the Voters' League of Randolph County, is being awarded a citation for leadership in securing the voting right of citizens. Mr. Shorter spearheaded the suit of election officials.

Addresses are scheduled by both Attorney Duke and Mr. Shorter. Attorney Duke is expected to discuss the full implicaion of the Constitution and the Right to Vote. Mr. Shorter has said he will present a factual picture of the changing attitudes and voters-registration under the impact of the latest Court decision.

Many outstanding public-spirited citizens are scheduled to appear on the program. Included as speakers are Bishop Sherman L. Greene and J. W. E. Bowen. Jesse O. Thomas will preside.

Voting Suit Figures To Be Honored Sun.

An Atlanta attorney who won a voter's registration suit in Randolph County and the head of that voters group, will be honored Sunday by the Frontiers of America and Citizens Committee of Atlanta.

Attorney Daniel Duke, who has won several civil rights suits, will be honored for gaining a judgement and monetary decision giving Columbus Negroes the right to continue voting. They had reportedly been victims of a registration purge.

Atlanta, Ga.

The affair will be held at the First Congregational Church, Houston and Courtland Sts., N. E., at 4:30 p. m., with Frontiers President Jesse O. Thomas presiding.

Benjamin Short president of the non-partisan Randolph County Voters League will also be honored at the program. He is credited with bringing Negro voters together to fight against their names being taken off the eligible voters roll.

The Randolph group won a financial judgement, as a result of the combined efforts and the right to vote.

Sat. 1-28-56

Others taking part in the program will be, Rev. W. S. Mercer, Rev. Milton L. Upton. Dr. D. H. Stanton, Clark College glee club, Bishop S. L. Greene, Dr. W. H. Borders, Bishop J. W E. Bowen, Rev. R. B. Shorts, Howard High School chorus, Dr. Guy H. Wells, Dean E. J. Odom, Father S. C. Usher, Robert Moton, Jr., and Atty. Osgood Williams.

Use Vote To Whip Bias In South Says Dawson

Daily World Tues. 1-31-56

Atlanta, Ga.

While urging colored Americans to make themselves felt by the vote, the dean of US Negro congressmen Sunday blasted southern politicians for denying human and civic rights because of race and color.

P. 1

As principal speaker at the annual meeting of the Atlanta Negro Voters' League, Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.), vice chairman of Democratic National Committee, described the voting booth as "the most democratic place in America." Voting is to politics what money is to business, he said.

Mr. Dawson, representative of Illinois' First Congressional District, recapitulated the struggles and triumphs of America's biggest minority and expressed pride in being a member of "a race that blames no man for what God made him."

HITS COLOR BIAS

Conversely, he scathed the practice of segregationists who "blame their denial of rights on my color," declaring that by so doing "they blame the Almighty God for what he made me."

The great trouble with the South, he said, hinges around trying to hold the Negro down.

"To hold the Negro in the ditch, the Southern white man has got to stay there with him," he explained, adding:

"We've got to save the white man from himself. If they had spent half the time working for advancements as they spend trying to keep the Negro down, the South would be far ahead of the North."

His economic reasoning on this score is that Negroes should be paid more livable wages. As a result, more money would be in circulation because Negroes are heavy spenders who do not send their earnings "back to the old country."

"Take us (Negroes) out of the South and what have you left?" said the Congressman. "You talk about the Southern drawl . . . who gave them the Southern drawl? The Negro mammy who nursed them on her knee taught them this soft melodic drawl."

Daily World

Attacking the opponents of school integration, he said "There hasn't been a poll made where the students didn't vote to let all people in." Hence, the opposition has come from politicians who can be whipped into line by a local vote, he indicated.

P. 4

URGES WOMEN TO ACTION

He urged women to take up the "Register-to-Vote" crusade, describing them as the backbone of the minority that cannot be bullied.

On the other hand, some Negro men take money from white politicians promising to deliver the Negro vote, he said. He ridiculed politicians for thinking this is possible.

Congressman Dawson advised the Atlanta Voters League to set one day in each week as registration day and see that they get to the polls.

Annual Meeting Of Voters League Slated At Big Bethel Sunday

Daily World

Wed. 1-25-56

The Atlanta Negro Voters Legaue Rev. W. M. Jackson and A. T. Walden, Co-Chairman has announced final plans for the Annual Meeting of the group for Sunday, January 29th at 4:30 p. m. at Big Bethel A. M. E. Church.

P. 1

Congressman Dawson who is no stranger to Atlanta will address the meeting stressing the need for doubling the registration in Atlanta and Georgia during these crucial times. In addition to Congressman, others on the program are:

Rev. W. M. Jackson and A. T. Walden, Co-Chairman; Attorney D L. Hollowell, Chairman of the Regis tration Committee; C R. Yates, Financial Secretary-Treasurer and C. A Scott, Vice-President of the Atlanta Negro Voters League.

Regular business of the League will also take place and the Nominating Committee will announce candidates for offices. A cordial invitation is extended to the entire Atlanta public to be present and to participate in this important meeting.

Other officers and members of the Executive Committee of the Negro Voters League are as follows: Vice-Chairman, C. A. Scott and W. H. Aiken; Co-Secretaries, W R. Cochrane and W J. Shaw; Co-Asst. Secretaries, C. W. Greenlea and J H. Calhoun; Treasurer - C R. Yates; Chaplain - V. W. Hodges. COMMITTEES:- Finance, C R. Yates; Registration and Organization; D. L. Hollowell; Program: J. R. Henderson Ward Leaders: (1) Dr. J B. Harris; (2) Mrs. Viola Willis; (3) J. C. Daugherty; (4) Dr. R. A. Billings; (5) D. L. Hollowell; (7) R. A. Thompson.

Ward Members at Large-also members of the Executive committee are: (1) Rev. W. M. Jackson; (2) Charles Turner; (3) Q. V Williamson; (4) R. L. Andrews, Sr., (5) Rev. M. L. King and (7) E E Moore.

Only Few Days Remain Now For Registration

Daily World

Atlanta, Ga.

Thurs. 1-19-56

Many qualified voters are being asked this question today; "Will you wait until May 5 to visit the Fulton Co. Courthouse to register?"

Although several thousands people have already registered, there are still thousands more qualified in age and health, and can without trouble, walk or ride to the court house and register today.

Jesse O. Thomas in charge of the All Citizens Registration Committee said fraternities, sororities, church groups and clubs have been instrumental in urging people to register. Through this process, many people, who otherwise, would not have registered have been made aware of registration, he said.

"Under the circumstances," Mr. Thomas said, one will be required to spend only five minutes of his time in the process of registration that is if one will take advantage of the time and register now."

Mr. Thomas added that people have been fully aware of the deadline for income tax returns to be made and that no one has been reluctant in filing. But he added, things seem to be different when people are asked to register.

"Registering and voting," Mr. Thomas said, "is an an obligation as well as a privilege."

Other officials, working with the registration drive pointed out that those waiting until May 5th to register may be ill, or may be out of town.

"The longer we wait," they say, "the longer the line will get at the court house."

Daily World 1-31-56 Atlanta, Ga. P. 1 342 Ga

PARTY LINES ARE FORGOTTEN, TEMPORARILY as W. J. Shaw (L) Secretary of the Georgia Republican Committee congratulates Democrat William L. Dawson following the Chicago Congressman's non partisan address here for the Atlanta Negro Voters League. — **(Perry's Photo)**

MISS DENA MAE MIKE, staff member at the Metropolitan Atlanta Association for the Colored Blind is shown instructing Emmett Campbell in the techniques of registering. Miss Mike, also blind, has been spending Sundays and holidays teaching interested blind people how to register and subsequently vote. — (Perry's Photo)

Daily World P. 1 Fri. 3-9-56 Atlanta, Ga.

The Right To Vote

Blind Lead Sighted To Register Here

Daily World Fri 3-9-56 P. 1 Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

"Don't worry about us blind," he said, "we'll be there in full force when it's time to register, and even more so, when its time to vote."

This little dynamic man was not talking "out of his hat," For the past siv years since this writer first met him, the people of his oganization have been at the forefront of community affairs to help with the needy at Christmas time to leading campaign with the Community Chest. The blind people of Atlanta have in fact, been leading many of the sighted. 34e

LEADING THE SIGHTED

It was yesterday, when Professor P. J. Woods, executive director of the Metropolitan Association for the Colored Blind took 15 people from his organization to the Fulton Co. Court House to register. They had been given proper instructions. One bystander observed:

"The blind people seem to have more respect for citizenship than manw of the sighted."

EDUCATION

Professor Woods, also blind said it was a minor job of education with his group. He said several years ago, he would have many of the blind people picked up and carried to the Courthouse to register. Once they learned the rootine, this is not needed anymore.

"As a matter of fact," he said, "many of the blind people are presently working in the re-registration campaign. They work by phone, calling other blind people as well as the sighted remining them they should register and vote."

SETTING A PACE

Professor Woods said he has at least 100 blind people in Atlanta who make themselves available for this work.

"Actually," he said "the blind are setting pace for the sighted to follow."

The big problem of registering and voting, Mr. Woods said lies not with blind people, but with the sighted. He believes more voter-education work should be done among people in general.

"You can't imagine," he said "how many votes are wasted merely because some people don't know how to use voting machines."

Daily World 3-9-56 P. 1 Atlanta, Ga.

His organization has been carried on a voter-education program for several years now. The blind people were among the first to take instruction on how to use the machine.

"We have instructed them on what to look for in candidate running for public office. Ihave told all of my people about the principles of good government. To have good government," Mr. Woods said, "you must have good public officials, local and national. These officials must be elected by the people."

BLIND AND SIGHTED

The little professor who came to Atlanta more than a decade ago to start his organization believes firmly in registering and voting.

"I deem it necessary," he said "that every citizen, in the community should register and vote, whether blind or sighted."

When Mr. Woods came to Atlanta in the early "forties" many blind were walking the streets without purpose or direction. He got together with a group of public-spirited citizens and began to survey theirneeds. Soon he had an organizationgoing. The program worked so well that the group was soon taken into the Community Chest family as a "Red Feather" agency. The fact is, they have progressed so well, that they have paid for a building for the blind ten years before the final bill was due.

Ga. Negro Voters In Drive

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 3-10-56

MACON, Ga. —(SNS)— Leading citizens from all over the state will converge on this city today to set plans for a mass registration drive for Negro voters and to discuss pertaining to desegregation and the recent killing of a well-known Columbus Negro.

The alleged murder of Dr. T. H. Brewer, Sr., a strong advocate of integration will be discussed at the meeting, it was disclosed by a league member. Dr. Brewer is credited with sparking the Primus King suit which secured for Negroes the right to vote in Georgia democratic primaries.

The meeting will begin at 12:30 p. m. at Stewart Chapel AME Church, Rev. George Sewell, pastor. The church is located on Cotton Avenue here.

The league intends to increase the number of registered voters in rural and metropolitan areas, according to John Dobbs, president.

Jesse O. Thomas, pioneer Atlanta civic and community leader, has been picked to head the registration program. 34e

GOAL 10,000

The campaign organization has set its goal at 10,000 new registrants by the time the registration books close on May 5th.

It has been estimated that 125,000 Negro citizens in the area of 18 years of age and older. Less than 20,000 qualified registered voters among Negroes are presently on the books. This would average about 15 per cent of the total number of Negro people who should have their names on the books as qualified voters.

ENCOURAGE ALL

"We are encouraging every able-bodied person, Mr. Thomas said, "to avail himself for reregistration."

Mr. Thomas added that if Negroes expect to share in the advantages of the community they should be willing to also share in the responsibilities. One of the major responsibilities, he said is voting.

Registrars and officials at the Fulton County Court House Annex are on duty daily to register those who come.

Directors say anyone who has not voted in three years will have to register in order to be able to vote in future elections. Only the elementary requirements are necessary to register, such as name and address, age, date of birth and occupation.

Office for registration is located on the ground floor of the Fulton County Court House Annex. 165

Voters Registration Campaign Launched

Daily World P. 1 Wed. 3-7-56 Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON

Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

Under the joint sponsorship of church and citizen groups, a registration campaign has been launched in Atlanta with offices located in the Butler Street YMCA.

The church groups include the Baptist Ministers Union, the AME Ministers Union, the Atlanta Inter-Denominational Ministers Alliance, the Atlanta Negro Voters League and the NAACP.

Central Ave., S. W. The registration books are open on Mondays through Fridays, 8:30 to 5:00 p. m. They are open on Saturdays from 8:30 to 12:00 noon.

Whitfield Plant Worker Indicted in Vote Probe

Constitution Sat. 4-7-56
Atlanta, Ga. 34

A fifth indictment on illegal voting charges was returned at Dalton Friday by the Whitfield County Grand Jury as it concluded its investigation of last week's Democratic primary. P.1

The jury indicted Paul O'Bryant, chenille plant worker, on a charge of voting twice, according to Solicitor Gen. Erwin Mitchell.

Indictments Wednesday against James Reed, State Sales tax Unit employe and chairman of the Whitfield Republican Executive Committee; Robert Phillips, car salesman, and Lindsey Denard and B. B. Bigham, used car dealers.

Mitchell said that Phillips, charged with voting twice, announced through his attorney, Walter H. Bolling, that he would enter a plea of guilty to the charge next week.

Mitchell said that Reed, Denard and Bigham will be tried in July unless they request trial next week.

The jury, which adjourned after Friday's session, recommended that the board of registrars revise the voters' list to make it current. "A correct registration list is a requisite to an honest election," the jury said in its presentments.

The jury said it had no general criticism of election officials.

Women's Vote Group Split By Race Issue

Journal Const. Sat. 4-7-56

ALANTA — (INS) — The president and 10 other officers of the Atlanta League of Women Voters quit last week, blaming a dispute within the organization on segregation.

Officers of the Atlanta chapter of the national organization said a division of thought within the Georgia group "is so deep as to divide us into factions and to prevent our working effectively."

The segregation question was raised earlier in the week, and the Atlanta chapter of the league defeated a motion which would spell out the group's present policy against admission of Negro members.

NOT RIGHT TIME

"We feel that integration of our league at this time will raise so many problems that the effectiveness . . . will be seriously impaired and we can no longer properly function in the political life of our community," resigning members declared.

Those who quit, blaming "strained" relations which make it "impossible for us to work effectively," included Atlanta chapter President, Miss Mary Richardson; executive vice-president, Mrs. Edward Pierce; two vice-presidents, the treasurer, five board members and the 1956 nominating committee.

90 at Campbell Register To Vote In Student Drive

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 3-29-56

Ninety students from Campbell High School have joined the ranks of Fulton County's registered voters, Registrar Howard Mashburn said.

The registrar said the students were the fifth high school group which has come in to registrar's office to qualify to vote in coming primary and general elections.

The office is registering an estimated 300 to 350 voters daily and now has a total of about 110,000 voters on roll, Mashburn said. Some 6,000 of 10,000 voters who were recently purged from voting rolls have re-qualified, he added.

May 5 is the deadline for qualifying to vote in all local elections.

VOTE ORGANIZERS — Jesse O. Thomas (seated), Chairman of the voters registration committee, is shown with his secretary, Mrs. Margaret T. Hulbert, and members of his group who will spearhead the drive to increase the number of registered Atlanta Negro voters. — (Perry's Photo)

Women's Voters League Votes Segregation Out

Daily World Wed. 3-28-56
Atlanta, Ga.

The league of women voters of Atlanta Tuesday voted down a resolution calling for the exclusion of Negro applicants, but the question of admission of Negroes to the group remained unsettled.

The vote was taken after Miss Mary Richardson, incoming president, moved that the "pursuant policy of the Board of Directors of the Atlanta League of Women Voters in excluding Negro applicants from membership be continued."

Reports Show 24,441 Negroes Are Registered In Atlanta

Jackson Miss.
Aug. 27-56

Atlanta, Ga., July 14 — Atlanta registration leaders have registration reports showing 24,441 Negroes in Fulton County are eligible to participate in this year's important elections. The number surpasses the 1953 total by 4,441.

Jesse O. Thomas, C. A. Bacote and A. T. Walden were key leaders in a recent All-Citizens Registration Campaign which is believed responsible for the increase.

A special campaign was waged several months ago by the All-Citizens group in connection with the Atlanta Negro Voters League.

Early in August the Voters League will begin setting up citywide organizations, urging qualified voters to go to the polls on election day.

In 1953, 17,891 out of 20,000 qualified voters cast ballots. The total is not even a fractional part of the total poulation of Negroes in Atlanta but vote leaguers were buoyed by the interest shown by local citizens.

In addition to county and state elections, voters will express their preference for M. E. Thompson or Herman E. Talmadge in the Sept. 12 primary.

Louisianans Beat Measure Aimed at Cutting Negro Vote

Constitution Thurs. 11-15-56
Atlanta Ga.

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 14 (AP)—Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help white citizens councils trim Negro voting, but approved another proposal aimed at slowing school integration lawsuits, complete returns showed today.

P. 10

Both measures were drafted by the legislative "watch dog" committee on segregation, which previously has won lopsided approval for its proposals.

Final but unofficial returns from the secretary of state's office gave amendment 47, setting up a new procedure for handling appeal of persons denied vote registration, a 190,410 to 178,833 unfavorable vote.

SUIT BLOCKER WINS

The other amendment, No. 48, withdrawing state approval for suits against a number of state agencies such as school boards and recreation commissions, was approved 233,015.

It was designed to block future integration lawsuits against parish school systems and recreation departments by requiring approval of the legislature for such suits.

The first proposal grew out of a drive against Negro vote registration before the Nov. 6 election. In more than a dozen parishes (counties), prosegregation groups have challenged some Negro voters, forcing them to prove they were properly registered.

2 STEPS FOR VOTER

The amendment would have provided two administrative steps before the voter losing his registration could take the matter into court, setting up administrative barriers to a federal court action.

The public affairs research council, an independent research group, contended "the proposed appeal procedure could be used as a political weapon to discourage registration of factional opponents or other groups."

The returns also showed voters rejected Gov. Earl Long's proposed 1957 constitutional convention nearly six to one, complete but unofficial election returns showed today.

Louisianans approved the $16,000,000 bonus for World War I veterans in a tight decision, 199,054 to 191,965, and the $2,000,000 extra to complete payment of the Korean bonus, 269,310 to 117,433.

CITIZENS COUNCIL MOVE

Advertiser Tues. 11-13-56
Montgomery Ala.

Louisiana Vote Rejects Plan To Trim Negro Registration

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 14 (AP)—Louisiana voters defeated a proposed constitutional amendment designed to help white citizens councils trim Negro voting, but okayed another proposal aimed at slowing school integration lawsuits, complete returns showed today.

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The returns also showed voters rejected Gov. Earl Long's proposed 1957 constitutional convention nearly six to one, complete but unofficial election returns showed today.

Final results were not avialable on President Eisenhower's victory sweep in Louisiana. He carried the state over Adlai Stevenson by a margin of better than 75,000 ballots in earlier tabulations.

Louisianians okayed the 16-million-dollar bonus for World War One veterans in a tight decision, 199,054 to 191,965, and the two million dollars extra to complete payment of the Korean bonus, 269,310 to 117,433.

LA. REGISTRAR MUST ANSWER COMPLAINT OF NEGRO VOTERS

Tribune Shreveport, Mail
Sat. 12-1-56

Monroe, Nov. 26—The Ouachita parish registrar of voters was ordered to file all motions before December 1 in connection with the purge of Negro voters, setting aside a 60 day extension granted earlier.

The action came as a result of a motion filed by the Guiding Light, Inc., through its legal counsel, James Sharp, Jr.

The suit asking a total of $50,000 in damages were filed against Mrs. Mae Lucky by Dr. John I. Reddix, president of the Guilding Light, Inc., and Atty. Sharp.

Judge Ben C. Dawkins, Jr., set aside and vacated order granting the defendant 60 days to answer. The plaintiff had sought to have the case heard prior to the recent national election. However, the defendant was ordered to file all motions before December 1.

Negro Vote Decisively For Ike In La.

Weekly P. 1
New Orleans La.
Sat. 11-17-56

An election analysis made here this week indicated that the Negro vote was a decisive factor in swinging the State of Louisiana for President Eisenhower in his landslide-re election victory.

President Eisenhower carried 38 parishes while Stevenson took 22 with four he won by the States Righters' candidate. The area going States Rights is located in a block in the Northeast section of La. These parishes were listed as Madison, Morehouse, Richland and West Carroll. Ironically none of the 151,000 odd Negro voters reside in Madison.

The vote-getting appeal of qualified Negro candidates appeared to have made remarkable progress during the past several years. The position ranks of Attorneys A. P. Tureaud and I. M. Augustine, during the recent election, and Attorney Earl J. Amedee in the recent attorney general race would indicate that the State is only a few years removed from judging a candidate on qualification rather than the color of his skin.

Tureaud ran third in a field of 13 delegates from Ward Seven to the constitutional convention, a proposal soundedly defeated. Augustine, who tossed his hat in the race a few weeks before election, ranked third in the school board race, only the first two are selected. Although ignorned by many white PTA organizations and the YMBC, he received many other invites to express his platform on WDSU-TV and to many Negro organizations.

Augustine won 48 precincts of 85 with substantial Negro votes. In the first Congressional district, he carried the Negro vote Wards 7, 9, 11, and 12. He had 23 1/2 thousand votes.

Compared to this, Amedee polled 18,635 in New Orleans with 60,543 overall in the state. He was first in 29 precincts, ranking fourth in a field of six. His largest city votes came from Wards 7, 9, 11 and 12.

HEAVY VOTING IN LOUISIANA

News & Observer p. 1 Wed. 1-18-56

Almost 800,000 Participate In Selection of Candidate For Governor

Raleigh, N.C.

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 17 (AP)—Louisiana caught the nation's attention today with the first 1956 vote for governor.

Despite shivering, overcoat weather, nearly 800,000 participated in the Democratic first primary.

A trio of political kingpins and two independents struggled for power.

They are Gov. Robert Kennon, the pro - Eisenhower Democrat fighting to hold his political leadership in a Democratic state that preferred Adlai Stevenson; former Gov Earl Long, crown prince of the Huey P. Long dynasty that did a fadeout years ago, and New Orleans Mayor Delesseps Morrison, young, alert administrator of the South's oldest city.

Kennon, unable to succeed himself, has entered Fred Preaus as his administration candidate.

Independents in the race are former State Police Supt. Francis Grevemberg, youngest candidate at 41, champion of law enforcement, and rancher James M. McLemore, who finished fourth in 1952's nine-way election.

While no presidential primary is involved, the Democratic choice for governor will provide a key to Louisiana's action in the forthcoming election for president. The governor usually reflects the political pulse.

With each entry claiming large support, a runoff is likely Feb. 21.

The Republicans, a thin 5,000 among 1,040,000 registered voters, skipped the governor's contest, concentrated on their first GOP primary in 15 of the state's 64 parishes—counties.

It represents their strongest effort in a quarter century to build a two-party system. Two GOP candidates for lieutenant governor are in the primary.

The 2,039 precincts opened at 6 a.m., and closed at 9 p.m. EST.

All five candidates are firmly for the traditional ban against mixing the races. But Negro vote registration, skyrocketing more than 50 per cent since 1952, touched 155,000.

Negro voting, if any, has been encouraged by powerful political factions in the ceaseless skirmish for state supremacy.

BIG ISSUES AT STAKE IN LOUISIANA VOTING

Commercial Appeal Wed. 1-18-56

Winner Of 5-Man Race Could Hold Key To How State Goes This Year

Memphis, Tenn.

By The Associated Press

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 17. — Louisiana caught the nation's attention Tuesday with the first 1956 vote for governor, putting the spotlight on nationally known names, crime fighting and segregation.

Despite shivering, overcoat weather, nearly 800,000 participated in the Democratic first primary.

Kingpins In Struggle

A trio of political kingpins struggled for power.

They are Gov. Robert Kennon, the pro-Eisenhower Democrat fighting to hold his political leadership in a Democratic state that preferred Adlai Stevenson; former Gov. Earl Long, crown prince of the Huey P. Long dynasty that did a fadeout years ago, and New Orleans Mayor de Lesseps Morrison, young, alert administrator of the south's oldest city.

Mr. Kennon, unable to succeed himself, has entered Fred Preaus as his administration candidate.

Independents in the race are former State Police Supt. Francis Grevemberg, youngest candidate at 41, champion of law enforcement, and rancher James M. McLemore, who finished fourth in 1952's nine-way election. Grevemberg warred against gambling and crime, promised parents a cleaner state.

Key To Big Election

While no presidential primary is involved, the Democratic choice for governor will provide a key to Louisiana's action in the forthcoming election for president. The governor usually reflects the political pulse.

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All five candidates are firmly for the traditional ban against mixing the races. But Negro vote registration, skyrocketing more than 50 per cent since 1952, touched a total of 155,000.

Negro Vote Split in N. Orleans

Amedee Fourth In Race

Courier p. 4 Sat. 1-28-56

Pittsburgh, Pa.

By JOHN E. ROUSSEAU

NEW ORLEANS — Atty. Earl J. Amedee, New Orleans, polled 51,859 votes last week in his race for attorney general in Louisiana's Democratic primary election—the highest total in history for a Negro candidate—and placed fourth in a field of six.

The Negro vote, split evenly in Orleans Parish, swung heavily to Earl K. Long in the state, assuring his decisive election to a third term as governor by a 20,000 majority.

Thursday, with 1,891 of the 2,039 precincts reporting, Long had 387,807 votes; New Orleans Mayor deLesseps S. Morrison, 176,453; Frederick T. Preaus, the Kennon administration candidate, 90,379; Francis C. Grevemberg, 57,851, and James M. McLemore, who ran on a platform of racial segregation, 44,521.

Amedee

* * *

RETURNS IN Caddo, East Baton Rouge, Rapides, St. John and St. Landry Parishes which have large Negro registrations, showed Long the heavy favorite, however, Orleans Parish which has 31,547 Negro voters, went in the Morrison column by a 2,000 margin.

A Courier check of eighty-one predominantly Negro precincts in New Orleans (few are solidly Negro) disclosed that Long won in thirty-eight, Morrison won in forty-two, with one precinct even.

Orleans Parish gave Attorney Amedee a disappointing 19,000 votes—about half the Negro registration—in the attorney-general race. However, state results were: Jack Gremillion, backed by Long, 244,802; Fred S. LaBlanc, incumbent, 207,490; Benjamin C. Bennett, 62,688; Attorney Amedee, 51,859; Earl L. Camouche Jr., 21,711, and J. Minos Simon, 22,552.

* * *

A CLOSER look at Orleans Parish shows that Amedee was first in twenty-eight precincts; second in twenty-three; third in twenty, and fourth or worse in the other ten predominantly Negro areas.

Interestingly enough, Amedee received votes in every Orleans Parish precinct, and in Precinct 26, Ward Seven, he received 798 votes as compared to 102 for incumbent LeBlanc.

In the same precinct, Morrison received 543, Long, 400, and McLemore, three, in the race for governor.

* * *

THE LARGEST VOTE cast in any precinct for Amedee was in Precinct Six, Ward Nine, where he received 892. On election day many reports were received that the voting machine lever opposite Amedee's name in Precinct Twelve, Ward Ten, could not be moved. Despite these complaints, Amedee carried that precinct.

All in all, Louisiana's 151,000 Negro votes were split between Long and Morrison—to what exact degree, no one knows.

Despite the fact that Negroes comprise slightly more than one-ninth of the state's one million voters, they could have thrown the gubernatorial election into a second primary by wholly supporting Morrison.

* * *

ON THE other hand, they could have made the outcome even more decisive if they had gone bloc style for Long.

However, there is no doubt whatsoever that had Attorney Amedee received the full 151,000 Negro votes he would have been in the second primary since some 100,000 would have been deducted from either the Gremillion or LeBlanc totals.

Top issues in the campaign were gambling and old age pension—not segregation.

Negro Vote Played Big Part In Long's Smashing Victory

Weekly Sat. 1-28-56

New Orleans,

The Negro vote in the recent election played a very significant part in the success of the candidacy of Earl K. Long, governor-elect of Louisiana, according to veteran observers here this week.

It is talked in political circles that 80 per cent of the Negro voters who went to the polls cast their votes for Long which roughly means that approximately 96,000 Negroes favored the winner. Equally significant is the fact that no major Negro political organization in Louisiana can claim the lion's share of credit for helping to elect the candidate. Observers contend that Long tried a method in politics which was somewhat different from other major gubernatorial candidates. He corralled the support of 80 to 85 per cent of the outstanding

Negro leaders in labor, politics, educational circles, business, religious and fraternal endeavors. This maneuver was accomplished "underground" and without fanfare or publicity.

On the other hand, veteran political observers point out, that Mayor Morrison who had the support of the Orleans Parish Progressive Voters League and the Louisiana State Progressive Voters League, both headed by the Rev. A. L. Davis, and other prominent leaders, was hurt at the polls by this open and public support by white voters.

Observers place a great deal of truth in the statement that Negroes felt that they already had a friend in Morrison, and saw the advantage of adding another in the election of Long. Morrison's position on the "right-to-work" placed him in "bad" with influential Negro labor leaders, who were far more powerful than the Negro organizations backing Morrison.

The votes collected by Attorney Amedee gave an indication of what would have happened had more Negro citizens gotten their names on the vote registrar's roll during the city and state wide voting drives. It was highly significant that he polled 18,475 votes, carrying the majority of the predominantly Negro precincts in the city.

Glancing at figures in wards where Amedee received support from Negro groups, it can be noticed that Negro voters were proud of the only candidate who vowed to abide by the supreme law of the land.

2nd Ward

Long	2,248
Amedee	791
Gremillion	1,475

7th Ward

Long	8,112
Amedee	3,591
Gremillion	6,510

9th Ward

Long	10,561
Amedee	3,244
Gremillion	8,154

11th Ward

Long	3,912
Amedee	1,866
Gremillion	2,479

SUPPORT THE BOY SCOUTS

Louisiana Voters Law Backfiring on Whites

Post-Tribune Jeffersonville Ind. Wednesday 3-9-56

MINDEN, La., March 8 (AP)—A carefully - planned Louisiana law, designed to restrict Negro voting, is backfiring on pro-white forces in this segregation stronghold.

The statute requires that all prospective voters be able to read any clause of the United States Constitution and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, Webster Parish registrar of voters, said since she received a mandate to enforce the law, about two dozen prospective white voters have flunked their tests, while only two Negroes have failed to make the grade on technicalities.

Mrs. Clement, who has held the registrar's post for 16 years, said last night she considered the law made for all—whites and Negroes alike.

"They want Negroes to interpret the Constitution," she said. "That's all right and it's the law. But if the Negroes have to do it, so do the white people. That's only being fair."

She said the problem arose when the pro-segregation citizen councils and the parish police jury accused Mrs. Clement of being lax in enforcing voter registration laws and showing favoritism to Negro voters.

Since the blast, Mrs. Clement said, she has followed "the letter of the law without showing favoritism to anyone. She said no one ever told her they wanted to stop Negro registration, "but that wasn't hard to figure out."

Mrs. Clement admitted her stand has not helped her popularity in the parish, but she reiterated she's only following the orders of the police jury. She said despite the pressure on her at the moment, she has no intention of quitting and "haven't even thought about it."

Negro Aimed Purge Hurts Its Authors

Daily World N.Y. Atlanta, Ga. Thurs 5-24-56

BATON ROUGE, La. — (INS) — Pressure brought to bear by White Citizens Councils to keep Negroes from registering in a northwest Louisiana parish has resulted in eliminating white voters.

That, in effect was disclosed Thursday in a report filed by David Reynaud, Louisiana State Director of voter registration.

The report revealed.

The police jury of Webster Parish (county) requested Governor Robert Kennon in February to order an investigation of white citizens Councils that a registrar was not heeding State registration laws.

The registrar, Mrs. Winnice P. Clements, had been requestefd by the jury on January 3rd to abide by State laws in registering voters.

The white citizens councils had charged that she was favoring Negroes who applied to register.

After the request for an investigation was made, Mrs. Clements began adhering to an old seldom-used law that requires any applicant for registration to be able to read any clause in the state or Federal Constitutions and give a 'reasonable Interpertation of it .

She said that virtually no one passed he test—white or Negro included among those rejected were 24 white persons, some of whom had been voting for many years.

She said that before she began adhering to the old law, she had received applications wtih impartiality, favoring no one, and in doubtful cases consulted with her legal advisor, the District Attorney.

Mrs. Clements, who has served as registrar of Webster Parish for the past 16 years said she was "confident of complete exoneration."

Reynaud turned his report over to the State Board of Registration headed by Kennon today. The board has the authority to remove Mrs. Clements from her post.

The list of Negro registrants in Webster parish increased only from 1267 to 1483 during the six months before the last primary, February 21. About 10,000 whites are listed as voters.

The white citizens councils are the groups which formed over the South to fight integration efforts through use of the economic boycott and other non-violent means.

3603 Voters Removed from List Eligible to Cast Ballots in Monroe

Times Picayune New Orleans La. Sat. 5-19-56

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

MONROE, La., May 18—Recent disqualifications by the registrar of voters in Ouachita parish knocked 3603 persons off the rolls of those eligible to vote in the Monroe city election Tuesday, Mrs. Mae Lucky, the registrar, disclosed Friday.

Before any of the disqualifications or challenges, there were 5377 white and 1228 Negro voters in Ward Three and 5465 white and 2375 Negro voters in Ward 10. Both wards are in the city of Monroe.

Following the challenge period, there were 5322 white registrants and 284 Negro in Ward Three; in Ward 10, 5802 white and 637 Negro voters remained eligible to cast their ballots in the primary.

Mrs. Lucky said 1028 were outright disqualifications by her office, and that her clean-up of these began in February "before I heard of a Citizens Council here."

The disqualifications resulted from a combination of a review of the registrants' eligibility and challenges made by the Ouachita Parish Citizens Council.

Mrs. Lucky released the figures as the last of the registration books were being readied for transfer to the voting machine warehouse and precincts.

The mass disqualifications left 12,045 voters registered and eligible to vote in the Monroe city election.

Of the 3603 disqualifications, nearly 2400 came as the result of Citizens Council movement.

Long halts firing of registrar in race vote dispute

Times Wed. 5-23-56 Birmingham, Ala.

BATON ROUGE, La., May 23 —(AP)—Gov. Earl K. Long has halted the firing of a woman registrar of voters under fire from pro-segregation groups.

Mrs. Winnice Clements, Webster Parish (county) registrar, had been fired, effective last Monday, by the former board of registration under Gov. Robert Kennon. Long took over last Tuesday.

But the new board of registration, composed of Long, Lt. Gov. Lether Frazar and House Speaker Lorris Wimberly, met yesterday and stayed the dismissal.

The effect is that Mrs. Clement will stay in office.

Long has opposed hampering Negro registration.

LAST JANUARY, the White Citizens Councils complained Mrs. Clement failed to require registrants to read and interpret either state or federal constitution.

This requirement, originally adopted to curb Negro voting, generally has been ignored over most of the state.

Contending "what's fair for one race is fair for the other," Mrs. Clement then applied the requirement and disqualified two dozen white registrants.

SHORTLY AFTER that, the Webster Parish police jury parish governing body asked the board of registration to fire her. Police juries hire, but cannot fire registrars.

She resigned effective last Tuesday, the day Long took office. But the whole case is involved in a court battle.

Mrs. Clement's attorney seeks an injunction permanently restraining the police jury from naming a successor. Dist. Judge James Bolin at Minden has taken the case under advisement.

FBI Probes La. Voting Situation

Defender p. 4 Sat. 5-26-56 Chicago, Ill.

WASHINGTON — (ANP) — The United States Department of Justice has authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct a preliminary inquiry into the voting situation in Ouachita Parish, La., to determine whether any federal law has been violated.

It was learned that more than 3,500 of the 4,500 Negro voters in Monroe, La., have had their voting rights challenged. Monroe is a city with a population of about 45,000 about 45 per cent of whom are Negroes.

Reports have reached Washington that the White Citizens Council in Ouachita (county), La., were conducting a mass effort to re-move Negro voters from the city's voter registration lists.

Courier Staff Observers Report on 'Big Switch' Of Negro Voters . . . Figures Tell Dramatic Story

TOP OFFICIALS—Two top U. S. officials and outstanding Eisenhower appointees caught watching election returns with their wives in a suite of the exclusive Sheraton-Park Hotel in Washington prior to the President's victory broadcast in the hotel's ballroom. Left to right are Scovel Richardson, chairman of the U. S. Parole Board and expected to be appointed to a U. S. Federal judgeship; Mrs. Richardson, and Ambassador to Liberia Richard L. Jones, named recently to the U. S. Delegation to the UN, and Mrs. Jones.—Davis Photo.

■

• From Memphis to Miami . . . from Harlem to the golden shores of the Pacific . . . Negroes went to the polls last Tuesday and helped write a dramatic chapter in the history of American politics.

Democratic by a 4-to-1 margin since 1936, President Eisenhower cut the majority in half, as Courier observers in strategic parts of the country indicate a nationwide shift of 20 per cent of the Negro vote.

■

IN LOUISIANA, Tennessee and Kentucky, Negro voters are said to be largely responsible for the shift of those states into the GOP column.

In Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles and Chicago . . . the shift of Negro voters was least evident.

In Baltimore, Durham, N. C., Cincinnati, Memphis, Nashville, Richmond, Raleigh, Birmingham, Montgomery, Miami, Atlanta, Mound Bayou, New Orleans, Louisville, San Francisco . . . the shift of Negro voters was most evident.

Following is the statistical summary of Courier observers:

New York City (Schuyler)—In Negro areas, shift of Negro votes ranged from 10 per cent to 18 per cent. Winners:—Adam Clayton Powell (Congress), Judge Thomas Dickens (General Sessions), Judge Oliver D. Williams (Municipal Court), State Senator James L. Watson, Assemblymen Walter L. Galdwin, Felipe N. Torres, Mrs. Bessie Buchanan, Kenneth Phipps, James C. Thomas, Bertram Barker.

■

Philadelphia, Pa. (Queen)—Vote summary shows 15 per cent shift of votes in Negro wards from Stevenson to Eisenhower. Negroes split votes to support Joe Clark, who won U. S. Senate seat for Democrats. Negroes elected to State Assembly, all Democrats, were Granville E. Jones, Samuel Floyd, Jesse J. Shields, Susie Monroe and Sarah A. Anderson.

■

Pittsburgh, Pa. (Clark)—In Pittsburgh's predominately Negro Third and Fifth Wards, Eisenhower received 68 per cent of votes as against 81 per cent in 1952. In the 12th, 13th and 18th Wards, Ike received 44 per cent of votes. Latter three wards have large percentage of Negro voters.

■

Baltimore, Md. (Jolley)—Eisenhower received more than half of Negro votes. Typical illustration . . . in 17th Ward, where Stevenson won in 1952 by 2,560 to 1,003, Eisenhower won this year by 1,665 to 122.

■

Atlanta, Ga. (Brown)—Negro voters in this city gave Eisenhower 85 per cent of their votes. Results from nine of the city's precincts with heavy Negro vote gave Ike 9,565 to 1,640 for Stevenson.

■

Detroit (Johnson)—Detroit figures show a shift of 18 per cent in the Negro vote from Stevenson to Eisenhower last Tuesday. Seven Negroes . . . Basil Brown, Edgar Currie, Fred Yates, George H. Edwards, Charlene White, Charles Diggs and Roger Townsend (Flint, Mich.) . . . were elected to state offices. Charles C. Diggs Jr. re-elected to Congress from 13th District.

Illinois (Watson)—Reduced majorities for Stevenson were recorded in Negro wards here Tuesday. In the Second Ward, Stevenson got 68 per cent of the vote against 77 per cent in 1952. In the 20th Ward, he received 57 per cent as against 70 per cent in '52.

■

California (Washington)—The shift of Negro votes in Los Angeles' heavily populated Negro districts gave Eisenhower five per cent more votes in '56 than in '52. On the West Side the shift to Ike was 10 per cent. In San Francisco, Oakland and Berkley, the shift to Ike was 13 per cent.

■

Louisiana (Rousseau)—The Negro vote put Louisiana into the Republican column Tuesday; for the first time since 1876. Statistics show 79 per cent of the state's Ne-

FIRST — The Rev. J. Carl Mitchell, elected last Tuesday to City Council of Huntington, W. Va., on GOP ticket. He is the first Negro in history of city to be elected to any office.

GLAD HE WON—Among the hundreds who crowded into State Attorney General Jacob K. Javits' headquarters on election night to congratulate him on being elected to the U. S. Senate was Harlem businesswoman Mrs. Murean Roberts, right. The other ladies are Miss Mary Vergne and Mrs. Ben Peskoff, who, with Mrs. Roberts, were campaign aides of Mr. Javits.

gro vote went to Ike. Of a total of 650,000 votes cast, over 100,000 were by Negroes.

■

Florida (Dunmore)—Stevenson won the Negro vote by a 9 to 8 margin Tuesday. In 1952, the Democrats won the Negro vote by a 10-to-1 margin. In Richmond Heights and Cocoanut Grove, Negroes gave Ike 852 to 669 and 861 to 718 majorities. Stevenson carried seven precincts; Ike five.

■

Tennessee (Ratcliffe)—Negro votes in Memphis (Shelby County) and Nashville (Davidson County) swept this state into the GOP column last Tuesday. In Memphis, 38 Negro precincts gave Ike 16,802 to 14,131 for Stevenson. In 1952, the same precincts gave Stevenson 19,592 to Ike's 9,309. In Nashville, Eisenhower carried three Negro precincts this year as against none in 1952. In two other precincts, he lost by only a few votes.

■

Ohio (Hill)—Stevenson's 3-to-1 Negro vote plurality in 1952 was cut to 2-to-1 last Tuesday, a state-wide check of Negro districts revealed . . . a shift of about 8 per cent. Notable swings to Ike were noted in Columbus, Dayton, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Toledo, Akron. Youngstown showed least change.

■

Kentucky Negro voters all over the state voted the straight GOP ticket to give Ike a 34,000 plurality in Louisville as he took the state. Their vote also gave Kentucky two Republican Senators.

■

Fence-Jumping Tan Voters Jar Tar Heel Politicians

RALEIGH, N. C.—Negro voters played a key role in giving President Eisenhower 42 of the state's 100 counties here Tuesday. Stevenson, expected to carry the state by 300,000 votes, won out by 16,000.

To show how Negroes voted:

In 1952, Durham's Whitted Precinct gave Adlai, 1,704; Ike, 121.

In 1956, the same precinct gave Eisenhower 822; Adlai, 695.

This was typical of how Negroes voted all over the state.

On the Political Front

Highlights Election

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 11-17-56 P 11

• Lionel Hampton called from Glasgow, Scotland, early Wednesday morning congratulating Negroes for their part in Ike's victory.

• Baltimore's Morgan State College voted for Ike, 863 to 598, in a mock election.

• RATCLIFFE WIRES (from Nashville): "Boss Ed Crump must have turned over in his grave as Negroes voted for Ike."

• FORTY Negro newspapers backed the Eisenhower-Nixon team during the election.

• NINETY-SIX Negroes ran for various offices across the nation. There were 38 winners, including three Negro Congressmen—Dawson, Powell, Diggs.

Negro Vote Seen Factor In Presidential Election

ATLANTA, (AP).—The Negro vote has developed such formidable strength in recent years that neither political party will be able to treat it lightly in this Presidential election year.

As a result, look for mounting pressure at Democratic and Republican conventions for stronger civil rights planks in answer to Negro demands that racial segregation be eliminated from the American scene. Southern delegates are ready for a fight to the finish.

One of the amazing aspects of the race issue is this transition of the Negro from slavery to a potential balance of political power in less than 100 years.

Best estimates place the present Negro vote between 6,000,00 and 7,000,000. Iit's increasing fast, despite severe registration restrictions in the South.

Right now most Negroes vote Democratic, although dissatisfaction with the civil rights platforms of candidates in the nomination race may swing more of their votes to the Republican side this year.

75% Voted Democratic

After the 1952 election, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People surveyed the Negro vote in fifty cities of the North and South and found that about 75 per cent had voted for Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate.

Large scale voting is a fairly recent privilege for Southern Negroes—won through decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Most Negroes take the gift seriously, often standing in line for as long as a day to register.

The event that opened the floodgate for the Negro vote turnout was a 1944 Supreme Court decision in a Texas case. The court ruled that the right to vote "is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election."

Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi, in an effort to keep the Negro vote down, have thrown up strict voter registration tests.

Get Tests in Advance

As a counter measure, Negro groups get advance copies of the examinations, dig up the answers and distribute them to Negroes through churches, civic clubs and labor unions. Schools for prospective voters are held in some states.

A standard requirement includes the ability to read and interpret the United States and state Constitutions. But some of the questions are a bit trickier.

"How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?" was a Mississippi test, according to a complaint filed in 1954 by the N. A. A. C. P.

'How many people are there on the United States government pay roll that run the government?" is a puzzler on the Alabama test.

Negro voting figures are difficult to get because most states do not separate their lists by race. The N. A. A. C. P. estimates about 6,000,000 were qualified for the 1952 Presidential election, with 2,500,000 in the South and border states.

Florida and Louisiana are the only states that keep separate white and Negro voting lists. In 1940, 886 Negroes registered in Louisiana, 2,083 in Florida. Today the number is 155,460 for Louisiana and 137,535 in Florida.

Could Decide Close States

Not much chance yet for a Negro balance of power in Dixie. But, according to Henry Lee Moon, N. A. A. C. P. official, the burgeoning Negro vote could swing the scales in a close race in such crucial states as New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, California and Missouri.

Voting Held In Alabama, Washington

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Primary elections in Alabama and the District of Columbia featured some sharp contests among Democrats Tuesday. Meanwhile the Republicans got word President Eisenhower likely will peg his fall campaign on five or six television speeches.

The Republicans fought out a factional battle in the District of Columbia ballot—the first sanctioned by Congress in more than 80 years. But the big race was between Democratic National Convention slates representing Senator Estes Kefauver and Adlai Stevenson.

In Alabama, the major question was the vote-pulling power of Governor James E. Folsom in a three-man race for Democratic national committeeman.

Folsom, who said recently he "couldn't be elected dog catcher" in Alabama, was opposed by State Rep. C. W. McKay Jr. and Roy D. McCord. His critics contend Folsom has taken a lukewarm stand on racial segregation. The governor declares he always has favored segregation.

Alabama Democrats also voted for a 26-vote delegation to the party convention and nominated 11 presidential electors and candidates for Congress and several state and district offices. A Democratic nominee is as good as elected in Alabama.

The state's 52 Democratic convention delegates will be uncommitted but 46 of the 80 candidates told The Associated Press they favor Stevenson. Three were leaning toward Kefauver.

Senate Chiefs Ask Reform In Poll Law Before Election

Johnson Receives Knowland's Support for Campaign Spending and Gift Curbs —Would Not Apply to Primaries

By RUSSELL BAKER

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 24—The Senate leaders of both parties came out today for limited reform of the election laws before the 1956 campaign.

Lyndon C. Johnson of Texas, the Democratic leader, said that "realistic" bipartisanship could guarantee early passage of a bill that would put all campaign contributions "in a goldfish bowl" for public scrutiny.

William F. Knowland of California, the Republican leader, endorsed Senator Johnson's proposal in principle and agreed that some reform should be enacted before the 1956 elections.

The two men represent a powerful coalition of Senate forces that would normally assure passage of any measure. Their decision to combine strength on this issue stems from the furor over lobbying and campaign contributions connected with passage of the natural gas bill.

In vetoing the gas bill President Eisenhower complained of "arrogant" lobbying practices by some of its backers. Behind this complaint was the gas lobby's use of campaign contributions to Senators voting on the measure.

Mr. Johnson had three proposals for tightening up existing law. They were:

1. To encourage more small contributions by allowing tax deductions on gifts of uup to $100 a person.
2. To permit television and radio networks to give free and equal time to major parties, without being bound to accommodate fringe parties in the same way.
3. To require "stringent reporting" of all contributions to a general-election campaign and to impose "realistic limits" on campaign spending.

His proposal would not cover primary campagins. In about twenty states either the Democratic or Republican party is overwhelmingly dominant. Most political spending in these states is for primary elections where victory is tantamount to election.

Thus, under his proposal most of the Democratic South and the predominantly Republican New England and Midwest would not be covered insofar as the heaviest political spending is concerned.

The important goal, Senator Johnson said, is to get "a good strong election bill that can give us honest elections" and to get it this year.

Senator Knowland agreed that the present law needed changing before the Presidential election.

Details Not Worked Out

Mr. Johnson had only a general outline of his proposal today. None of the details have been worked out. There is still, for example, no informed guess as to what "realistic limits" for spending in each state might be.

It is understood, however, that these limits would probably be based on the size of each state's electorate.

The leaders' sudden proposal to write a new law came just one day after a select eight-man Senate committee had been named to investigate the whole broad field of campaign spending and lobbying pressure.

The special committe is not required to report until after the next election. Mr. Johnson said that his proposal was not designed to cut the ground out from under the select committee. The need, he said, is for action before the election.

Other Senators who strongly endorse the special investigation agreed that the Johnson plan for early action on electoral reform was sound because it represented an attempt to "strike while the iron is hot."

Some degree of reform this year when the issue is ripe would be preferable to waiting for wider changes next year when all might fail because of public apathy, one influential Democrat argued.

Mr. Johnson's choice of a limited reform bill ignored a comprehensive measure worked out last year by Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Democrat of Missouri, who is chairman of the Elections Subcommittee.

The most important difference between the Hennings bill and the Johnson proposal is that the former would cover primaries while the latter would not.

A sampling of liberal Democratic opinion indicated that this wing of the party would favor the more comprehensive law. The idea of covering state primaries with Federal law impinges on the always inflammatory issue of state's rights. Thus it could expect to arouse bitter opposition from southern Democrats and Old Guard Republicans.

Floor Fight in Prospect

Supporters of the Hennings bill, nevertheless, are talking of making a floor fight for primary coverage. It is understood that Mr. Hennings is also prepared to take a strong stand in that regard.

Organization of the select investigating committee will probably not begin until next Tuesday or Wednesday. Senator Albert Gore, Democrat of Tennessee, is the probable choice for chairman. But he is maintaining a discreet silence about his plans in the absence of a formal grant of authority.

Senator Barry Goldwater, Republican of Arizona, who is a member of the committee, explained why he had resigned as chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee.

He said that his campaign activities "would be incompatible" with membership on the select committee.

A long-time critic of labor union political activities, Mr. Goldwater said that he was disturbed by "the pressure tactics of certain people who claim to represent large groups of voters and, thereby, make their demands felt" in Congress.

"The clear light of investigation," he said, could now be thrown on Americans for Democratic Action, the Committee for an Effective Congress and the labor unoins, as well as the National Association of Manufacturers and the oil lobbies.

On the Democratic side Mr. Gore, and Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, resigned from that party's Senatorial Campaign Committee because of their membership on the investigating committee.

See Negro Vote Shifting to GOP

World-Telegram + Sun
Wed. 5-9-56 P. 1

Is the Negro vote trussed and nailed down once more for the Democratic party as in so many previous national elections? Astute leaders and spokesmen of the Negroes are certain a significant shift is on. How widespread, on what issue it's turning, and who will benefit are disclosed in the following article.

New York N. Y.

By CHARLES LUCEY,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 9.—The Negro vote which has been strongly Democratic since Franklin Roosevelt shows signs of a significant shift to President Eisenhower and the Republicans.

That is the opinion of Negro leaders today.

For 20 years the Democrats have had most Negro votes—probably more than two out of three—locked up tight. They'll still get a majority of them.

But a swing to the GOP of at least 5 percent—some say 10 percent and a few even higher—is the consensus of Negro spokesmen.

Negro voting has such an impact in Northern industrial areas now that a real shift could decide victory. There are nearly 17 million U.S. Negroes—six million eligible to vote.

When Harry Truman was elected in 1948 he carried California, Illinois and Ohio by only 59,000 votes—less than 1 percent of the votes cast. Averell Harriman won the New York Governorship in 1954 by 11,000 votes; a single Harlem Assembly District gave him a 20,000 plurality.

Not since the days after the Civil War has the Negro been so conscious of his vote. Civil rights is the reason. The Emmett Till and Autherine Lucy cases were awakeners. The Montgomery bus boycott has given Negroes a new idea what they can do when they are united.

Interviews in Harlem showed anger and resentment against conservative Southern Democrats a greater factor in talk of a shift than acclaim for what the Eisenhower administration has done in the field of civil rights.

From Cleveland came the report:

There is a trend away from the Democrats of about 5 percent. It occurs chiefly among professional and middle-income Negroes aware of the civil rights issue.

From Chicago this estimate:

"There will be an improvement in the Republican vote because of the civil-rights issue but nobody can say how deeply it will cut across the economic lines of Negro voting. It's among schoolteachers, civil service workers and the like—not the lower-income Negro. The importance of any shift would be considerable because one out of six Chicago votes is Negro."

Cites Economic Aspects.

"If the civil-rights matter stays as it is now," says Val Washington, head of the Negro division of the Republican National Committee, "I'll bet they can't keep us below a 10 percent gain and it could be 15-20 percent."

But Rep. William L. Dawson, Negro leader in Chicago's South Side wards, cites the economic benefits that came to his race under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman. He says that although there are "tensions" now the Negro will vote Democratic again.

It is difficult to prove much from Negro voting in 1956 Presidential primaries. In Chicago Mr. Dawson claimed a slight gain over 1952 for the Democrats, but Mr. Washington says hundreds of Negroes who sought to shift to the GOP were unable to get Republican primary ballots because they had registered Democratic for the 1955 Chicago mayoralty race.

Milwaukee primary voting is cited to show Republican gains but this is disputed by Democrats. Precinct lines are not precisely as they were in 1952 but seven Negro precincts, which went 3297 for Adlai Stevenson to 582 for Dwight Eisenhower in 1952, showed a fairly narrow gap last month—1050 Democratic votes to 789 votes. That meant a Democratic vote of 85 percent was down to 57 percent.

But Democrats say that comparing this primary with the 1952 primary in the Milwaukee Negro districts, their candidates got 57 percent of the vote this time as against 51 percent four years ago.

Blast Eastland.

Today it is difficult to talk to Negro leaders without hearing the Democratic party blasted because of the ascendancy of Mississippi's Sen. James Eastland to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Negro leaders rate Mississippi perhaps the most backward of states on civil rights, and they detest Jim Eastland as a man who wants to keep things as they are.

Negro leaders join criticism of Sen. Eastland with condemnation of the "manifesto" signed by a hundred Senate and House members in opposition to the Supreme Court school segregation decision.

Here are comments of a number:

Roy Wilkins, executive director, National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People—"I won't say there will be a wholesale shift but there will be a shift."

Henry Lee Moon, author of "The Balance of Power," a book on Negro voting—"Republicans will get a larger Negro vote than in many years—probably since 1932. I doubt they can get a majority, but there will be a shift."

Edward S. Lewis, executive director, New York Urban League — "If the Republican party really rose to the issue of civil rights at all levels where they have influence and control and showed they really meant business on wiping out segregation as in the District of Columbia, the Negro vote would swing so fast the whole concept of Negroes always going Democratic would blow sky high. I see a 5 percent shift as a minimum."

Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of New York's largest Negro newspaper, the Amsterdam News, and Managing Editor James Hicks and political writer James Booker agreed: "There will be some considerable shift. But it won't be automatic; the President must show leadership. If Northern Democrats get a strong civil-rights plank at the Chicago convention, the shift can be cut down."

Dr. George Cannon, Harlem physician—"There is a shift. The size of it depends on the Republicans. I know some Negroes who voted Democratic in 1952 who definitely will vote Republican this year."

Some Dissents.

There are dissents. The Rev. Shelton Hale Bishop, pastor of St. Philip's Episcopal Church in Harlem, a member of Adlai Stevenson's New York committee, acknowledges leaders are more on the fence today but he says — "Mr. Eisenhower has missed the boat. He should have taken executive action to counter the opposition to the segregation decisions. I'm not conscious of a political shift either way."

National Whirligig

Advertiser P. 7-A
Thu. 6-29-56
Baltimore, Md.

By Ray Tucker

WASHINGTON.

SEVERAL normally Democratic voting groups will support President Eisenhower, if he is the Republican candidate next November, according to numerous private and public polls. They seem to be emerging from the spell cast on them by Roosevelt-Truman social and economic appeals.

Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has urged his followers to behave more independently. His remarks drew a scolding from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt on the ground of ingratitude. Whereas it is estimated that 70 or 80% of the Negroes have been voting the Democratic ticket for years, Republican headquarters believes that Ike will pick up more than 50%.

As a matter of fact, a survey by the American Heritage Association suggests that the colored vote is highly overrated by the politicians. There are supposed to be about 15,000,000 Negroes in the United States with less than 5,000,000 eligible to vote. In 1952, according to this canvass, only 33% showed up at the polls. Such a balloting, widely scattered, can be decisive in only a limited and local way.

★ ★ ★

LABOR PREDICTION FOR IKE — Ike will get a better break among labor voters than any Republican nominee in recent years. For that he can thank Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell of New Jersey, who has been praised by many leaders as "one of the best friends we have ever had at Washington in that post."

Four influential union officials—Dave Beck of the Teamsters, Martin Hutcheson of the Carpenters, James C. Petrillo of the Musicians, and possibly John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers—will back Ike openly and enthusiastically, or privately. It is extremely doubtful that the AFL-CIO organization, as it did in 1952, will endorse the Democratic nominee, although the president and vice president—George L. Meany and Walter P. Reuther—lean that way.

★ ★ ★

GOOD NEWS FOR REPUBLICANS — The Heritage Foundation's study recorded other Republican trends. It indicated that several classes of voters supposedly hostile to Republican conservatism do not vote in large numbers, whereas Ike's friends get to the polls because of a greater interest and stake in public affairs.

In 1948 and 1952, only 50% of the 21-29 year group, estimated to number 20,000,000, bothered to register their choice on Election Day. A majority are assumed to be Democratic sympathizers because of childhood memories of the "Hoover depression" and parents' unhappy recollections. However, working opportunities for this year's graduates are unusually bright.

In 1952, only 53% of the low-income group, meaning people who earn less than $2,000 a year, voted in the Presidential contest. Only 48 per cent cast a ballot in 1948, when Harry S. Truman said that "any workingman or farmer who voted Republican ought to have his head examined."

According to the latest statistics, the number of individuals earning less than $2,000 or even $3,000, has fallen sharply in the last four years. With 53,000,000 potential votes, 59% of eligible women turned out four years ago, and President Eisenhower is believed to be popular with them.

CLASSES THAT VOTED FOR EISENHOWER—The group which "like Ike," frequently become more conservative, and skeptical of the Democrats' attitude on finances, business, industry, etc. These pockets are counted on to offset the normal Democratic majorities in the metropolitan areas.

(Released by McClure Newspaper Syndicate)

Urban residents, 79; college educated, 90; professional and managerial, 88. According to the latest statistics, the number of individuals earning less than $2,000 or even $3,000, has fallen sharply in the last four years. With 53,000,000 potential votes, 59% of eligible women turned out four years ago, and President Eisenhower is believed to be popular with them.

These three classes had the highest voting record in 1952. Another movement regarded as generally advantageous to the Republicans is the postwar population shift to suburban and rural areas, where the GOP always runs strongest.

As home-owning taxpayers, they

34e 1956 GENERAL

Political Saws, Involving Solid South, Farm, Negro Came Out Of Election Bent

By DOUGLAS B. CORNELL

WASHINGTON, Nov. 11 (AP) — Political saws involving the Solid South and the farm, labor, Negro and big city vote came out of last week's election battered and bent.

By past standards, this election just didn't make sense. Things happened that looked simply impossible in the light of history. Even by 1956 measuring rods, some of the results were almost unbelievable.

The country just doesn't go in for picking a president of one party without giving him a Senate or House — usually both — of the same party. It hadn't done that but once, back in 1848, until last Tuesday.

RARE INTERVALS

Only at rare intervals do chunks of the Solid South break away from the Democrats — when the party nominates a Catholic for president or takes too strong a stand on civil rights and racial questions. Never in history had a Republican taken a quartet of Southern states twice in a row. Until 1956, that is. And this time President Eisenhower added an extra one by pocketing Louisiana along with Florida, Texas, Virginia and Tennessee.

For years, the Democrats counted not only on a Solid South but also on most of the Negro, labor and big city vote. They conceded the bulk of the farm vote to the GOP.

But look what happened this year:

Many Negroes, union members and city folk obviously marched to the polls behind the Eisenhower banner. And Democrats who had figured the pinch of high costs and low prices for crops would bring on a big-scale farm revolt against the Republicans found that nothing of the sort developed.

LOST MISSOURI

Eisenhower carried in 1952 all of the dozen farm belt states stretching westward from Ohio to Kansas, Nebraska and the Dakotas, and this year he lost only Missouri — the one state outside the South to go for Adlai E. Stevenson. True, Eisenhower's margin in some of these states wasn't as hefty as it was four years ago. But in others it was better — including Stevenson's home state of Illinois. And in Ohio, the President's edge was the widest in history.

In the farm states as elsewhere, the crisis in the Middle East unquestionably helped Eisenhower. Even before the crisis developed, farmers and their wives in significant numbers had been saying they thought the chances for peace were better under the Republicans, and that the peace issue weighed more heavily with them than their own prosperity or lack of it.

INDEPENDENT LOT

Also in the farm belt and elsewhere, voters demonstrated they are an independent lot, voting for whom they pleased regardless of party affiliations and splitting their tickets all sorts of ways.

Take Iowa, one of the states where farm unrest has been apparent for months. It went for Eisenhower again, re-elected a Republican senator but kicked out a Republican governor and House member.

Or move over into South Dakota. Eisenhower's popularity slumped there, but not enough to cost him the state. He got 57 per cent of the vote this year whereas he gathered in 69.3 per cent in 1952. The state elected a Democrat to Congress for the first time in 18 years and seemed in the fluctuating returns for a while to be toying with the idea of getting rid of a Republican senator and governor.

SMALLER MARGIN

Southwestern Minnesota and northwestern Wisconsin, once buzzing fairly strongly with anti-administration talk by farmers, went for Eisenhower again, but by smaller margins. Cities and industrial areas helped make up some of that gap.

In St. Paul and Ramsey County, the President cut Stevenson's margin in half this time and in Hennepin — Minneapolis — County he boosted his own winning figure substantially. Eisenhower also gained in Wisconsin industrial areas, attested by the fact that he became the first Republican nominee to turn the trick in Milwaukee since Warren G. Harding in 1920.

That points up another fact:

The AFL-CIO Executive Committee endorsed Stevenson for president but Eisenhower carried all the states with heavy concentrations of union members, including such big ones as New York, Pennsylvania, California and Michigan. West Virginia, a stronghold of the independent United Mine Workers, switched from Stevneson to Eisenhower.

TICKETS SPLIT

Union members evidently split their tickets, too. Their votes were credited with helping Democrats win Senate victories in Pennsylvania, Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. They gave a hand, too, to Foster Furcolo, the Democrat who was elected governor of Massachusetts, and to Democrat G. Mennen Williams in his victorious bid for an unprecedented fifth term as governor of Michigan.

Williams ran far ahead of his 1952 pace, showing enough form to spark talk that he may try for the Senate in 1958 and perhaps the White House in 1960.

It wasn't just the big states that contributed mightily to the Eisenhower landslide. So did some big cities—New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, New Orleans — and urban areas that the Democrats have considered safe and sure for years.

New York City didn't go for Eisenhower. But it pared his deficit from 363,000 four years ago to 63,000 this time, so that the state as a whole rolled out the fattest plurality it ever has given a presidential candidate.

In Hudson County in nearby New Jersey, once a fortress of a Democratic machine, Eisenhower came up with an amazing 75,000-vote bulge over Stevenson.

Eisenhower conquered another Democratic bastion, the Gary-Hammond-East Chicago area in Lake County in northwestern Indiana. He picked off Chicago and Cook County — the first GOP presidential nominee in 28 years to damage that. And he took over New Orleans and Louisiana to become the first Republican since Reconstruction days to carry the Pelican State.

By way of contrast, it was the count from St. Louis that finally put Stevenson ahead in Missouri.

In Chicago, New Orleans and in various other cities there were signs that Negroes re-established a measure of their traditional loyalty to the GOP.

A Louisiana Negro leader said more than half the Negro vote in his state went to Eisenhower whereas Stevenson polled about 98 per cent of it in 1952.

Val Washington, a Negro who heads the Minorities Division of the Republican National Committee, said that reports coming in from all over the country "indicate a definite switch in all heavily populated Negro districts."

Washington contended there has been a Negro shift to Eisenhower compounded in about equal parts of confidence and respect for the President and approval of his position on civil rights. Summing up the current political status of his race, he said:

"I don't think they've bought the Republican party yet. Give us four more years and I think they will."

NORTHERN NEGRO VOTE ANALYZED

Meaning of Drift Away from Demos Aired

By EDWIN A. LAHEY

(Chicago Daily News Service)

WASHINGTON, Nov. 9 — The Democrats were all things to all men on the civil rights issue in the recent campaign.

Did this position alienate many Negro voters?

There was some drift by Northern Negroes away from Stevenson. But it could hardly be called an avalanche.

The meaning of the drift of Negroes away from the Democratic party on Tuesday varied according to your Negro political authority.

"Uncle Bill" Dawson, the ancient congressman on Chicago's south side, says to think nothing of it.

"The decline of Negro votes for Stevenson was logical, and did not represent any disenchantment over civil rights," Dawson said.

Women for Eisenhower

"The war situation won some new Negro votes for Eisenhower. The women especially felt the danger keenly, and decided to vote for the President.

"And in Chicago the Republicans spent more money than they've ever spent before among the Negroes."

Rep. Adam Clayton Powell of New York, a Democrat who repudiated Stevenson over the civil rights issue, takes a different view.

"Negro voters by the droves have temporarily deserted the Democratic party to vote for President Eisenhower," said Powell.

"This does not necessarily mean a shift to the Republican party. It should serve as a warning to Democratic bosses that no one controls the Negro vote.

"The Democratic party must rid itself of its Fascist elements headed by Eastland of Mississippi, Talmadge of Georgia, and Long of Louisiana. President Eisenhower has promised little but actually done more than any other president in the field of civil rights."

Figures Not Impressive

The actual figures on the Negroes drift from their Democratic ties are not impressive, and in no case did the drift build up a majority for Mr. Eisenhower in precincts or wards that are almost entirely Negro.

There are four wards on the South Side of Chicago and two on the West Side that are made up almost totally of Negro voters.

The four South Side wards which have many middle-class Negro families, showed reduced majorities for Stevenson on election day. The Second Ward gave Stevenson 68 per cent of its vote, compared with 77 per cent in 1952, the 20th Ward 57 per cent, as compared with 70 per cent four years ago, and so on.

The West Side Negro wards, areas of extremely low-income families, showed hardly any change in their attitude.

In Manhattan there are four assembly districts heavily populated by Negroes. Each of them cast a heavy majority for Stevenson Tuesday, but with obviously less enthusiasm than they voted for him four years ago.

Less Enthusiasm Shown

The 12th New York (Manhattan) district, home of Rep. Powell, favored Stevenson over Mr. Eisenhower in 1952 by a vote of 41,582 to 11,340.

In Tuesday's election, this district still liked Adlai, but with less passion. The vote was 31,864 against 18,371 in favor of Stevenson.

The 11th New York assembly district, home of Hulen E. Jack, Manhattan borough president, showed a similar decline in Stevenson sentiment. This district in 1952 went 22,737 to 4687 for Stevenson. On Tuesday the district vote was 17,997 for Stevenson to 8026 for President Eisenhower.

The other New York Negro districts showed similar unspectacular drifts away from Stevenson on Tuesday.

Four key Negro precincts in Detroit showed nothing to indicate any disenchantment with the Democratic party.

Ten Negro precincts in Pittsburgh, with a total vote of 4062, cast 64 per cent of that vote on Tuesday for Stevenson. The same precincts cast a somewhat higher percentage of their votes for Adlai four years ago.

Brownell and Negro Voters

Alabama Journal

One of the irritating incidents of the recent presidential campaign was the declaration by Attorney General Brownell regarding Negro voting in the South. "I know of my own knowledge," the Associated Press quotes him as saying, "that Negro voters in some Southern states by the thousands will not be allowed to vote because they are Negroes."Mon. 11-12-56

Mr. Brownell knows nothing of the sort from his own knowledge, or anyone else's knowledge. Fortunately, it was announced shortly after his freakish appeal for Negro votes that news came of Brownell's prospective retirement from the cabinet and resumption of the private practice of law early in the new year.

Montgomery, Ala. P. 4

Brownell has probably been the most unfair attorney general toward the South in any cabinet in the past half century. He has been obsessed with the Negro subject. He sparked the NAACP's Supreme Court appeal for race mixing. He has sent threats hither and yon in the South in a way to bring unfair reflections upon a whole people.

For half a century the South has been leaning backward to accord the Negro his vote as soon as he is qualified to use it intelligently. The South knows about the coersions by the ignorant in reconstruction days. Mr. Brownell knows nothing about that, and cares less.

Mr. Brownell would perhaps like to see the South's electorate diluted with a great mass of ignorance and incompetence such as New York has become where they let everybody vote that can walk on two legs and where precinct leaders herd polyglot groups to the polls like cattle.

The South has tried to maintain intelligence, integrity and patriotism as voting qualifications, but even in our own Alabama household we have in recent years been fighting a losing fight as shown in our Folsom and Stevenson election returns.

But Negroes in Alabama are not prevented from voting because they are Negroes. Something like 40,000 of them in this state can testify to that. We have resented and still resent the efforts of selfish politicians who have attempted in some of our counties to register Negroes as voters who are wholly unqualified to exercise the franchise.

We have resented and still resent the efforts of the NAACP to register Negro voters by force, regardless of qualifications, because we know that NAACP leadership of Negroes is unreliable, dishonest and dependent on alien boodle.

"I Like Ike' ...ments

Atlanta Journal P. 1

Negro Vote, 2 Party Growth Cited In Win

Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 11-10-56

By ROBERT H. DENLEY

A political feud carried on beyond the grave, the war in the Middle East, a switch in Negro feeling and just plain "I-Like-Ike" sentiments were among the reasons given Wednesday for President Eisenhower's increased strength in the South.

In the wake of Tuesday's election, Republicans were talking about a two - party system in this traditionally Democratic region. Dixie Democrats were talking about reorganizing the party national.

The President captured the same four southern states he took in 1952, Florida, Texas, Virginia and Tennessee, and apparently added Louisiana.

He gained strength even in the six Dixie states he lost to Adlai Stevenson - Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina.

THE FEUD

A feud involving the late political leader of Shelby County (Memphis), Tenn., E. H. (Boss Ed) Crump was given some credit for Ike's victoryin the home-state of Democratic vice- presidential nominee Estes Kefauver.

Sen. Kefauver achieved considerable national prominence when he won election to the Senate some years ago over the bitter opposition of Crump. Tennessee GOP chairman Guy Smith of Knoxville said of the key Shelby County vote yesterday:

"Mr. Crump's friends have never forgotten nor forgiven Kefauver." Smith said Tennesseans voted for Eisenhower for the same reasons most of the rest of the nation did, and added:

THE NEGRO VOTE

"The Negro vote accounted for a good segment of the victory. We got a sizable Negro vote.'

Stevenson had carried Shelby County by 6,500 votes in 1952, but he lost that key Tennessee area by 4,000 this time.

In Virginia, Democratic party official John J. Wicker Jr., said Eisenhower won his state because 'in large part of a switch in Negro votes." He said there was a definite switch generally in feelings of Virginia voters because of the war situation in the past week or 10 days.

Capital P.2

T. Coleman Andrews of Richmond, who ran for President on a states' right ticket, said the tense world situation meant a switch in votes from himself to the President.

Tel. 11-10-56

TWO PARTIES

Young Republican chairman J. Calvert Clark declared, "it is evidence we will have a two-party system from now no in Virginia."

Both Democrats and Republicans agreed Florida is now a two-party state. Florida gave Eisenhower a whipping big majority, and GOP state chairman G. Harold Alexander said "this definitely means Florida is a two-party state with a firmly established Republican organization in every section of the state."

Florida Democratic chairman James A. Milligan quickly agreed that "the expression of the voters now convinces us we have a two-party state. I appeal to all Democrats in Florida to join forces in meeting the challenge."

South Carolina's eight electoral votes were won by Stevenson although his vote total was not as great as the combined total of Republican and Independent slates. Former Gov. James Byrnes, who endorsed Eisenhower in 1952 and the Independent slate this time, declared: There will be a margin of about 30,000 votes registered in opposition to Mr. Stevenson.

"This means that South Carolina is no longer in the bag for any party. It means that four years hence the candidates of both major parties will give more consideration to the views of South Carolina on major issues."

In Georgia, which gave Stevenson his biggest majority, state attorney general Eugene Cook said the election emphasized an "urgent need" for conservative elements to "wrest control of four once great Democratic party" from "ultra-liberal leadership.' Cook said the strong Republican vote in the south was more anti-Stevenson than is it was pro-Eisenhower.

400,000 Votes Changed

Daily World

Negro Shift From Demos Hits North

Fri. 11-9-56 Atlanta, Ga.

P. 1 3rd edition

A shift from the Democratic to the Republican ticket was effected in some Northern cities, among Negro voters according to statistics from the election returns.

The Republican party made significant gains in some areas which had been considered mostly Democratic for the last 20 years.

Following is an analysis of some 400,000 votes cast in a cross-section of predominantly Negro districts in four large cities:

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1. THE VAST majority of Negroes in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and New York remained loyal to the Democratic Party and its presidential candidate, Adlai Stevenson.

2. Republicans scored their most impressive gain in New York City where Stevenson's margin in three Harlem districts was reduced from 4-1 in 1952 to 2-1 in Tuesday's election.

3. IN THE other predominantly Negro districts selected for comparison, GOP gains were much smaller in Chicago, almost negligible in Detroit and nonexistent in Philadelphia.

Here is a percentage of the vote for President Eisenhower Tuesday, compared with 1952, in the selected districts:

	1952	1956
New York (3 Harlem)	19	32.7
Chicago (6 wards)	27.8	34.4
Phila. (14 wards)	30.3	30 5
Detroit (5 precincts)	7.5	9.2

The districts cast 405,400 votes Tuesday compared to 469,062 in 1952.

The big Harlem shift may have been due, in part to the stand taken by Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, a Harlem Negro.

****

POWELL REFUSED to support the Democratic ticket. He urged Negroes throughout the country to vote for President Eisenhower and urged New York Negroes also to vote for the now-victorious GOP senatorial candidate Jacob K. Javits.

On the other hand, Chicago's top Negro political leader, Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.) urged Negroes to remain loyal to the Democrats.

Ike Seen Doubling Negro Vote Over '52 Campaign

Journal + Guide p. 23
Norfolk, Va.

NEW YORK—A major defection from the Democratic ranks will give President Eisenhower nearly twice the Negro vote he received in 1952, a prize-winning Negro reporter predicted today.

Carl Rowan of the Minneapolis Tribune, writing in the new issue of Look Magazine, declared that while "the Republicans do not yet seem to offer enough courage, enough hope for Eisenhower to get half the Negro vote," he could garner nearly 40 per cent of it.

Sat. 11-3-56

"WHETHER he does or not" said Rowan, "will depend on how well the GOP capitalizes on the Negro's deep frustrations, on whether Republicans convince the Negro that he can enter, through the front door, a party no longer dominated by conservatives with outdated social and economic views."

A three-time winner of journalism's coveted Sigma Delta Chi awards, Rowan stressed that the Negro's dilemma is not only how to vote, but whether to vote at all.

* * *

CITING NEGRO dissatisfaction with the Democratic civil rights platform ("the Democrats had a choice and they kicked the Negro in the teeth") and traditional apathy toward the GOP, the article quoted a colored doctor's view of the alternatives:

"The Negro can lay aside his racial feelings and continue to vote Democratic, because he believes the party is still best for the country and the little man, which means the Negro.

"We can vote Republican and make all the Democrats pay for compromising with Sen. Eastland and the segregationists, or we can tell both parties to go to hell while we play poker election day."

NEGRO VOTE 'PURGE' IN 5 DIXIE STATES TO BE PROSECUTED

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Thurs. 11-25-56

U. S. Plans Criminal Action Against White Leaders After Election

FBI CHECKS COMPLAINTS

Court Steps Must Await Actual Violations In Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama, Two Others

By ROBERT F. COLL
United Press Staff Writer

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—The Federal Government plans criminal prosecution against white supremacists in five Southern states for "wholesale purges" of qualified Negroes from voting lists, it was disclosed Wednesday.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, head of the department's Criminal Division, said the Government will act after the Nov. 6 election on "many thousands" of complaints by formerly qualified Negroes that they will not be allowed to vote.

He said the prosecutions could not be undertaken on a sound legal basis until after the Negroes actually are blocked from voting.

"In every instance where we can show a person was denied his right to vote by reason of color, we intend to prosecute," Mr. Olney said.

He said the "unprecedented" mass move to disfranchise Negro voters had a "recognizable leadership" in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.

Citizens Councils Cited

Mr. Olney said under leadership of local white Citizens Councils thousands of Negroes who previously had voted were stricken from voting rolls in each of the states.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation is investigating complaints.

He said there was "an exact pattern" to the method used to "systematically knock off" Negroes as qualified voters in the affected states. He showed Southern newspaper accounts of how Negroes were purged.

In each case, he said, the Negro's right to vote first was challenged through efforts of a White Citizens Council. White voters never were challenged, Mr. Olney said.

He said Negroes then were ensnared in a number of technical questions where only an exact answer was accepted.

14th Amendment Cited

Mr. Olney said he brought the situation to attention of both the Senate Elections Subcommittee and the House Committee on Administration. He said he received no reply from either group on his offer to aid in a congressional investigation.

Mr. Olney said he reminded the House committee, headed by Representative Omar Burleson (D., Texas), of a provision in the 14th Amendment providing that Congress may reduce a state's representation in the House in direct ratio to the number of persons in the state illegally deprived of a vote.

'Political Bluff,' Coleman Says

Gov. J. P. Coleman said last night the Justice Department statement "is a cheap political bluff." He said he and the Mississippi attorney general would "personally defend" any person indicted in that state on Federal charges of purging qualified Negroes from voting lists.

"On its face, this is a political move designed to get votes out of the Northern Negro," Governor Coleman charged. He is in Memphis to address the Lumberman's Club today.

NEGRO VOTE SOUGHT BY CAMPAIGN CHIEFS

Commercial Appeal
Memphis, Tenn.
Wed. 10-31-56

Democrats' Farley Knew Importance Of Bloc

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.—(UP)—James A. Farley was easy in his mind during political campaigns if he could figure he had the Negro vote going for his candidate.

Farley was chief engineer of the New Deal political machine created by Franklin D. Roosevelt. He estimated the Negro vote was the balance of power between the major parties in 17 substantially industrial states outside the South.

Political managers in this presidential campaign go along with Farley's estimate of the strategic importance of Negro voters.

Wed. 10-30-56

The Negro population of the United States was more than 15 million in the 1950 census.

Republicans are making an unusually anxious pitch this year for the Negro vote. There are large Negro communities in key states such as California, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

These eight states cast 223 electoral votes, just 43 short of the 266 minimum for election of a president.

Negro Vote Bar Cited to Senators

World-Telegram + Sun
New York p. 15

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10.—A Justice Department official told Senators today that thousands of qualified Negro citizens in Louisiana and other states are being denied their legal right to vote in this year's election.

Wed. 10-10-56

Warrn Olney 3rd, assistant attorney general in charge of criminal prosecution, suggested that the Senate elections subcommittee hold public hearings at Monroe, La., and other places where he said there have been complaints.

Mr. Olney said more than 3000 qualified Negro voters had been eliminated from official election lists in Ouachita Parish, La., chefly through operations of a White Citizens Council.

Sen. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.), chairman of the subcommittee, and Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R., Nebr.) indicated it was too late for the subcommittee to hold the suggested hearings.

Sen. Gore noted that federal laws make a criminal offense to prvent a qualified voter from participating in a federal election. Penalties range up to a fine of $1000 and a year in jail.

New York Registration Drop Blamed On System

Journal + Guide p. 23
Norfolk, Va.

By BOB CONSIDINE
(Distributed By International News Service)

Sat. 11-3-56

NEW YORK. — (INS) — Registration in New York was down seven or eight per cent over the 1952 figures. Most pundits owe this to an absence of issues and lack of comprehensible differences between the rival sides. I owe it to the clumsy, prying, time-wasting practices inflicted on people hereabouts before they become eligible to cast a ballot.

The usually elderly ladies and gentlemen who supervise registration are, I'm sure, fine people, deserving of this humble but welcome handout from political organizations they have faithfully served through the years. But neither they nor their methods belong to this century. Any business conducted as our registration machinery is run would go bankrupt in short order.

* * *

WE KNOW of a spirited lady who refused to register this time because the person assigned to question her on her age, occupation, address and wring from her other vital statistics was a neighbor with a tongue as long and sharp as a spear. I took Vincent S. Flaherty of the Los Angeles Examiner with me when I registered, and the nice folks at the table would readily have made him eligible, I'm sure, if he had wished to give an address in the neighborhood.

What with talk of this and that, and a grilling that would not be alien to a night court, I was made eligible and was handed a slip of paper bearing the insignia of the Republican, the Democrat and the Socialist parties. I was asked to indicate a preference by making an X in one of the circles. There is no place for the (Cap I) Independent voter to sign. I made my choice, folded the slip, dropped it in the box, talked to a cop whose father used to work in the press room at the Journal American, and started out.

* * *

BUT ESCAPE was not that easy. A young lady came up to me, eyed me incredulously, and said with vigor, "how could you possibly make such a choice of parties?" She was quite distressed.

What Democrats Can't Forget

(Editor's note: The following editorial was published in The New York Post on November 8, 1956):

One of Tuesday's biggest stories may be that Negro voters finally got through to the Democratic Party. It was as clear, as simple and as dramatic as some of the events which caused it.

Segregated wards and precincts, so grim all year round, have an ironic advantage on Election Day. A holding operation, such as occurred in 1948 and 1952, cannot be obscured. But neither can a big historic shift such as Ted Poston described in The Post yesterday.

The most lame and empty explanation of the vote in Negro precincts comes from the Democratic Party leaders in Chicago. Some great political brains of Cook County have frantically blamed the shift on the dispersal of thousands of Negro families by slum clearance projects.

National Democratic Party leaders will echo this materialist theory of history at their own peril.

Many complicated elements were involved in the upheaval of Negro voters, including the weak Democratic civil rights plank, which got much bigger press notices than the equally lame Republican plank. But many of the immediate causes may have been compressed into a brief period of history last winter.

Sen. Kilgore died on Feb. 28; the shameful succession of Sen. Eastland as chairman of the Judiciary Committee came soon thereafter. It occurred almost simultaneously with the unfolding of Autherine Lucy vs. the Southern mobs. And it was just at that moment that Adlai Stevenson, speaking in California, had the misfortune to use the inflammatory word "moderation."

This sequence of events remained unforgiven and unforgotten by thousands of Negro voters. Stevenson's eloquent ensuing pleas for civil rights —delivered in the South and North alike—never could banish the shadow of Eastland or the memory of Miss Lucy, perhaps partly because little of the press heralded his words, and the President's equivocations on the Supreme Court decision were rarely headlined or underlined.

The exception to the Negro shift seems to have occurred mainly in Michigan, and it serves to highlight the key point. It was the Michigan Democrats who led the revolt against spokesmen for the Southern Democratic rotten boroughs in the Democratic convention. It was Michigan's Democratic Governor who broke traditional diplomatic relations with Southern state houses over such life and death matters as the extradition of fugitives.

The tragedy is that Adlai Stevenson, who spoke so well and so often during the campaign on the "unfinished business of democracy," ended with Talmadge's Georgia and Eastland's Mississippi in his thin electoral column while great Negro defections ruined his hopes in so many states.

It has been said rhetorically on many occasions that the Democrats cannot forever hold the liberal franchise if the Eastland-Talmadge gang maintains its power in the Democratic Party. Tuesday clinched the case.

The Democrats must remain a national party. But they can do so successfully only by joining hands with the liberal forces of "the new South" and finally turning their backs on the racist demagogues who have so long dishonored the Democratic cause.

Negro Vote Shows He's Growing Up—

By Leonard H. Bell

The die is cast. This presidential election is now just another phase of history. But we can learn many interesting things as we try to analyze the final results.

This column has reached these conclusions set forth below. We are sure that the voter has become more intelligent in casting his ballot. He has lost his feeling of subservience to a single political party. Especially when that party blandly ignores his desires and his needs as a citizen. He has thrown aside his former blind party loyalty and learned to vote with retaliatory effect toward those whom he realized were no longer worthy of his vote.

We think that the results plainly demonstrate the pressing need for a rejuvenation in both Republican and Democratic Parties. The Old Guard of the Republican Party must be replaced by the liberality and progressivism that surely must exist in the young Republicans. The Democratic Party has to clean house completely, according to this electorate. For the voters showed that they feared to place absolute control of our government into the hands of a party that nurtures, protects and accepts in silence the slanderous rantings and machinations against minorities, constantly spewed out by Talmadge, Eastland and others of their anti-racist ilk.

The Negro vote has clearly indicated that cleaning house for the Democratic Party must also include firm support and steady implementation of the Supreme Court's Integration Decision; the abolition of the social and economic barriers that attempt to keep the Negro in a secondclass citizenship status throughout the south, and a wider and more just dispensation of political patronage to the Negro, where his voting strength is strongest.

Furthermore, President Eisenhower, in his popular return to office seems to have been placed on trial by the Negro voter, to see if he will really be as effective in fighting for and pushing for the civil rigths of the Negro as his partisans have proclaimed him to be.

The verdict of guilty has been brought in from the polls against both parties in this mass political trial. They have been punished nationally, by state and locally, by an informed electorate.

34e 1956

U. S. Bares Vote Purge In South

Defender Sat. 10-20-56
Chicago Ill. P. 1

WASHINGTON — (INS) — The Justice Department charged last week that thousands of Negro voters are being disenfranchised in the South in advance of the Nov. 6 election.

The accusation was made by Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, head of the department's criminal division, in testimony before a Senate Elections subcommittee.

Olney testified that the department has received complaints that Negroes are being deprived of their vote in Ouachita and Rapides Parishes, (counties) La., and Pierce County, Ga.

GIVES DETAILS

He testified in detail on what the department has learned about the alleged situation in Ouachita Parish, whose largest city is Monroe.

Olney asserted that Negroes were being disenfranchised simply because of their race although they were otherwise eligible to vote.

He said there were the names of only 694 Negroes on the election rolls in wards three and 10 of Ouachita Parish on Oct. 4, compared with some 4,000 Negroes previously qualified to vote there.

COUNCIL BLAMED

Olney charged that the more than 3,300 Negroes who were disenfranchised had voted in previous elections, but the White Citizens' Council got election officials to strike their names from the rolls.

He said officials and members of the Council filed affidavits challenging the rights of all Negroes to vote.

He added that the registrar of elections accepted the affidavits as valid although they were not sworn to as required by Louisiana law.

Olney charged that thousands of Negroes were not given an opportunity to answer the complaints and when they sought to register again, were disqualified on grounds they could not interpret satisfactorily certain provisions of the state and federal Constitutions.

In Rapides Parish, he said, a complaint alleged that more than 200 Negroes were disenfranchised in a similar way and in Pierce county, 25 to 30 per cent of the registered Negro voters were challenged and had their names stricken from the rolls.

OTTLEY WRITES NEW SERIES ON NEGRO VOTERS

Tribune Bureau
Chicago, Ill.
Ed. 10-14-56
P. 3

Articles About Trends Start Tomorrow

Beginning tomorrow, THE TRIBUNE will present the first article of a series on political trends among Negroes as interpreted by Roi Ottley, Negro journalist and author of best sellers on social subjects.

Ottley

In six articles, Ottley will present a report on a survey of what he describes as "rapidly changing developments" in the direction of the Negro vote for the Nov. 6 Presidential and general election.

Ottley is well known to Tribune readers. His regular columns appear in the Saturday and Sunday issues, and he has a Sunday night radio program on station W-G-N.

Analyzes Migration

Earlier this year, he also won journalistic praise for a series in THE TRIBUNE analyzing the migration of Negroes to northern cities in recent years.

Now a resident of Chicago, Ottley was born in New York City and attended public schools there. Later, he attended St. Bonaventure [N. Y.] university, the University of Michigan, and St. John's law school in Brooklyn.

In addition, he studied playwriting at Columbia university, article writing at the City College of New York, and Negro folk literature at New York university.

He began his newspaper career on the New York Amsterdam News of Harlem, where he was a reporter, columnist, and editor. His first book, "New World A 'Coming," published in 1943, surveyed race relations in the United States, and it won literary awards.

Travels 60,000 Miles

In World War II, he was publicity director of the National CIO war relief committee. Later, he went abroad as a newspaper and magazine correspondent, traveling 60,000 miles in Europe and Africa and visiting 22 countries.

In 1948, Ottley wrote his history of the Negro in America, "Black Odyssey," a book republished in England, West Germany, and Czechoslovakia. His journeys abroad are described in his "No Green Pastures."

His latest book was "The Lonely Warrior," a biography of Robert S. Abbott, founder and editor of the Chicago Defender, a Negro newspaper.

GENERAL

Southern Leaders Deny Threat to Negro Voters

Star-Times Herald P. 10-A
Washington, D.C.
April 26-56

By Jack Adams
Associated Press

Southern leaders have challenged a Justice Department official's statement that a mass campaign to deny Negroes the right to vote is under way in the South.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney said yesterday investigations already are under way in five states, and criminal charges will be filed where Negroes are deprived of voting privileges because of their race.

"Disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis," Olney said, in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. He said this is being accomplished by what he called "systematic" revisions of registration rolls, frequently on the basis of challenges by White Citizens Councils.

Mississippi's Gov. J. P. Coleman replied that "on its face this is a political move designed to get votes from the Northern Negro." He said he personally will join in defending any Mississippian indicted on what he called "these trumped-up charges."

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County (Ga.) Board of Registration, said 130 Negro voters were removed from rolls there after "failing to appear to meet the challenge (of their eligibility) at a board hearing." Of those who did appear, he added, "only three, four or five" were removed, two of them because of felony convictions. Olney had said Pierce County was one of those under investigation.

State Sen. Sam Englehardt, head of the Alabama Association of Citizens Councils, said that organization "hasn't done a thing" about trying to get Negroes off voting lists.

Asa Carter, executive secretary of the separate Alabama Citizens Councils, said his group has made no effort to "intimidate or threaten board registrars to disfranchise Negroes."

Olney told newsmen he intends to bring criminal prosecutions "in every instance where he can show a qualified person was denied the right to vote simply because of his color" in the forthcoming general elections.

Vote Denied Negroes, Official Says

Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
Thurs. 10-11-56

Senators Told Many In South Disenfranchised

By The Associated Press

Washington, Oct. 10. — The Senate elections subcommittee was told today that thousands of qualified Negroes in Louisiana and other Southern states are being denied their right to vote this year.

Warren Olney, III, assistant attorney general in charge of criminal prosecution, described the situation as "mass disenfranchisement . . .purely because of their race."

Olney suggested that the subcommittee hold public hearings at Monroe, La., and other places where he said there have been complaints.

In Louisiana, State Senator W. M. Rainach, president of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils, said, "I would consider this move by the attorney general an effort to influence the Negro vote nationally for the Republican Party."

Says Whites Challenged, Too

Rainach, reached at his home in Homer, said that in Ouachita Parish the cases referred to by Olney involved "voters illegally registered." He said "a considerable number of white voters" were challenged, as well as some 3,000 Negroes.

In Monroe, Mrs. Mae Luckey, the Parish registrar of voters, said:

"More than 3,000 Negroes' registrations were challenged under a move by the Parish Citizens Council. They were removed from the rolls, and in further investigations about 1,000 have been placed back on the rolls because they were found legally qualified."

To Pursue Two Lawsuits

The registrar said the persons challenged were asked to interpret the State Constitution as provided by Louisiana law.

James Sharp, a Negro attorney who has filed two suits against Mrs. Luckey because of the registration challenges, said a Senate investigation "would do a lot of good," but he added:

"We're not going to stand by and let the Senate fight any battles for us. We will pursue the lawsuits that we have filed, to the finish."

Chairman Gore (D., Tenn.) said the subcommittee was "deeply concerned with the disenfranchisement of any American citizen."

Says It's Too Late

But he and Senator Curtis (R., Neb.) indicated it was too late for the subcommittee to hold the hearings. The group has been policing campaign contributions and expenditures in advance of the November election.

There were these other developments at today's hearing:

1. The Democratic National Committee reported it was almost $106,000 in the red as of October 1.

2. The Republican National Committee reported a balance of more than $500,000 in its treasury as of the same date.

Gives Senators Rundown

3. Olney disclosed that the Justice Department is investigating a complaint that national banks in Chicago "may be involved in political activities in violation of federal law." He said the complaint involved alleged political contributions in substantial amounts.

Olney gave the senators a run-

down on Justice Department efforts to protect the 1956 elections. He said existing federal laws governing campaign contributions and spending limits were "narrowly worded" and so weak it is almost impossible to get indictments and convictions.

Then the Department spokesman said the subcommittee had not got into a subject of "real importance—the honesty of federal elections."

Charges 'Scheme' by Whites

He told the senators they ought to know what has been going on in some Southern states.

In Ouachita Parish, he went on, more than 4,000 Negro voters were qualified in Wards 3 and

Associated Press Wirephoto

Leonard Hall, G.O.P. National Committee chief, answers questions about his party's receipts and expenditures in September.

10 under a system of permanent registration, but at the beginning of this month only 694 Negro voters remained on the list.

Olney said this resulted from a "scheme of white citizens and local officials." A citizens council was organized, he said, that challenged almost all the Negro voters in the two wards. Olney said this was done with "pretended affidavits" prepared by the council.

Gore noted that federal laws make it a criminal offense to prevent a qualified voter from participating in a federal election. Penalties range up to a $1,000 fine and a year in jail, he said.

The Justice Department official agreed, but said even if a criminal action were successful against those participating in the scheme, it would not be in time to restore the rights of thousands of Negroes to vote in the coming election.

Curtis Asks for Brief

"It would not protect the integrity of election of officers of the United States," he added.

Olney said the situation was "not confined to Ouachita Parish nor to the state of Louisiana."

Curtis asked that the Justice Department furnish him with a legal brief on the right of the Senate or the House to seat any member elected under such conditions.

Olney said Attorney General Brownell had asked Congress for legislation that would permit federal-court injunctions to protect the rights of voters in similar circumstances. Such legislation was passed by the House, he said, but was "bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee."

Tells of Political Gifts

In connection with the Chicago Bank inquiry, Olney told the senators a complaint had been filed with the U. S. attorney there alleging that both State and national banks had made substantial contributions "for a political purpose."

Without elaborating, he said a federal investigation "is pending."

Olney reported that in the past six years the Justice Department has received 54 complaints of alleged violations of those sections of the Corrupt Practices Act that prohibit campaign contributions by national banks corporations, and labor organizations.

In most cases, he said, investigation failed to show any violation of federal law.

Democrats Report Deficit

A requested report from the Democratic National Committee showed September receipts of $582,047 and expenditures of $602,808. The party's balance at the end of the month was $14,894, but its unpaid bills amounted to $120,665.

The Republicans reported September receipts of $244,587 and expenditures of $368,923. Their bank balance was $540,289 October 1, with $24,000 in unpaid bills.

Democratic Chairman Paul M. Butler told the subcommittee his party hoped to improve its financial position with a nationwide "Dollars for Democrats" day Tuesday.

In a statement submited to the senators, Butler said, "Unfortunately, money is still being raised for the Republican Party through economic pressure."

WHITE COUNCILS MEET

Official Denies 'Politics'

Incentive For Vote Probe

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 (AP) — Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III said today his announced plans to investigate Souther Negro voting rights largely involves disfranchisement of Democrats by Democrats.

In issuing the formal statement, Olney, a California Republican, appeared to be replying to a declaration by Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman terming the Olney announcement as "a cheap political bluff."

Coleman said "On its face this is a political move designed to get votes from the Northern Negro."

Olney said:

"It is true the action being taken is political because it is a matter of fundamental political principle — a political right — the right to vote. But it cannot be claimed that the action taken is partisan when nine of 10 are Democrats being disfranchised by Democrats."

Gov. Coleman led a chorus of disclaimers in the South after the assistant attorney general charged yesterday that "disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis" in some aeas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.

Olney named the pro - segragationist White Citizens Councils as prime movers in reported "purging" of voter registration rolls of Negroes in some counties. He said current FBI investigations were designed to lay the basis for post-election criminal prosecutions "in every instance" where it can be shown that a Negro was denied the right to vote because of his color in the general elections Nov. 6.

In response to an inquiry today, the Justice Department said inquiries are going forward into Negro voting rights in five counties of North Carolina.

Officials said that in contrast to other areas, the North Carolina investigations do not involve "wholesale removals" of Negroes from the registration rolls, but that the complaints largely allege "use of various means to prevent Negroes from registering, means not applied to white citizens."

Vote shift worries top Dems

By SAMUEL HOSKINS

WASHINGTON

When the 11-man executive committee of the National Democratic Committee meets here on Nov. 26 and 27, the discussion will involve more than finance.

There will be some discussion of how the party is to raise money to erase the million-dollar deficit accumulated during the campaign.

But the executive committee also will discuss, of all questions, civil rights.

DESPITE the recent denial by Rep. **William L. Dawson,** National Committee vice chairman, that the gains made by Republicans among colored voters had nothing to do with the party's civil rights position, Democratic leaders in the East and West are concerned.

Proof of this was the sharp warning issued by Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota that by inaction in this area the Democratic Party is - "digging its own grave."

Consequently, the meeting of the executive committee could well mark the beginning of a policy shift which, before the end of the next Congress, will see the party leaders pushing hard for enactment of civil rights legislation.

* * *

BELIEVE IT or not, one of the executive committee members from the South, **Camile F. Gravel Jr.** of Louisiana, may play a leading role in this pro-civil rights shift.

If so, his position will reflect the grave concern with which party leaders from below the Mason-Dixon Line are viewing the growing colored vote.

HERE IS what is likely to happen:

Rep. Charles C. Diggs, heretofore the problem child of the National Committee, will become more influential in party matters.

Labor will have more to say about party policy on a national level, thus boosting the status of **Phil Weightman** of AFL-CIO.

The hue and cry for punitive action against **Rep. Adam Clayton Powell** of New York for bolting the party may not even get off the ground.

If the Democrats succeed in organizing the Senate, **Senator James O. Eastland,** of Mississippi will retain chairmanship of the powerful Judiciary Committee.

But he will not be permitted to bottle up civil rights bills as in the last Congress.

In short, look for leaders to start immediate efforts to dislodge from the party's neck the dead weight of Eastlandism.

* * *

THE QUESTION is being asked here if the Eisenhower brand of "modern Republicanism" will result in a change of policy for the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Mrs. Corienne R. Morrow, who was fired by the agency along with **Dr. Frank Horne** describes HHFA as the "last bastion of governmental sanctioned racism in the United States."

D. S. SAUND, who was elected to the House of Representatives from California, is the first native of India to win election to public office in the U.S. He defeated the famous aviatrix, **Jackqueline Cochran.**

Sterling Tucker, new executive director of the Washington Urban League, is a protege of the League's national executive director, **Lester Granger.**

Jon Massey, D.C. disc jockey, recently was the subject of a special Voice of America broadcast beamed to 30 nations throughout the world.

This was part of USIA's answer to anti- U. S. propaganda by USSR.

The Soviet Army paper, **Red Star,** recently carried an article entitled "Violence of American Racists."

It was based on the recent **Life** magazine series on color and segregation.

Red Star contends that the series justified current U.S. race relations on the basis of previous slavery in Africa.

The Negro Vote

It very probably will be many years before the Democrats regain the Negro vote. That vote shifted by the thousands to the GOP in the presidential election on the basis of Republican performance in the field of civil rights. The administration in Washington will not be so politically dumb as to rest on its laurels. It can nail down the Negro support by pushing hard in the next Congress for a broad civil rights program. Such a program will be defeated, of course, by Southern Democrats' use of the filibuster and their power gained through seniority. Mr. Brownell and other smart GOP politicians will have let the colored vote forget that it was the Democrats, then, who denied them their civil rights.

34e 1956

Old Guard GOP cool—

Missouri leans Demo, Negro vote seen key

EDITOR'S NOTE: Another in a series by AP's veteran political reporters who are surveying sentiment in key states across the country.

BY OVID A. MARTIN

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 11 — (AP) — The spirit of the late Sen. Robert A. Taft hovers over Missouri republicanism. It makes more difficult President Eisenhower's task of trying to win the state in November.

The battle which Taft lost to Eisenhower at the party's 1952 national convention still rankles among many who class themselves as "old-line" Republicans. Some say they have no enthusiasm for their party's ticket because they regard Eisenhower as "something of a Fair Dealer."

In traveling over the state to get views on the election outlook, this reporter encountered a number of party members who classed themselves as "Nixon Republicans."

MARTIN

They said they consider Vice President Nixon, again Eisenhower's running mate, to be closer to their political beliefs than is Eisenhower.

ONE SUCH GOP member—once an unsuccessful candidate for a major state office—said what he termed the "old line boys" have only a "picture acquaintanceship with the president." He said they have been largely ignored in patronage and in party councils.

Without doubt, this situation is contributing to a belief among political observers that Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic presidential nominee, has climbed ahead of Eisenhower for this border state's electoral votes.

Four years ago, Eisenhower—with the help of an estimated 105,000 Democratic votes—defeated Stevenson by a narrow margin of 29,000. In that same election the Democrats won all other statewide races.

Only an Eisenhower visit to the state, plus a redoubled GOP effort to win votes from Missouri's estimated 125,000 Negro voters, could change the outlook, both Republicans and Democrats agreed.

PERRY COMPTON, patronage-troubled GOP state chairman, conceded that intra-party differences exist, but he insisted there is no justification for it.

"As far as patronage goes, there are dozens of jobs available for Missouri Republicans,' he said. "But the trouble is, few of those wanting jobs meet the qualifications laid down by the Civil Service Commission."

Faced with the possibility of losses in farm votes in rural Missouri because of distressed economic conditions and a return of some "Eisenhower Democrats" to their party's fold, the Republicans look to the heavy Negro vote in St. Louis and Kansas City for offsetting ballots.

DEMOCRATIC State Chairman Wilbur F. Daniels of Fayette, said his "only concern" is the Negro vote. He predicted a last-minute GOP drive to capture this bloc, apparently largely Democratic in the past.

Compton did not deny that such an effort would be made.

"Many Negroes would like to come back to the Republican Party," he said. "We'll try to show them the way." He did not amplify.

Questioning of a number of Negroes brought no firm indication as to how this group may vote. Most of them ducked the question.

George Morgan, a parlor car attendant on a run between Kansas City and St. Louis, said he will vote for Stevenson "Because I make more money under the Democrats."

IT IS TAKEN for granted by most observers that the labor vote will go heavily for Stevenson.

W. T. Hoggard, a farmer of near Everton who has taken up railroad work at Springfield to augment his income, said "quite a few workers" in his shop who voted for Eisenhower in 1952 now plan to support Stevenson.

On the other hand, out of five members of a railroad track section crew working near Aurora, two said they were for Eisenhower and three did not express their views.

Except in a few areas, farm prices themselves do not show up as a paramount issue among farmers. Those exceptions are in parts of North Missouri, where agriculture is highly dependent—like that of Iowa to the north—on prices of hogs and cattle. Many North Missouri farmers said they lost money on hogs last year when hogs were plentiful and prices tumbled sharply.

Mentioned more frequently were crop losses due to drouth.

In Stone County—deep in the Missouri Ozark Mountains—farmers complained of low poultry prices. This is a major broiler producing area.

In this same general area, some farmers said the Eisenhower administration has been slow in providing emergency drouth relief.

In the Republican stronghold of Southwest Missouri most farmers interviewed

FULL NEGRO VOTE URGED

Dr. Jackson Makes Appeal at National Baptist Parley

Special to The New York Times.

DENVER, Sept. 6—The Negroes' "most urgent request is to give our brothers in the South the full right to vote," Dr. J. H. Jackson of Chicago, president of the National Baptist Convention, said today.

In his annual message to 15,000 delegates attending the five-day meeting, Dr. Jackson addressed himself to "the two major parties of this country, to the President of the United States, to every member of Congress." He said:

"If you give us our ballot, we will not worry the Federal Government in the near future about our rights as citizens. If you give us the security agents and the officers of the law who will guard our rights at every polling place we will not beg Congress about the passing of an anti-lynching law. We will, by the power of our vote, write that law on the statute books of Southern states."

WHITE CITIZENS BLAMED

Senate Probers Told Negroes Denied Voting Rights In Dixie

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Olney suggested the Elections subcommittee hold public hearings at Monroe, La., and other places where he said there have been complaints.

In Louisiana, State Sen. W. M. Rainach, president of the Louisiana Assn. of Citizens Councils, said, "I would consider this move by the attorney general an effort to influence the Negro vote nationally for the Republican party."

Rainach, reached at his home in Homer, said that in Ouachita Parish—county—the cases referred to by Olney involved "voters illegally registered." He said "a considerable number of white voters" were challenged, as well as some 3,000 Negroes.

Chairman Gore (D-Tenn) said the subcommittee was "deeply conerned with the disenfranchisement of any American citizen."

But he and Sen. Curtis (R-Neb) indicated it was too late for the subcommittee to hold hearings on the question. The group has been policing campaign contributions and expenditures in advance of the Nov. 6 election.

There were these other developments today: the national Committee reported a balance of more than half a million dollars in its treasury as of the same date.

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Gore noted that federal laws make it a criminal offense to prevent a qualified voter from participating in a federal election. He said penalties range up to a $1,000 fine and a year in jail.

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Oolney said the situation was "not confined to Ouachita Parish nor to the state of Louisiana."

Curtis asked that the Justice Department furnish him a legal brief on the right of the Senate or House to seat any member elected under such conditions.

Olney said Atty. Gen. Brownell had asked Congress for legislation that would permit federal court injunctions to protect the rights of voters in similar circumstances. Such legislation was passed by the House, he said, but was "bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee."

In connection with the Chicago bank inquiry, Olney told the senators a complaint has been filed with the U.S. attorney there alleging that both state and national banks had made substantial contributions "for a political purpose."

Without elaborating, he said a federal investigation "is pending."

A requested report from the Democratic National Committee showed September receipts of $582,047 and expenditures of $602,808. The party's balance at the end of the month was $14,694 but its unpaid bills amounted to $120,655.

The Republicans reported September receipts of $244,587 and expenditures of $368,923. Their bank balance was $540,289 on Oct. 1, with $24,000 in unpaid bills.

Democratic Chairman Paul M. Butler told the subcommittee his party hopes to improve its financial position with a nationwide "Dollars for Democrats" day next Tuesday.

In a statement submitted to the senators, Butler said, "Unfortunately money is still being raised for the Republican party through economic pressure."

WHITE CITIZENS BLAMED

Senate Probers Told Negroes Denied Voting Rights In Dix'

WASHINGTON, Oct. 10 (AP)—The Senate Elections subcommittee was told today that thousands of qualified Negroes in Louisiana and other Southern states are being denied their right to vote this year.

Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general in charge of criminal prosecution, described the situation as "mass disenfranchisement . . . purely because of their race."

Olney suggested the Elections subcommittee hold public hearings at Monroe, La., and other places where he said there have been complaints.

In Louisiana, State Sen. W. M. Rainach, president of the Louisiana Assn. of Citizens Councils, said, "I would consider this move by the attorney general an effort to influence the Negro vote nationally for the Republican party."

Rainach, reached at his home in Homer, said that in Ouachita Parish—county—the cases referred to by Olney involved "voters illegally registered." He said "a considerable number of white voters" were challenged, as well as some 3,000 Negroes.

Chairman Gore (D-Tenn) said the subcommittee was "deeply conerned with the disenfranchisement of any American citizen."

But he and Sen. Curtis (R-Neb) indicated it was too late for the subcommittee to hold hearings on the question. The group has been policing campaign contributions and expenditures in advance of the Nov. 6 election.

There were these other developments today: the national Committee reported a balance of more than half a million dollars in its treasury as of the same date.

Olney disloced the Justice Department is investigating a complaint that national banks in Chicago "may be involved in political activities in violation of federal law." He said the complaint involved alleged political contributions in substantial amounts.

Olney gave the senators a rundown on Justice Department efforts to protect the 1956 elections. He said existing federal laws governing campaign contributions and spending limits are "narrowly worded" and so weak it is almost impossible to obtain indictments and convictions.

Then the Justice Department spokesman said the subcommittee had not gotten into a subject of "real importancethe honesty of federal elections."

He told the senators they ought to know what has been going on in some Southern states.

In Ouachita Parish, he went on, more than 4,000 Negro voters had been qualified in Wards 3 and 10 under a system of permanent registration but that at the beginning of this month only 694 Negro voters remained on the list.

Olney said this resulted from a scheme of white citizens and local officials." A Citizens Council was organized, he said, which challenged almost all of the Negro voters in the two wards. Olney said this was done with "pretended affidavits" prepared by the council.

Gore noted that federal laws make it a criminal offense to prevent a qualified voter from participating in a federal election. He said penalties range up to a $1,000 fine and a year in jail.

The Justice Department official agreed but said even if criminal action were successful against those participating in the scheme it would not be in time to restore the rights of thousands of Negroes to vote in the coming election.

Oolney said the situation was "not confined to Ouachita Parish nor to the state of Louisiana."

Curtis asked that the Justice Department furnish him a legal brief on the right of the Senate or House to seat any member elected under such conditions.

Olney said Atty. Gen. Brownell had asked Congress for legislation that would permit federal court injunctions to protect the rights of voters in similar circumstances. Such legislation was passed by the House, he said, but was "bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee."

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Justice Department

Investigates Vote Trouble

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department is investigating mass disenfranchisements on Negro voters in Louisiana and Georgia and may prosecute white groups for violating the Corrupt Practices Act, Assistant Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III has told Congress.

Mr. Olney pointed out that the Attorney General, this spring, had requested a law authorizing him to go into the court for preventive relief when violations such as these are threatened.

Mr. Olney noted the requested legislation had passed the House, only to be bottled up by the Senate Judiciary Committee headed by Senator James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), one of Congress' leading advocates of white supremacy.

Mr. Olney told Subcommittee Chairman Albert Gore (D.-Tenn.) that if Congress really wanted to help it should hold public hearings immediately in the places where the complaints emanate.

Negro Vote Is Purged, U. S. Hears

F. B. I. Probe On In South States

By Tom Lambert

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—The F. B. I. is intensive investigating a widespread and possibly concerted move by white supremacists in five Southern states to disfranchise qualified Negroes by eliminating them from voting lists, the Justice Department disclosed Wednesday.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney 3d, chief of the Justice Department's Criminal Division, who made the disclosure, said the government will prosecute, possibly as conspirators, any one found to have denied a Negro the right to vote simply because of his color. Conspiracy against the United States or to deprive citizens of their rights is punishable by fines up to $10,000 or jail terms or both.

But existing civil rights statutes make it impossible for the Justice Department to act until a voter has been denied, on Election Day, the right to cast his ballot, Mr. Olney pointed out.

Areas in Five States

Mr. Olney said an "unprecedented, mass movement" to purge qualified Negroes from voting rolls was evident in several areas each in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. He quoted "The Colfax (La.) Chronicle," which stated on Oct. 12 that members of the White Citizens Council of Grant Parish "worked in the registrar's office this week in a frank attempt to disenfranchise the parish's 750 to 800 Negro voters, on the basis of color alone, before the Nov. 6 election."

Congressmen Advised

"The Chronicle" said Citizens Council members struck names of some Negroes from the voting list because they had written the initial "C" instead of "colored" in the space where voters were to indicate their color, and purged others for errors in computing their age in years, months and days. "The Chronicle" said no member of the Citizens Council "would pass the tests" applied to Negro voters.

Mr. Olney said he repeatedly had called these acts to the attention of the Senate Subcommittee on Elections and Privileges and the House Committee on Administration, both of which are headed by Democrats. There has been "no reply from either one of them," he added.

Mr. Olney said he had advised Rep. Omar Burleson, D., Tex., chairman of the House committee, that a provision of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution provides that Congress may reduce a state's representation in direct ratio to the number of persons illegally deprived of a vote.

Justice Department Tells Senators

Journal & Guide p. 11

Colored Voters Defrauded

Norfolk, Va. Sat. 10-20-56

By Thousands In The South

WASHINGTON, — (INS) — The Justice Department charged Wednesday that thousands of Negro voters are being disenfranchised in the South in advance of the Nov. 6 elections.

The accusation was made by Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, head of the department's Criminal Division, in testimony before a Senate Elections Subcommittee.

* * *

OLNEY testified that the department has received complaints that colored citizens are being deprived of their vote in Ouachita and Rapides parishes, (counties) La., and Pierce County, Georgia.

He testified in detail on what the department has learned about the alleged situation in Ouachita Parish, whose largest city is Monroe.

OLNEY asserted that the colored citizens were being disenfranchised simply because of their race although they were otherwise eligible to vote.

He said that there were the names of only 694 Negroes on the election rolls in Wards Three and 10 of Ouachita Parish on Oct. 4, compared with some 4,000 Negroes previously qualified to vote there.

* * *

OLNEY CHARGED that the more than 3,300 Negroes who were disenfranchised have voted in previous elections, but the White Citizens' Council got election officials to strike their names from the rolls.

He said officials and members of the council filed affidavits challenging the right of all Negroes to vote. He added that the registrar of elections accepted the affidavits as valid although they were not sworn to as required by Louisiana law.

* * *

OLNEY charged that thousands of colored citizens were not given an opportunity to answer the complaints and when they sought to register again were disqualified on grounds they could not interpret satisfactorily certain provisions of the state and federal constitutions.

In Rapides Parish, he said, a complaint alleged that more than 200 Negroes were disenfranchised in a similar way and in Pierce County, 25 to 30 per cent of the registered colored voters were challenged and had their names stricken from the rolls.

Voters

Afro-American

Uncle Sam

Baltimore, Md.

lashes at

Sat. 11-3-56

registrars

p. 1

WASHINGTON

"In every instance where we can show that a qualified person is denied the right to vote simply because of his color, we intend to prosecute," Assistant Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III, chief of the State Department's Criminal Division, said of the FBI's investigation of denial of franchise to colored citizens in the South.

The FBI has been intensively investigating a widespread and possibly concerted move by white supremacists in five southern states to purge thousands of colored voters from election rolls, the Justice Department disclosed Wednesday night.

Investigations into the denial of the state of Alabama to allow colored persons the right of voting began here last week as the FBI opened a probe of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars following the complaint of a matron who had been turned down.

* * *

MRS. SUSIE McDONALD, one of the principals in the bus boycott of this city, and two other women brought about the action after complaining to the Department of Justice in Washington that they were refused registration and that facilities for colored registration were inadequate.

The three women, Mrs. Louise Champney, Mrs. Susie McDonald and Mrs. Mattie C. Hamilton, said they tried to register July 6, but heard no more of it. Last month, they said, they went back to their local board to inquire.

The women said they were then told to come back in November, which would mean missing the Nov. 6 voting. They were also told that registration facilities were crowded. The women said that at the time they were told this "there wasn't anyone there."

* * *

MRS. McDONALD led the protest and was one of the plaintiffs in a Federal suit that resulted in a three-judge panel's decision that Montgomery city and Alabama state laws regarding bus segregation were unconstitutional. The bus boycott here is continuing while that decision is on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Atty. Fred D. Gray, a controversial figure himself in Alabama draft board circles, declined to confirm whether or not he would handle the legal end of the protests in behalf of the women.

Afro-American p. 2

Mrs. Champney, a 78-year-old widow, said:

"My years are piled high, and I just want the privilege of voting for a President once before I die, but they wouldn't let me register."

Sat 11-3-56

THE CHAIRMAN of the Montgomery County Board of Registrars, Mrs. C. B. Willias, said the reason the women couldn't register was because "they failed to satisfactorily complete the questionnaire required to be filled out by all who register."

FBI Special Agent Spencer Robb said an investigation had been made into the complaint on behalf of the three women, but he refused to comment further.

3-E Afro

Mrs. Jo Ann Robinson, who helped the women, said she heard that a number of legal organizations have requested investigations of the "colored vote registration situation" in Montgomery. There are about 50,000 colored persons in this city.

* * *

CIRCUIT SOLICITOR William F. Thetford and Mrs. Willis accused the Federal government of trying to coerce local officials. Mrs. Willis said:

"Apparently the Federal government, through investigation and intimidation, is trying to force us to register any colored person who applies, regardless of whether he is qualified or not."

Thetford said: "To me, this appears to be another example of biased and prejudiced Department of Justice using Federal police to harass, frighten and intimidate competent and honest public officials who are faithfully and fairly administering the laws of the State of Alabama."

* *

ATTORNEY GENERAL Olney said the government will prosecute, possibly as conspirators, persons found to have denied colored persons the right to vote simply because of color.

Under existing Federal civil rights statutes, conspiracy to deprive citizens of their rights to vote is punishable by sentences up to 10 years in prison and fines up to $10,000.

But existing civil rights statutes make it impossible for the Justice Department to act until after a voter has been denied, on election day, the right to cast his ballot, Mr. Olney pointed out.

* *

MR. OLNEY said an unprecedented, mass movement" to purge qualified colored persons from voting lists was evident in several areas.

The Justice Department, he said, has received complaints from at least three or four cases each in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.

These complaints are being studied by the FBI, Mr. Olney said.

The pattern of the purges, he said, indicates "top leadership" and coordination. He indicated that the pattern is being set by White Citizens Councils.

He distributed reproductions of the front page of the Oct. 12 edtion of the The Colfax Chronicle, published at Colfax, Grant Parish (County), La., to illustrate the pattern.

* * *

THE CHRONICLE said members of the White Citizens Council of Grant Parish "worked in the registrar's office this week in a frank attempt to disenfranchise the parish's 750 to 800 colored voters, on the basis of color alone, before the Nov. 6 election."

The Chronicle said Citizens Council members struck names of some colored persons from the voting list because they had written the initial "C" instead of "colored" in the space where voters were to indicate their color, and purged others for errors in computing their age in years, months and days.

The Chronicle said no member of the Citizens Council "would pass the tests" applied to colored voters.

* * *

MR. OLNEY said he repeatedly had called these acts to the attention of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections and the House Administration Committee, which are headed by Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee and Rep. Omar Burleson of Texas, both Democrats.

There has been "no reply from either one of them," he stated.

Mr. Olney said he had advised Mr. Burleson that a provision of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution provides that Congress may reduce a state's representation in Congress in direct ratio to the number of persons illegally disfranchised.

POLITICS

The Negro Vote

Longtime Democrat Adam Clayton Powell Jr., a Harlem minister and one of three Negroes in the U.S. House of Representatives,* skillfully cadged a cigarette from Presidential Press Secretary James Hagerty one afternoon last week, flecked a speck of dust from his faultlessly tailored flannels and turned to face the assembled White House reporters. He had just come from a conference with President Eisenhower, and he had something to report: this year he likes Ike.

Powell bowed to Eisenhower's "greatest contribution" in the civil-rights field, but made it clear that one reason for his switch was that he was piqued with Adlai Stevenson for snubbing him. Most Republicans were aware that their convert is a vari-plumed politico who in the past has been found on the left, center and right

Associated Press

DEMOCRAT POWELL
This year, he likes Ike.

of some issues. But three inescapable facts emerged from Powell's switch:

1) Lightly as Negro intellectuals may regard Powell, he is a politician of indisputable influence. He has served six consecutive House terms, is pastor of one of Harlem's biggest churches (the Abyssinian Baptist, with 9,500 members), and, above all, has a demonstrated talent for bypassing the intellectuals and communicating directly with the Negro man-in-the street. 2) His ill-fated Powell Amendment to the school-construction bill (no federal money for segregated schools) and his battle for its adoption during the last session of Congress made the name of Powell a Negro household word. 3) Sensitive to the slightest change in the Negro political pulse, Adam Powell doubtless feels there is political mileage to be made in an early jump toward the G.O.P.

* The others: Chicago's William L. Dawson, Detroit's Charles C. Diggs Jr., both Democrats.

Since Franklin Roosevelt's first reelection in 1936, the Negro vote has been one of the sturdiest links in the Democratic Party's often fragile chain of minority blocs. But as Powell well knows, the link is weakening under the abrasion of the civil-rights issue. In Baltimore, for instance, there are signs of a major shift in the big Negro vote—20% of the city's total. In 1952 it was Democratic, almost 7-3; this year it may split evenly between the parties. Reason for the possible shift: Maryland's steady civil-rights progress under Republican Governor Theodore McKeldin. Ike's personally encouraged desegregation of public facilities in nearby Washington. Civil rights is also challenging the bread-and-butter issues for the Negro's political attention in such cities as St. Louis, Cleveland and San Francisco.

But a 20-year habit is not broken easily, and for all the restiveness, most of the nation's estimated 3,500,000 Negro votes probably will go to Adlai Stevenson again this year. The 75% margin by which he won them in 1952, however, is now expected to be reduced to something like 60%-65%. In states where national or local races are close, *e.g.*, Missouri, California, Michigan, Ohio, New York, such a pro-Republican shift could be all-important.

NEGRO VOTERS THRUOUT U. S. SWING TO G. O. P.

Play Major Role in Ike Inroads in South

BY WALTER TROHAN
[Chicago Tribune Press Service]

Washington, Nov. 10—Republicans made substantial gains among Negro voters thruout the country in last Tuesday's Presidential election which was studded with political surprises.

Not only did the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket pick up Negro votes north, south, east, and west, but the ticket captured the farm vote, the labor vote, the big city vote, and sections of the solid south.

All of these had been considered as the province of the Democratic party. Yet, the impossible happened and Republicans made gains in these Democratic voting blocs and provinces.

High for Ticket Splitting

Most strange of all, while President Eisenhower won by more than 9 million votes, he failed to capture the senate or house. Until this election the country had not elected a President without giving him a senate or a house since James K. Polk's election in 1848.

This election set a high for ticket splitting, altho it may not have set an all-time record for voting. The latest returns from 152,609 of the nation's 154,968 precincts give Mr. Eisenhower 34,803,159 to 25,511,717 for Stevenson.

This is below the record of more than 61 million ballots four years ago. The 2,300 precincts outstanding might bring the total above that of four years ago, but experts believe that these are smaller precincts and may not do so.

Gains in Chicago Wards

Four years ago Mr. Eisenhower carried only a small percentage of the Negro vote. Last Tuesday, according to Val J. Washington, Chicago Negro leader and director of minorities for the G. O. P. national committee, the President won a majority of the Negro vote in a number of northern cities and in all southern cities.

In every Chicago Negro ward, Republicans gained, Washington said, altho the majority continued to be Democratic. The same situation was true in New York's Harlem area.

However, in Cleveland, Baltimore, and Bridgeport, Conn., Mr. Eisenhower won Negro districts he lost in 1952. In Maryland, Negroes saw this administration end segregation in the state's schools and in the national capital.

Big Factor in Kentucky

In Atlanta, Mr. Eisenhower got 31 per cent of the Negro vote in 1952. This year he took 85 per cent. In Louisville and Lexington a heavy G. O. P. negro vote may have been the decisive factor in Kentucky's swing to Mr. Eisenhower and the election of two G. O. P. senators in the state.

In Louisiana where the Negro vote had been 15 to 1 Democratic in 1952, it was 5 to 1 for Mr. Eisenhower last Tuesday. Washington said the Negro vote played a major role in the President's capture of Virginia, Louisiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Texas, and Florida.

He said the statement of Sen. Byrd [D., Va.] urging the election of a Democratic Congress so that southerners would control the committee chairmanships was an important factor in swinging the Negro vote to Mr. Eisenhower.

Now Must Woo South

For years the Democrats had counted on the solid south, but now Mr. Eisenhower has cut into it deeply in two elections. In the 1948 election some southern states broke away from the party to support a state rights ticket against Harry S. Truman. This election indicated that Democrats will now have to woo the south, because they can no longer take it for granted.

In this election the Democrats beat political drums on the issue of the decline in farm income and had hoped to initiate a farm revolt against the administration. In 1952 Mr. Eisenhower carried the farm states. In this election he lost only Missouri—the only state outside of the deep south to go for Stevenson, but votes there were influenced by a parching drouth rather than farm policy.

In the farm belt as elsewhere voters showed they are an independent lot. They split tickets to support Democratic senatorial, house, and gubernatorial candidates.

In Kansas, voters elected a Democratic governor. In Iowa they elected a Democratic governor and a house member. In Nebraska they elected a Democratic congressman. In South Dakota voters elected a Democrat to Congress for the first time in 18 years.

Labor Also Likes Ike

Labor also liked Ike. Altho the AFL-CIO executive council indorsed Stevenson, states with the heaviest concentrations of industrial workers went for Mr. Eisenhower. These included Illinois, Michigan, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, California, and New Jersey. West Virginia, stronghold of the United Mine workers, switched from Stevenson to Mr. Eisenhower, altho John L. Lewis, the union's leader, was for Stevenson.

Big cities contributed to the Eisenhower landslide. The President was the first G. O. P. candidate to win Chicago and Cook county in 28 years. He also took neighboring Lake county in Indiana, the area of Gary, Hammond, Indiana Harbor, and East Chicago.

The President took Pittsburgh and even New Orleans. While he didn't take New York City he gained ground over his vote of four years ago. Nor did he take Philadelphia. In most urban areas Mr. Eisenhower made gains.

However, a heavy Democratic vote in St. Louis enabled Stevenson to carry Missouri. In such cities as St. Paul and Minneapolis, which Mr. Eisenhower captured in 1952 he increased his victory margin this year.

Government to Prosecute If Voting Rights Denied

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24 (ANP)—Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said today there will be post-election criminal prosecutions in the south if qualified Negroes are denied the vote in the Nov. 6 election.

He told newsmen that "disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis" through revision of registration roles in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. Some of the procedure involved is "fraudulent" on the face of it, he said.

Olney named the White Citizens Councils, opponents of school integration, as prime movers in this matter and said a half-dozen FBI investigations are in progress.

"But, Olney said, the "weakness" of existing civil rights statutes makes it impossible for the Justice Department to move until the rigth to vote has been acually denied on Election Day — too late to help the voter.

"You can't make a case until a qualified voter is deprived of his rights at the polls," he said. 'But in every instance where we can show a qualified person was denied the right to vote simply because of his color, we intend to prosecute."

Olney, who heads the department's Criminal Division, disclosed that he has moved in another direction in connection with the reported disfranchisement of Negroes.

He said he had advised Chairman Burleson (D-Tex) of the Committee on House Administration of the results of some of the Southern investigations and called his attention to a section of the 14th Amendment which provides for reduction of House membership for any state where persons are denied the voting privilege "on any grounds except rebellion or other crime."

Olney said such reduction "in proportion to the number of citizens denied the vote," is a matter entirely within the control of Congress.

Olney said he had also renewed a previous request to the Senate Elections subcommittee that it hold hearings in the South before Election Day on evidence of "purging" of Negroes from the registration rolls.

Northern Negroes Could Hold Balance Of '56 Voting Power

NEW YORK — (ANP) — In a tight Presidential election this year, Northern Negroes could hold the balance of power, political expert Theodore H. White writes in the current Collier's.

White points up the phenomenal concentration of Negroes in the queen cities of five of the biggest voting states in the country: New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan. These states cast 156 electoral votes, or just 110 short of a President majority.

19 PER CENT

In the great cities of these states, the Negro population runs from a high of 21 per cent in Philadelphia through 19 per cent in Detroit, 17 per cent in Chicago, 11 per cent in New York, and 11 per cent in Los Angeles.

For almost 20 years the Negroes have voted solidly Democratic. At the moment the Collier's expert finds Republican chances of gain best in New York, indifferent in Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles, and worst in Detroit.

"In many states, this (Negro) vote is absolutely indispensible to Democratic strategists," White says.

In the 1954 race for governor in New York, Averell Harriman carried the entire state by only 11,125 votes, while just one of New York City's five Negro districts gave him a majority of 20,221.

NEGRO WARDS

Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan won his race in 1952 by a statewide margin of 8,600 but three Negro wards in Detroit gave him a margin of 28,123 votes alone.

Reporting on the aroused mood of the American Negro, White says that for the past two years since the Supreme Court decision on desegregation, "there has been a flare up of Negro emotions unprecedented since the days of the Reconstruction."

"If the Republicans choose to make Negroes Target A from convention through campaign, nothing can protect the Democrats' vulnerable moral flank from a Republican break-through," White says.

"I don't know how we can go about persuading these people that Eastland ain't a Democrat," one Tammany leader told the Collier's writer.

Discussing today's Negro leaders, White reports that "rarely have I met a more impressive pool of talent and ability."

White also praises the "constant and effective indignation" of the Negro press.

THE QUESTIONS

1. **Should Negroes vote a straight party ticket; that is, Democratic or Republican?**
2. **Should Negroes vote for a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress?**
3. **Should Negroes vote for a Republican President and a Republican Congress?**
4. **Should Negroes vote for a Democratic President and for liberal members of Congress regardless of their party affiliation?**
5. **Should Negroes vote for a Republican President and for liberal members of Congress regardless of their party affiliation?**
6. **Should Negroes regard civil rights as the issue paramount to them as Americans?**
7. **Should Negroes vote Republican to show their appreciation of steps for their advancement taken by the executive branch of government and to prove that the Negro voter is intelligent and responsive when properly treated?**

Basic Question: WHAT SHOULD THE NEGRO VOTER DO WITH HIS VOTE THIS YEAR?

Duff Sees Swing Of Negro Voters

Sen. James H. Duff, Republican candidate for re-election, said yesterday that Negro voters were swinging from the Democratic Party to President Eisenhower and the Republican camp.

It is taking place, he said, "because all voters realize that President Eisenhower has done more to champion the cause of civil liberties and civil rights at a national level than any President in our lifetime."

KILLED BY SOUTHERNERS

Speaking at the Raymond Rosen housing project, Duff declared that the electorate was "fully aware" that if Democrats control the next Congress they also will control the committees holding the fate of civil rights and labor legislation—and it's a matter of record," he said, that House and Senate committees dominated by Southern Democrats have killed every piece of legislation by which the Eisenhower Administration sought to advance civil rights "regardless of race, religion or color."

The Senator said that "as a member of the Eisenhower team in the Senate" he co-sponsored all the Administration's three civil rights bills and that all three were "stymied" by the most reactionary bloc of Southern Senators perhaps in the history of the 20th century."

'KEPT EVERY PROMISE'

Duff's colleague, Sen. Edward Martin, told a crowd of 1000 last night at the East End Republican Club, 1333 S. Broad st., that Duff should be "overwhelmingly" elected to continue as "an outstanding member of the Eisenhower team.'

The senior Pennsylvania Senator declared President Eisenhower and the Republican Party had kept "every promise" made in the 1952 campaign—most importantly to cut Government costs, balance the budget, "clean up the unholy mess of corruption" in Washington and "fire the Communists." The Democratic Party is, and has been since 1932, he said, a party of "deceptive promises."

DEWEY RAPS STEVENSON

In Allentown last night, former Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, charged that Adlai Stevenson's proposal to stop nuclear weapons tests actually was conceived by Russian Communist leaders more than 10 years ago. Speaking at a party rally at Muhlenberg College, he said that, when the Kremlin advanced such a proposal formally in 1946, "the Government of the United States under President Truman and the Atomic Energy Committee of the United Nations took the position that there must be some foolproof method of inspecting every nation to make sure they kept their agreement. . . . To this, the Russians issued a flat 'no.'"

The Stevenson H-bomb proposal also drew sharp attack from Harold E. Stassen, President Eisenhower's disarmament aide, in an evening address to a Republican rally on the municipal pier at Ventnor, N. J.

Negro Vote Switch Ends Status As Democratic Minority Bloc

Herald Tribune Nov. 11-22-56 P. 12

New York

By Earl Mazo

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.—The switch of Negro voters to President Eisenhower and other Republican candidates this year, as shown in a nation-wide survey completed today, reverses the trend of the mid-1930s which resulted in Negroes becoming the minority bloc on whom Democrats counted for unwavering loyalty for almost twenty years.

The new trend, involving approximately 4,000,000 voters in pivoal states, threatens Democratic domination of most American big cities to which Negroes are emigrating from the South. It could also be a decisive factor in the 1958 and 1960 national elections.

Similar Pattern

The pattern this year is similar to that of the 1936 Roosevelt landslide year.

Large numbers of Negroes stayed home on Nov. 6 because they were not yet sure they should leave the Democratic party, hitherto considered best for them. This non-voting hurt chiefly the Democrats.

Others—up to 20 per cent in some Northern cities—switched to vote for Mr. Eisenhower, with many also casting ballots for other Republican candidates.

Pivotal Switch

The Negro vote in the South—where the switch was most dramatic—contributed to the Presidential outcome in several states, and may have made the difference in Tennessee and Louisiana. It also probably brought about the election of at least one Republican Senator, Thurston, B. Morton, in Kentucky. This Southern vote was not included in a comparison with the pattern of the mid-1930s, however, because relatively few Negroes voted in the South twenty years ago.

It was 1940 before the Negro vote became almost totally Democratic—to stay that way even in 1952, when other minority blocs began drifting away.

Republicans, pleasantly surprised by the size of the Nov. 6 turnover, aim to fight for a total switch.

Rights Program

Their problem is to press aggressively for civil rights programs while trying to consolidate extensive gains their party made in the anti-civil rights South.

Northern Democrats hope to stem and reverse the tide.

Their task is to make the Democratic party more liberal than the Republicans on civil rights. They face vehement opposition from high-ranking Southern Democrats, many of whose names and anti-Negro antics were used effectively by Republicans this fall to woo Negro voters.

It is possible the Negro vote may be more evenly split hereafter—as it was in the Nov. 6 election. This would deprive Democrats of the base on which they once built victories, and also deny the Republicans the bloc they want and need to insure success in many urban areas.

A breakdown of the vote this year outside the South showed the precincts in which Negroes with higher incomes live switched Republican by an average of 15 to 18 per cent, while Republican improvement in lower-income districts averaged about 6 per cent.

The changeover even affected—but did not defeat—Rep. William L. Dawson, of Chicago, top-most Negro leader in his party as vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Rep. James Roosevelt, Calif., whose father is legendary as a champion of minorities.

Although he won overwhelmingly in the Illinois First Congress District, Rep. Dawson's vote was down 8.9 per cent from 1952. Adlai E. Stevenson's vote in the district was 10 per cent below that of four years ago.

In the predominately Negro precincts of Los Angeles, Mr. Stevenson's plurality went down from 77.8 per cent in 1952 to 62.7 per cent this year.

Rep. Roosevelt's vote in that part of his district was about 10 per cent below 1954, his first election year.

The returns from Philadelphia, like those from most other cities, pointed up the extent of this year's stay-at-home practice by Negroes.

Mr. Stevenson won the 24th Ward in 1952 by a vote of 15,749 to 6,218 and Rep. Earl Chudoff, D., took it by 15,879 to 6,141.

This year Mr. Stevenson and Rep. Chudoff took the ward again, but the Presidential vote was 12,773 to 5,190, and the Congressional, 12,860 to 5,178.

Stay-at-Homes

In Philadelphia's 32d Ward, it appeared most stay-at-homes voted Democratic last time. In 1952, the vote was 15,375 for Stevenson, 3,164 for Eisenhower; this year, it was 13,562, Stevenson, and 3,600, Eisenhower. There was an identical dropoff in the Congressional vote.

Joseph iClark jr., the Democratic Senate candidate who beat Sen. James H. Duff in Pennsylvania, instituted many reforms of benefit to Negroes while he was Mayor of Philadelphia. Nevertheless, his margin over Sen. Duff in these typical, predominantly Negro wards was only slightly above those of Dr. Stevenson and Rep. Chudoff.

With few exceptions, Republicans made gains in Negro areas across the country.

Carried Precincts

Mr. Eisenhower carried five Indianapolis Negro precincts, the first Republican to do so in twenty years. His vote margin was resduced in two Indianapolis precincts, however, where the respective Republican precinct leaders are deeply involved in the intra-party feud between the factions of Gov. George N. Craig and Sen. William E. Jenner.

The President lost the Negro districts of Columbus, Ohio, by 5,151 votes in 1952, won them by fifty-six votes this time; he lost the Cleveland precincts overwhelmingly before, won them by 803 this year; the seven solidly-Negro precincts of Gary, Ind., most of whose inhabitants are union men, went for Eisenhower this year by almost the margin they produced against him in 1952.

The Republican vote in some Negro precincts in New Jersey went up by as much as 41 per cent; in West Virginia the President and other Republicans carried many Negro districts they had lost by 3 to 1 four years ago; in New York City, Mr. Stevenson's vote dropped in the 11th Assembly District (Harlem) from 83.2 per cent four years ago to 65 per cent this time, in the 12th District, from 71.5 to 63 per cent; in the 13th District, from 77 to 63 per cent.

New York Drop

It was estimated the Stevenson vote in New York was 79 per cent among Negroes in 1952, and 66.5 pe rcent this year.

Negro wards in Baltimore that were 2 to 1 against Mr. Eisenhower last time, gave him majorities on Nov. 6.

On the whole, the most sizable switches were in the South.

The thirty-eight Negro precincts of Memphis, Tenn., gave Mr. Stevenson 19,592 votes to 9,309 for Mr. Eisenhower in 1952—a margin of 10,200; this year the vote was 16,802 for Mr. Eisenhower, 14,131 for Mr. Stevenson—or 5,000 more votes for the President, and 4,000 less for Mr. Stevenson than before.

Mr. Eisenhower carried Tennessee by about 5,000 votes.

In seven Norfolk, Va., precincts, Mr. Eisenhower got 5,413 votes this year where he got 308 last time; in two precincts of Darlington, S. C., the Eisenhower vote went from six in 1952 to 193 this year, and the Stevenson vote dropped from 722 to 497.

GAIN OF 40 PCT. IN NEGRO VOTE MADE BY G.O.P.

Tribune P. 15

[Reprinted from yesterday's late editions]

BY GEORGE TAGGE

There was a substantial gain for Republicans in the Chicago Negro vote Nov. 6, analysis of wards where it is best measurable disclosed Thursday.

Bal. 11-10-56

This was an improvement of 40 per cent over 1952. In that year Mr. Eisenhower got an average of 24.6 per cent of all the votes cast in the 2d, 3d, and 20th wards. This time he got 35.4 per cent. The pickup of 10.8 points represented a 40 per cent improvement.

The 2d ward went up from 23.3 per cent to 32. Sen. Dirksen [R, Ill.] and Benjamin S. Adamowski, G. O. P. candidate for state's attorney, ran close behind. Gov. Stratton was low with 22.6 per cent.

Ike Gets 35.3% in 3d

The 3d ward increased from 25.1 per cent to 35.3 for Mr. Eisenhower. There, Dirksen and Adamowski had 34 per cent, and Gov. Stratton was close behind with 33.4.

In the 20th ward, a Negro residential area with less transient population, Mr. Eisenhower rose from 25.5 per cent to 39.

Sen. Dirksen and Adamowski polled 38 per cent of the vote in the 20th, while Gov Stratton got 37.

The 4th and 6th wards have Negro committeemen of both parties, but 1952 figures are not comparable because of the heavy influx of Negroes since that Presidential election. Mr. Eisenhower this year got 37.5 per cent in the 4th and 43.9 in the 6th.

Gov. Stratton, in all five wards, trailed Mr. Eisenhower by an average of only 4.2 percentage points, in contrast with his city-wide lag of 9 points.

G. O. P. Worked Hard

Republican leaders worked hard to expand the break thru they expected in the Negro sector, within the limits of resources. The regular organization and Friends of Ike, a division of Citizens for Eisenhower, spent disproportionate amounts of time and money in the effort.

Ministers became, perhaps, the most important medium for spreading the Eisenhower gospel. State Rep. William H. Robinson, elected in April as Republican 2d ward committeeman, was assigned the difficult task of coördinating all of the various discordant G. O. P. elements. Robinson is expected to remain the "district leader" for future work on the problem.

Powell, Dawson Tell Why Negro Vote Shifted

Eagle P. 5

Thurs. 11-15-56

Enlist Okla.

CHICAGO, (ANP) — The meaning of the Negro shift away from the Democratic party in last week's election has been blamed on a series of factors. Among them:

(1) The Democrats' weak civil rights plank in the party's 1956 platform is seen as one of the major reasons for the drift.

(2) Adlai Stevenson's advocacy of "moderation" on racial problems.

(3) Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and other pro-segregationists who hold chairmanships of key congressional committees.

(4) The switch of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N Y.) and other prominent Negroes from the Democratic Party to the GOP.

Dawson Cites War

In Chicago, political observers attributed the swing to Rep. William L. Dawson's refusal to come out strongly for civil rights, and the influence of Windy City ministers who supported the Republican ticket.

Dawson had this to say about the turn of events:

"The war situation won some Negro votes for Eisenhower. The women especially felt the war danger keenly, and decided to vote for the President.

"The decline of Negro votes for Stevenson was logical, and did not represent any disenchantment over civil rights.

"And in Chicago the Republicans spent more money than they have ever spent before among the Negroes."

Rep. Powell had this to say about the trend:

Negro voters by the droves have temporarily deserted the Democratic Party to vote for President Eisenhower.

"This does not necessarily mean a shift to the Republican Party. It should serve as a warning to Democratic bosses that no one controls the Negro vote.

"The Democratic Party must rid itself of its fascist elements headed by Eastland of Mississippi, Talmadge of Georgia and Long of Louisiana.

"President Eisenhower has promised little but actually done more than any other President in the field of civil rights."

Matter Of Fact

Advertiser P-4-A
Thurs. 4-20-56

By Joseph And Stewart Alsop

HARLEM.

THE Negroes, whose votes could be decisive in a whole series of important states, are by no means wildly enthusiastic about Adlai Stevenson. But they are even less enthusiastic about Dwight D. Eisennower. And, bar some dramatic and effective last minute gesture on the civil rights issue, the President has missed an opportunity to cut heavily into the huge majority Stevenson scored among Negroes in 1952.

These conclusions spring from many hours of interviewing Negro voters in this vast city-within-a-city, the greatest concentration of Negro voters in the country, in company with Louis Harris, the professional public opinion expert.

The interviewing started in the slum areas. In several hours of climbing up and down the wooden stairs of rickety fire traps, we found not a single Negro voter who intended to vote Republican. Asked why, almost all would respond in much the same words: "We're poor people, and the Democrats are more for the poor people."

By the same token, in the slum buildings we met hardly anyone who was really stirred by the civil rights issue. What aroused the passions of the slum dwellers was the rent they paid for their miserable quarters. "They condemn the building and then double the rent," said a big man furiously. "Now is that right?" He had been utterly apathetic about civil rights.

IF THERE is such a thing as a solid bloc vote it is in the Negro slums, there the people vote Democratic almost instinctively—if they vote at all. At least in the immediate foreseeable future, there is really no way for the Republicans to make important gains in the Harlem slums.

But by no means all of Harlem is slum, fortunately. And the change in political and social atmosphere when you move out of the slums and into one of the low-cost housing projects, or into a respectable apartment house, is downright atsonishing.

Not that there is much increase in Republican sentiment. Even in the really elegant apartments, the vast majority of Negroes consider themselves Democrats (Our count, for what it is worth, was Stevenson 63%, Eisenhower 20%, don't know 17%, as against a 1952 vote of Stevenson 78%, Eisenhower 22%.

The real difference is that, outside the slum areas, there are a lot of Negro voters who might have been persuaded to switch to Eisenhower — enough to make a big difference at the polls.

There is one issue, and one issue alone, which could cause such a switch—civil rights.

Harris had prepared questions on such matters as the Autherine Lucy case, the Emmett Till case, and the riots of Clinton, Tenn., to test awareness of the civil rights issue. In the slums, more often than not, the questions elicited no response at all. In the projects and apartments, we at length stopped asking the questions—we had learned that everybody knew all the answers in detail. Outside the slums apathy about civil rights is replaced by a single-minded passion.

Adlai Stevenson is judged almost entirely by this standard, and he is often found wanting. Many Negroes are very moderate on desegregation—"You can't change people overnight," they say. But to many others "moderation" is a dirty word, and there is little enthusiasm among them for Stevenson as the apostle of moderation.

AMONG these we found a few—a very few—who meant to vote for Eisenhower. There was an intellectual lawyer who admired Stevenson, hated Nixon, but meant to vote for the President because "we'll never get anywhere as long as the Democrats think they own us." There was a seaman who credited the President with desegregation in the Navy—"you wouldn't believe how different it is," he said.

Yet the administration gets very little credit for its civil rights achievements—no one person gave the Republicans any credit for the Supreme Court school decision, for example. And fully four out of ten cited the President's failure to intervene in the Clinton riots as evidence of his indifference on the civil rights issue.

After many hours of interviewing, Harris and this reporter felt certain that the President had missed a major political opportunity. He might have picked up 10 or 15% of the Negro vote by an all-out stand on civil rights—enough to decide a close election. The fact that the President was almost certainly right, in terms of national unity, in adopting a go-slow policy, is no doubt beside the point. In strictly political terms, the point is that the much-advertised big switch to Eisenhower among Negro voters looks instead like a little switch, or even, conceivably, no switch at all.

In answer to Justice Department—

Dixie leaders deny Negroes being refused right to vote

News - Thurs. 10-25-56
B'ham, Ala. P-34

BY JACK ADAMS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 25—(AP)—Southern leaders have challenged a Justice Department official's statement that a mass campaign to deny Negroes the right to vote is under way in the South.

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney said yesterday investigations already are under way in sections of five states, and criminal charges will be filed where Negroes are deprived of voting privileges because of their race. "Disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis," Olney said, in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. This is being accomplished, he said, by what he called "systematic" revisions of registration rolls, frequently on the basis of challenges by White Citizens Councils.

MISSISSIPPI'S Gov. J. P. Coleman replied that "on its face this is a political move designed to get votes from the Northern Negro." He said he personally will join in defending any Mississippian indicted on what he called "these trumped-up charges."

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County (Ga.) Board of Registration, said 130 Negro voters were removed from rolls there after "failing to appear to meet the challenge (of their eligibility) at a board hearing." Of others who did appear, he added, "only three, four or five" were removed, two of them because of felony convictions. Olney had said Pierce County was one of those under investigation.

DENIALS CAME from several officials in Alabama.

State Sen. Sam Englehardt, head of the Alabama Assn. of Citizens Councils, said that organization "hasn't done a thing" about trying to get Negroes off voting lists.

Asa Carter, executive secretary of the separate Alabama Citizens Councils, said his group has made no effort to "intimidate or threaten board registrars to disfranchise Negroes."

William F. Thetford, circuit solicitor for Montgomery County, Ala., labeled as "untrue" and "political propaganda" any such report in his county, and Tom F. Young, solicitor for Macon County, said he had received no such reports. Both counties had been named by Olney.

THE JUSTICE Department official said wholesale removals were reported also in Ouachita, Rapides and Grant Parishes in Louisiana, and in "some other" counties he could not name at this time.

Olney told newsmen he intends to bring criminal prosecutions "in every instance where we can show a qualified person was denied the right to vote simply because of his color" in the forthcoming general elections.

He said the statutes available for such prosecutions carry penalties ranging from one to 10 years imprisonment and fines of $5000 to $10,000.

HE DESCRIBED the situation as "unprecedented as a mass movement," because he said it involved the "purging" of voters previously recognized by local authorities as qualified.

There is little or nothing the Justice Department can do now, Olney said, because "you can't make a case until a qualified voter is deprived of his rights at the polls."

Olney said he also has provided some results of the investigation to Chairman Burleson (D-Tex.) of the House Administration Committee, for possible action toward reducing the House representation of those states where Negroes are kept from voting.

OLNEY REFERRED to a section of the 14th amendment which provides in effect that persons wrongly deprived of the right to vote may not be counted in determining the number of representatives to which a state is entitled.

from the election rolls of at least five Southern states, a Department of Justice official said today.

Warren Olney 3d, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the criminal division, said that the department aws deeply disturbed that so many voters were being cut from the election lists in a "country that claims to be proud of its election laws."

Complaints from at least three or four areas each in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina are being studied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Olney said.

"In every instance where it can be shown that a qualified citizen was denied the right to vote simply because of color we intend to prosecute," he declared.

Under present laws, however, the Justice Department cannot prosecute until a voter has been denied the right to vote on Election Day. It cannot take civil action in advance against individual acts or conspiracies to deprive citizens of their voting rights.

Mr. Olney has written three letters to chairmen of Congressional committees, detailing the evidence in the hands of the Justice Department and offering cooperation in any pre-election inquiries the committee might undertake. He said there had been no response to the letters.

Pattern Is Illustrated

The pattern of the purges indicates "top leadership" and coordination. He indicated that the pattern was being set by White Citizens Councils. He distributed reproductions of the front page of the Oct. 12 edition of The Colfax Chronicle, published at Colfax, Grant Parish, La., to illustrate the pattern. The first paragraph of the story boldly declared:

"Members of the White Citizens Council of Grant Parish worked in the Registrar's office this week in a frank attempt to disfranchise the parish's 750-800 Negro voters on the basis of

F.B.I. Studies Purge Of Negro Vote Rolls

Times
Thurs 10-25-56

By LUTHER A. HUSTON

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24—Qualified Negro voters are being purged by the thousands

color alone before the Nov. 6 election."

The story said that fifty-two persons had been present at a meeting in Dry Prong, at which the action to purge the rolls had been unanimously approved. It named members of the State Legislature and others who attended.

Louis Earle Stevens, secretary of the council, was quoted as estimating that 90 per cent of the Negro registrations in the parish had been challenged as being "incorrect" or incomplete."

One statement on the registration card reads, "I am not now registered as a voter in any other ward or precinct of this state except——" The proper word for the blank space is "nine," but if a Negro voter wrote "Grant," his registration card was certified as "incorrect."

If the Negro wrote "C" instead of spelling out "colored" on his card, his registration was thrown out as incorrect.

The Chronicle checked 100 white registrants in Ward 1 of the parish and found that only one card would pass the tests applied to the Negro registrations. A further check showed that not one member of the Citizens Council committee would have passed the tests. Three of the members wrote "W" instead of spelling out "white" on their cards.

Testified Before Senators

In testimony before the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections on Oct. 10, Mr. Olney described what was going on in Ouachita Parish, La.

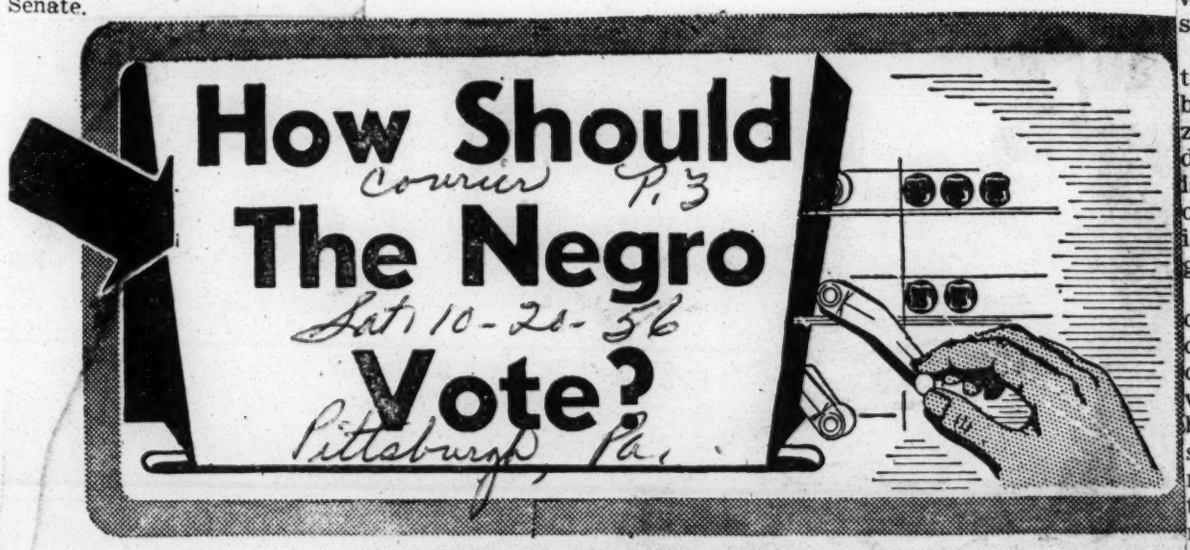
He told the committee that on last Jan. 17 there were approximately 4,000 Negroes on the list of registered voters in the parish. On March 2 the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish was incorporated "to protect and preserve by all legal means, our historical Southern social institutions in all their aspects."

This organization began challenging Negro voters by various devices and by Oct. 4 the names of only 694 Negro voters remained on the registration rolls.

One of the areas under investigation, Mr. Olney disclosed, was Macon County, Ala., home of Tuskegee Institute, famed Negro school. The law there requires a registration board of three members. Two resigned and the posts have not been filled. Since there is not a legal board, new Negro voters have no way to register in that area. A few new white voters also might lose out but there were no indications of local concern over that matter.

In a letter to Representative Omar Burleson, Democrat of Texas, who is chairman of the House Administration Committee, Mr. Olney called attention to Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment. This provides for a proportionate reduction of the basis of representation when the right to vote for Presidential electors is denied or "in anyway abridged, except for participation in rebellion" to any male inhabitants over 21 of any state.

That would affect only representation in the House, not the Senate.



Courier P. 3
Sat 10-20-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.

By P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor

A NEW YORK judge who wishes to remain incognito (because he has never been in politics) asserts that neither Negroes nor white should vote a straight party ticket. Negroes, he believes, should vote for the best candidate except in an instance where one party is supporting a measure that benefits all the people with an enthusiasm and determination that will produce more effective results than the opposing party.

"There are individual Democratic and Republican Congressmen who are outstanding," this former jurist comments, and adds: "Those who are good or outstanding members of Congress should be returned regardless of their party affiliations."

It is his opinion that "both Negroes and white people should vote for the President and for the members of Congress, regardless of party affiliation, who they feel will represent the highest ideals of our democratic society."

■

HE IS against reactionary Democrats from the South and reactionary Republicans from the North. "They both think alike and vote alike," he avers.

He does not believe Negroes, as Americans, should regard civil rights as the paramount issue today. He brings into focus both civil rights and civil liberties as the paramount issues facing all Americans.

He insists that it is most important that the Negro vote.

"If the Negro who is qualified to vote in the South," he asserts, "would insist upon registering and voting, we would not have the Eastlands, Byrds, Talmadges and their ilk as political representatives of the South and both Negroes and poor white people would be further on the road toward freedom and full equality."

■

THE REV. Charles P. Harris, president of the General Baptist Convention of New Jersey, believes that civil rights should be regarded as the most important single issue claiming the Negro voter's attention.

The Rev. Mr. Harris also believes the Negro voter should make a comparative assessment of the party platform planks on civil rights, rather than mere party labels, the determining factor as to which party to support nationally.

Once the Negro voter has determined which party has the stronger and more definite stand on civil rights, he believes he should seek "to discover and support the candidacies of liberals who may be depended upon to support civil rights legislation in the House and Senate."

This voting support should be given such liberals, states Dr. Harris, "irrespective of party affiliation.

"While in my judgment," he writes, "it would be desirable to have a liberal administration backed by a Congress of the same party, it is even more important to have a liberal administration and a liberal Congress—even if this must be accomplished by electing an administration and a Congress of different parties."

■

BISHOP W. Y. BELL of the Christian Methodist Church does not believe Negroes should vote a straight party ticket, nor that they should be bound by rigid party lines in voting for a President or members of Congress.

Bishop Bell states further: "I think Negroes should vote for liberal members of Congress and vote their own convictions as to party President. The Negro should vote as an individual, not as a bloc."

To him "the paramount issue to the Negro is the paramount issue to Americans generally, international peace and domestic security." The next issue in importance to Negroes and Americans generally is civil rights.

He doesn't believe Negroes should vote to show appreciation.

"They should face things and vote on the record of the man involved," concludes Bishop Bell.

■

DR. CHARLES S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, wraps his answers up in two statements as follows:

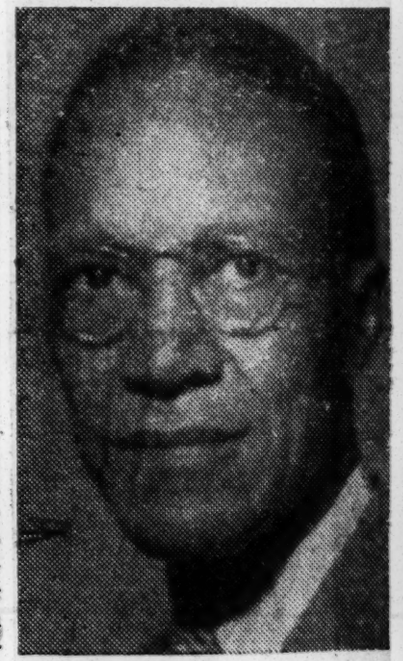
1. Negroes should fashion their pattern of voting to their best democratic interest as citizens. This is the only way of defining sharply enough to register their approval or censure of national political action on issues affecting them as a group.

In the present instance, the central issue is civil rights, not only for Negroes but for the conscience of the nation. It would be folly for Negroes to be so bound by party partisanship as to help place in power men who have no respect for them, either as citizens or human beings

2. Negroes should vote for the President most affirmative and courageous on democratic civil rights and wherever possible, for liberal members of Congress, regardless of party. For in the end, it is the total vote of liberals of both parties, and not the party itself that determines liberal legislation.

It is my conviction that the next most significant step in assuring concrete action on civil rights and other socially important legislation, is that of employing the leverage of concentrated voting power in strategic states, to place in office men and women committed to human freedom at home. The same power can remove those who are, by their records, not so committed.

DR. CHARLES JOHNSON



BISHOP W. Y. BELL

34e 1956

Dixie Negroes Shift to GOP; Northerners Stick to Demos

Journal & Constitution 4-6-A

Atlanta, Ga.

Atlanta, Savannah Report Switch; Thrower Runs Ahead of Ike Here

Sun. 11-11-34 34e General

By the Associated Press

If you look South, the Negro voter has returned to the Republican Party. But if you look North, he's still Democratic, although not so staunchly as he was four years ago.

And because there are more Negro votes outside the South than in it, the "Party of Lincoln" still has a long way to go to regain the politico-racial domination it held so firmly from Reconstruction Days until Franklin D. Roosevelt smashed it 20 years ago.

Nearly all Southern states Tuesday saw a complete reversal in the presidential balloting among Negroes with Adlai Stevenson's wide 1952 majorities turning into very similar margins for President Eisenhower this time.

In three of five Southern states won by the president—Virginia, Tennessee and Louisiana — this preference by Negro voters was very important in the final results, if not actually the deciding factor.

In nearly all the great Northern centers of Negro population there was a definite trend away from the Democratic ticket although not enough to give Mr. Eisenhower a majority in any major area of Negro registration.

* * *

THIS TREND was characterized by James L. Hicks, managing editor of the Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, as a divorce from the Democrats rather than a marriage to the Republicans. "The divorcee is carrying on a flirtation with a new boy friend (the Republican Party) but she isn't going to invite him in unless he puts a ring on her finger," he said.

Other interpretations of this trend vary widely — oriented mostly on the speaker's own politics. But there is general agreement that there was a trend and strong indications that the Democrats must reconsider their approach to the Negro if they are not to lose their hold on his vote.

* * *

WHY WAS the shift so much more marked in the South? While many factors were operative there —including Mr. Eisenhower's great personal appeal—the Southern Negro's stand was much more negative than positive.

They were protesting what one Negro spokesman called "Eastlandism" on the segregation issue —referring to Sen. Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, and like-thinkers among Democratic officeholders who have been most vocal and active in denying Negroes the school integration ordered by the Supreme Court.

Some Democrats, including Negro leaders in the North, are inclined to dismiss the whole thing as a passing phenomenon, tracing mostly to Mr. Eisenhower's immense appeal—"We were running against a myth—a demi-god," said one.

Republicans, of course, saw this year's results as the first major step toward return of big Negro majorities for their party—a job they say will be completed in 1960.

Val Washington, head of the minorities division of the Republican National Committee and a Negro, said nationwide reports indicate a swing of Negro votes to Mr. Eisenhower. But he added, "I don't think they've bought the Republican Party yet. Give us four more years and I think they will."

* * *

IF THE GREATLY increased Republican vote in the South is not just an Eisenhower-induced surge that will end when he retires, it is certain that Southern Democrats must reckon with the Negro vote as they never have before. Although Negro registration remains small — 156,000 of 1,310,000 in Georgia, for example— it will grow and could loom very large in a close race. As, indeed, it did this year in Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia.

Nationally, Negroes make up about four million of the 61 million estimated total registration. Of these, about 1½ millions are in Southern states with 2½ millions in the rest of the country. Those outside the South are concentrated largely in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California, where they often can hold balance of power positions which they never have been able to until this year in Southern states as a whole.

State by state, the picture of Negro voting in Tuesday's election, and interpretations of it, were:

* * *

ALABAMA—The Negro vote was an important and possibly deciding factor in Eisenhower carrying Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery Counties. Oscar W. Adams Jr., Birmingham Negro Republican leader, said about three fourths of Jefferson County's 7,000 Negroes switched to Mr. Eisenhower this year and estimated the same percentage swing throughout the state. He said many Negroes thought a Democratic vote would be a vote to reactionary senators "like Eastland."

* * *

ARKANSAS — The opinion of most qualified observers is that there was no significant shift in the Negro vote.

* * *

CALIFORNIA—There was slight indication that some Negro votes switched from Democrats to Republicans in the mixed 26th District, where Rep. James Roosevelt won re-election by a smaller margin than Democrat Sam Yorty did in 1952. However, in the 15th District, Republican Rep. Gordon L. McDonough, who polled 142,000 votes in 1952, had to call on New York Rep. Adam Clayton Powell for two campaign speeches to gain an 88,798-67,985 margin. There has been no tabulation of the presidential race by districts.

One Los Angeles County Negro leader estimated that "maybe 5 per cent of the Negro vote shifted, but I don't think it was more than that." There are an estimaed 265,000 Negro voters in the county and Mr. Eisenhower carried it by 258,000.

* * *

FLORIDA — Gilbert Porter of Tallahassee, director of the Florida Negro Voters League, said there is no question but that the Florida Negro vote, which has been Democratic, was predominantly Republican this time. He said it was due to resentment against Sen. Eastland and others on the national level and local developments for which Negroes blamed the Democrats.

Florida has 148,636 registered Negro voters, of which 137,868 are Democrats and 10,768 Republicans. In Miami, Negro districts which had voted Democratic gave slight majorities to Mr. Eisenhower Tuesday. Tampa results showed a definite shift of Negro votes to Republicans and two all-Negro precincts in Walton County, created by the recent legislature went solidly Republican.

* * *

GEORGIA—The Negro vote in Georgia's two largest cities, Atlanta and Savannah, shifted sharply to Mr. Eisenhower. In Atlanta Randolph Thrower, Republican opponent of Rep. James C. Davis, chairman of the subcommittee which investigated integration in Washington, D.C., schools, ran ahead of Mr. Eisenhower. One Negro box voted almost 16-1 for Thrower and nearly 7-1 for Mr. Eisenhower. In Savannah the Negro vote was attributed to the segregation issue.

Substantial Negro Republican voting was reported in some other areas of the state. In Richmond, home of the Augusta National Golf Club, where Mr. Eisenhower often visits, the county went Republican, but some of the heaviest Democratic majorities were in four precincts where most of the Negroes vote.

* * *

ILLINOIS—Only a slight shift was indicated in the Chicago Negro vote. The Negro wards, highly organized by Democrats, all gave pluralities to Stevenson, but by a slightly smaller percentage than in 1952. However, there has been a big drop in registrations due to slum clearance projects and other factors.

Enoch Waters, executive editor of the Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper, said some Chicago Negroes voted for Mr. Eisenhower as a protest against the "reactionary Southern wing of the Democratic Party," but that the switch was smaller in Chicago than in some other cities. Rep. William Dawson, leading Negro political figure in Chicago, thinks the war situation won some Negro votes for Mr. Eisenhower, but that the slight drop in Stevenson's margin does "not represent any disenchantment over civil rights."

* * *

LOUISIANA—Shift of Negro votes, particularly in New Orleans, is given credit for Mr. Eisenhower's majority in Louisiana, by Camille Gravel, Democratic national committeeman. A. P. Tureaud, state attorney for the outlawed National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said "Negroes wanted to put in a protest vote. They voted in protest against the hostile attitude of the last legislature in passing all those segregation laws and their resentment for Sen. Eastland of Mississippi and his attitude on racial matters."

* * *

MARYLAND — In Baltimore, Negro districts which in 1952 had voted 3-1 and 4-1 for Stevenson, Tuesday went 2-1 and 3-1 for Mr. Eisenhower. State Sen. Harry A. Cole, first Negro elected to the Maryland General Assembly, said "I don't believe the Republican civil rights platform had anything to do with it. It was mostly due to the great respect for Eisenhower and to intensive organizing efforts on the precinct level."

* * *

MICHIGAN — Neither party claims any shift of Negro votes in the Detroit area. Stevenson polled almost the same percentage as in 1952. Rep. Diggs, who was re-elected with 69 per cent of the vote over a Negro opponent in the 13th District, won with 65 per cent over a white opponent in 1954. "By comparison, I would say there has been

less loosening of the traditional Negro allegiance to the Democratic Party in Detroit than almost anywhere else."

A Detroit Free Press survey showed a 5 per cent shift from Stevenson to Mr. Eisenhower in four key Negro districts with one of the four showing a shift from Mr. Eisenhower to Stevenson.

* * *

MISSISSIPPI—H. T. Ashford, Hinds County (Jackson) circuit clerk, estimated the bulk of 4,000 Negro voters in the county voted Republican. "As usual, there was no shift," he said. "The Negroes here always have voted Republican." He said the Hinds County situation is representative of the entire state.

* * *

NEW YORK—New York's Harlem area voted Democratic, but by substantially reduced percentages. Rep. Powell, a Democrat who bolted the ticket to support Mr. Eisenhower, said Negroes "temporarily deserted" the Democratic Party because of "creeping Eastlandism," his term for the segregation stand of Southern Democrats.

Powell said it does not mean a shift to the Republican Party, but "it should serve as a warning to the Democratic bosses that no one controls the Negro vote."

The New York Post said editorially that one of the election's biggest stories may be the "message that the Negro voters finally got through to the Democratic Party."

Among the factors involved in the Negro voter upheaval, the Post listed Eastland's elevation to chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committe, the Autherine Lucy mob in Alabama and Stevenson's use of the "inflammatory word 'moderation'" in speaking on the race issue.

Stevenson's "eloquent ensuing pleas for civil rights" could not banish the memory of that sequence of events, the Post said "perhaps partly because little of the press heralded his words, and the President's equivocations on the Supreme Court decision were rarely headlined or underlined."

"The Democrats must remain a national party," the Post said. "But they can do so successfully only by joining hands with the liberal forces of the 'New South' and finally turning their backs on the racist demagogues who have so long dishonored the Democratic cause."

* * *

NORTH CAROLINA—Indications point to a decided shift of North Carolina Negro votes to the Republican Party. Two Negro leaders attribute it largely to resentment against moves of the Democratic state administration to circumvent the segregation decision. They tended to minimize the effect of national platforms and said Republicans went after the Negro vote much more actively than ever before.

* * *

PENNSYLVANIA — Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Negro wards voted Democratic, but also by substantially lower percentages than in 1952.

Three Democrats discounted any Negro vote shift. "I don't think the Negroes are back where they were for so many years," said Andrew Bradley, state budget secretary, a Negro. "Any shift by no means indicates anything permanent. The greater part of the Negroes stayed with the Democrats and will remain in that camp. I don't think there was any great protest against the Southern stand and by the Supreme Court decision had little to do with the Negro vote."

State Democratic Chairman Joseph M. Barr said "I don't think the colored question had one-half of 1 per cent bearing on the entire election."

Philadelphia city councilman, Raymond Pace Alexander, said there was no appreciable shift of Negro votes, but that "many Negroes stayed away from the polls this time because they felt they had nothing to gain from either party."

But W. Beverly Carter, publisher of the Pittsburgh Courier, commented that the vote shift was among middle-class Negroes and reflects "an awareness that the Democratic Party is incapacitated to give the Negro his human and equal rights as long as its historic strength comes out of the South."

* * *

SOUTH CAROLINA—There was a pronounced shift of Negro votes to the Republicans in South Carolina. Negro Democratic leader John McCray of Columbia estimated it as 35 per cent. He heads the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, an organization dominated by Negroes which still considers itself part of the Democratic Party.

McCray attributed the shift to a protest against "certain elements" of the Southern wing of the party and to Mr. Eisenhower's personal popularity. He estimated that less than half of the 80,000 to 85,000 registered Negroes went to the polls.

* * *

TENNESSEE—The heavy Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis) apparently was a major factor in Tennessee's vote for Mr. Eisenhower. In 31 precincts where the Negro vote is dominant, Mr. Eisenhower lost them all in 1952 but won 23 this year. Negro GOP leader Geoge W. Lee said the switch was endorsement of the President's civil rights program and repudiation of the Democratic attitude in the South.

* * *

TEXAS—Apparently a majority of Texas' Negro voters remained Democratic and certainly did not swing the state. Arthur Dewitty, state legislative representative for the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, said he knew of no substantial shift in the Negro vote. However, the Houston Post said that in 18 predominantly Negro precincts where Stevenson got 95 per cent of the vote in 1952, the vote this year was only 67 per cent for the Democratic nominee.

* * *

VIRGINIA—The Virginia Negro vote in a number of major cities swung sharply Republican. The switch was massive in some precincts.

P. B. Young, Negro publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, expressed the opinion that Negroes switched because they "felt Eisenhower was a bit more sincere in whatever he said on the civil rights issue." Also, he said the vote in part was "a simple, passive protest against the spiritual beating the Negro has taken in the past 2½ years from Democratic leaders in the South."

* * *

MISSOURI — Mr. Eisenhower polled a slightly higher percentage of votes in the predominantly Negro wards in St. Louis this year, but most sources agree that the race issue had little effect.

Ike Seen Doubling Negro Vote Over 52

New York, October 29 -- A major defection from the Democratic ranks will give President Eisenhower nearly twice the Negro vote he received in 1952, a prize winning Negro reporter predicted today.

Carl Rowan for the Minneapolis Tribune, writing in the new issue of LOOK magazine declared that while "the Republicans do not yet seem to offer enough courage, enough hope for Eisenhower to get half the Negro vote," he could garner nearly 40 per cent of it.

"Whether he does or not," said Rowan, "will depend on how well the GOP capitalizes on the Negro's deep frustrations, on whether Republicans convince the Negro that he can enter, through the front door a party no longer dominated by conservatives with out dated social and economic views."

A three-time winner of journalism's coveted Sigma Delta Chi awards, Rowan stressed that the Negro's dilemma is not only how to vote, but whether to vote at all.

Citing Negro dissatisfaction with the Democratic civil rights platform ("the Democrats had a choice and they kicked the Negro in the teeth") and traditional apathy toward the GOP, THE LOOK article quoted a Negro doctor's view of the alternatives:

"The Negro can lay aside his racial feelings and continue to vote Democratic, because he believes the party is still best for the country and the little man, which means the Negro.

"We can vote Republican and make all the Democrats pay for compromising with Sen. Eastland and the segregationists, or we can tell both parties to go to hell while we play poker election day."

Byrnes Sees Bid for Negro Vote

COLUMBIA, S. C., Jan. 5 (AP)—James F. Byrnes said today President Eisenhower's State-of-the-Union message indicated an effort to attract the Negro vote to the Republican party.

Mr. Byrnes said Mr. Eisenhower indicated he intended to submit a program to outbid the Democratic party for the Negro vote but "in my opinion, his efforts will fail." However, he said "it will be interesting to see how high he will bid and how high the Democratic party will bid before next November."

Mr. Byrnes supported Mr Eisenhower in the 1952 Presidential campaign.

MEASURES READIED ON VOTING RIGHTS

WASHINGTON, Feb. 8 (AP)—Rep. Roosevelt (D-Calif.) said that the Justice Department has assured him it is preparing "comprehensive legislation" on interference with voting rights. It said the legislation would be offered for action by Congress this year.

Roosevelt read to the House an exchange of letters. In one he sent to Atty. Gen. Brownell, Roosevelt said it seems "beyond dispute" that some Americans "are being denied the right to vote because of the color of their skin and the accident of birth."

A reply, signed by Asst. Atty. Gen. J. Lee Rankin, said "the attorney general is presently engaged in preparing comprehensive legislation in this field and plans to transmit it in the near future so that action may be taken at this session of the 84th Congress."

Capital merry-go-round—

Brownell gets South's Negro voting issue

BY DREW PEARSON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6—Congr. Jimmy Roosevelt of California has handed Atty. Gen. Brownell a hot potato that he can't either drop, throw back or hold in his hand.

The eldest son of the late president, now in Congress, has written Brownell a letter, couched in the most polite and dignified language, asking what power Brownell has regarding Negro voting rights in the South and what he plans to do about them.

PEARSON

Roosevelt doesn't mention the Emmett Till murder in Mississippi nor even the number of Negroes reported to have been barred from registering in Mississippi since that murder. What he does is remind the attorney general of denial of "the right to vote because of the color of skin, accident of birth, and the threat of violence."

Then Roosevelt proceeds to ask Brownell three blunt questions:

1. "Is there existing federal law to take care of the situation?"

2. "If legislation is needed do you plan to recommend such legislation?"

3: "If such recommendations are planned, do you plan to make your views known in the near future so that action may be taken at this session of Congress?"

If Brownell replies that no new laws are needed, then he puts himself in the position of being negligent about enforcing current laws. If he replies that more laws are needed, then he gives support to Northern Democrats who already have drafted an anti-lynching bill.

It will be interesting to see what Brownell does with his hot potato.

The Midwestern Vote Dissected

By Congressional Quarterly

WASHINGTON.

WHAT'S the difference between a Republican and a Democratic congressman? The answer is probably found in his congressional district.

A recent survey of regional political patterns shows the typical midwestern GOP district differs in several respects from the average Democratic Midwest district.

Broadly speaking, the Democratic district has a predominance of city-dwellers; a large percentage of Negroes, blue-collar workers and manufacturing; a small percentage of farmers.

The average Midwest Republican district has a high percentage of farmers; few Negroes; a predominance of native white citizens.

This is how the midwestern district profiles were outlined and what they look like:

As a first step, the principal characteristics of all 129 Midwest districts was computed—the proportion of city-dwellers, Negroes, foreign-born whites, white collar and blue-collar workers, and mining and manufacturing employes in each district. Tabulations were made from the 1950 census—the latest complete data available.

THEN these characteristics were averaged for three groups of districts—17 that went strongly for Adlai E. Stevenson in 1952 (giving Dwight D. Eisenhower less than 45% of their ballots); another 17 considered "doubtful" (where Eisenhower got between 45 and 55% of the vote); and 95 districts where Mr. Eisenhower received at least 55% of the votes cast.

The three typical district profiles—averages for each of the three groups of Midwest districts:

	Strong Dem.	Doubtful	Strong GOP
Urban	93%	73%	24%
Negro	18%	4%	2%
Native white	70%	88%	93%
Foreign-born white	12%	8%	5%
Farming	1%	9%	19%
Manufacturing	41%	32%	24%
Blue-collar	62%	51%	45%

THE typical Democratic stronghold had almost twice as many persons (93 out of 100) living in and around cities as the average GOP district (54 out of 100); conversely there were several times as many persons employed in farming (19%) in the Republican areas as in the Democratic (1%).

Doubtful districts fall midway between the party extremes.

Other key findings:

Democrats fared extremely well in districts having a high proportion of Negroes. The analysis discloses that the six midwestern districts with the most Negroes were identical with the six districts where the Eisenhower vote was lowest. Other factors besides color also may be involved.

Voting habits of midwestern city-folk contrasted with those of Southern urban dwellers. In the Midwest, Republicans drew their heaviest support from rural areas; an earlier survey showed that in the South the GOP was strongest in the cities.

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'Above All, Get The Ballot'

By LARRY STILL

WASHINGTON

"Every form of discrimination we suffer in this country can be eliminated by voting---

"---And if you don't take advantage of the opportunity, for God's sake stop crying about what people are doing to you."

This is what Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill) and vice-chairman of the National Democratic Committee, declared Tuesday night in giving 400 District citizens a lesson in practical politics.

. . . **SHOW ME** a section of the country where there is a difference in the way our people are treated and I will show you a place where we don't participate—where you are kept from the polls either through fear or inertia," the speaker said obviously alluding to sections of the South.

Congressman Dawson was one of three major speakers who addressed a "get out the vote rally" of the northeast area of the Federation of Civic Associations at the Spingarn High School, 25th and Benning Rd NE.

The meeting was one of three mass gatherings held throughout the city Monday and Tuesday. Other rallies were held at the Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1330 R St., NW., and the Turner Elementary School, Alabama Ave. and Stanton Rd., SE.

* * *

SEN. WAYNE Morse (D-Ore.) and Rep. Katheryn St. George (R-N.Y.) addressed a small gathering at the Metropolitan Baptist Church Monday night. The meeting was sponsored by the Northwest Area of Civic Associations, Dutton Ferguson, chairman.

Dr. Margaret J. Butcher, Commissioner Robert J. McLaughlin and F. Joseph Donahue, former commissioner, were the speakers at the Turner School meeting before approximately 150 persons. Mrs. Ella Forter was southeast area chairman.

Other speakers with Mr. Dawson were Rep. Hugh Scott (R-Ill), George R. Hart, chairman, D.C. Republican State Central Committee; Barrington Parker, and Belford Lawson, attorneys, and the Revs. Warren R. Hicks and James O. West.

REP. WILLIAM L. DAWSON

expounded for 35 minutes on how to get first class citizenship rights with the ballot.

The speaker never mentioned the South directly in his talk and made only three allusions to discrimination and unfair treatment in this country.

But, he constantly reminded his listeners that if those citizens who have voting rights would make better use of it, the problems of those who do not enjoy the voting privileges would be solved more quickly.

* * *

"WE'RE GOING to straighten out a lot of things in this country if we can get them on the books", the congressman said in urging the audience to get citizens to register.

"It doesn't do any good to have 90 per cent of the population if you aren't registered and on the books," the speaker said, obviously referring to the unregistered strength of the colored voter in Washington and other sections of the country.

"If you're on the books, everybody will beat a path to your door and you will get what you want," he said.

* * *

AT ONE point in his off-the-cuff talk, Mr. Dawson asked his audience,

"Why do you think they elected me vice chairman of the National Democratic Committee? Because my name is Dawson?

. . . 'These people think I have power and influence in getting people to vote," he explained. The congressman said he serves as ward committeeman of an area in his home town in Chicago which has registered 10,000 persons in one day.

* * *

. . . **WE GET MORE** of everything we want—more elected judges, more jobs, higher pay—anything—and you can do it here, too.—Everything depends on what you do May 1."

The speaker drew applause when he told the crowd: "I will do everything in my power—to see that you get the power of the ballot." He was applauded when he shouted, "Before I leave Congress I hope I will have the opportunity to vote a law to give you full citizenship."

The congressman concluded his lecture with the remarks:

* * *

"THEY CALL me a politician—but its actually participation. The newspapers have made it something dirty and nasty, but politics is second only to religion.

"It is a game of commitments—men who break their commitments never get to the top. Those who get to the top and then break their commitments, don't stay there long.

"When you get on the books (registration) — everybody will want you—so don't get weary—we're going to have a great camp meeting in the promised land."

* * *

MRS. DORIS T. KEITH was chairman of the area planning committee for the meeting. Members included Mrs. Ethel Strong, Van Dyke Waker, Leon S. Calhoun, Mrs. Rosina Tucker, Mrs. Ethel Scott, William H. Curry and Lewis W. Crowe.

George O. Butler, president of the federation said, despite the small crowds, the meetings had served to stimulate interest in the neighborhood registration, March 14-17.

Registration will be held again in 24 temporary neighborhood precincts, April 8-9.

The election will be held May 1 for official delegates to the major party conventions in August.

The action is considered the first step toward home rule for the area.

A total of 5,000 persons had registered Tuesday but officials reported the figure was picking up near the end of the week. The goal is 50,000 registered voters.

Protecting Rights

There are fundamental rights of American citizenship, such as the right to vote, which the Government of the United States has an obligation to uphold. It is a notorious fact that in many instances in recent months the rights of Negroes have been violated in some of the Southern States—and sometimes directly under color of state law. The program of strengthened Federal enforcement of civil rights which Attorney General Brownell proposed yesterday is, therefore, long overdue.

The Attorney General makes two substantive proposals which have much merit. One of these is that a Civil Rights Division under the direction of an Assistant Attorney General be established in the Department of Justice; the hope behind this is that it would act more vigorously and effectively for the protection of civil rights than the present earnest but inconspicuous Civil Rights Section in the Criminal Division. Mr. Brownell's second proposal, if adopted, would afford additional reason for the creation of a Civil Rights Division. He urges that a statute be enacted which would authorize the Attorney General himself to initiate civil actions against conspiracies where present law limits such action to the injured individual.

There is a real and significant advantage to be gained from authorizing the kind of civil action sought by Mr. Brownell. It is often far more effective to seek such civil remedies as an injunction against threatened wrongs than to wait until the wrongs have been committed and then prosecute the wrongdoers under criminal statutes. And obviously the Government, instead of an injured individual, ought to be able to seek such civil remedies, vital national interests being involved. Respecting a third proposal made by Mr. Brownell, we have misgivings and uncertainty. He urges "elimination of the requirement that all state administrative and judicial remedies must be exhausted before access can be had to the Federal court." The efficacy of this is doubtful while the affront to state sovereignty is obvious.

Mr. Brownell echoes the President's demand that Congress create a bipartisan commission to investigate violations of civil rights. Such a commission, had Congress created it, might have been useful in dramatizing for the American people the degree to which Negroes have been denied rights in the South. But Congress shows no signs of taking this desired action, and we think that the Administration had better move ahead on its own. It can do this by creating a presidential commission and by pressing directly for prompt congressional enactment of the strengthened civil rights enforcement powers which Mr. Brownell has recommended.

34e 1956

GENERAL

Public Votes Heavily for Gradual Desegregation

Herald P.10-A
Wed. 5-9-56
Miami Fla.

By GEORGE GALLUP
Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J. — The American public overwhelmingly adopts the viewpoint of "gradualism" when it comes to setting a timetable for putting the Supreme Court's desegregation ruling into effect.

GALLUP

Seven out of 10 persons questioned in a nationwide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion believe that the government should try gradually to bring about integration of white and Negro children in the public schools—that is, over a long period of years.

Some people in this group — particularly in the South — volunteered the information that they didn't want integration in the public schools ever to come about.

About one person in every six takes the view, however, that the government should do everything it can to bring about integration immediately — within the coming year.

To sound out public opinion, the institute assigned its staff of interviewers to talk to an accurate cross-section of Americans in all walks of life, including the proper proportion of whites and Negroes, living in every section of the country.

Each person was asked:

"The Supreme Court has ruled that racial segregation in the public schools is illegal. Which of these points of view comes nearest to your way of thinking about the problem of segregation?"

1. **The government should try to bring about the integration of white and Negro children in public schools gradually — that is, over a longer period of years** 71%
2. **The government should do everything it can to see that white and Negro children in all parts of the country go to the same public schools within the coming year** 18

No opinion 11

100%

Of those who want gradual integration, roughly one person in four vouchsafed the answer that if the choice were theirs, they would never permit white and Negro children to be integrated in the public schools.

That's the picture for the nation as a whole. In the South only one adult in 20 today is in favor of immediate integration. Almost half of those in the 13 Southern states who want gradual desegregation also volunteered that they are against integration at any time.

Considering those who are against integration at any time as a separate group, here is the vote today in the South:

Gradually	45%
Immediately	5
Never want integration	38
No opinion	12

The survey also finds that the greatest majority for the moderate point of view, calling for gradual integration over a long period of years, comes from persons who have attended college. Proportionately the greatest number who volunteered that they would never want integration come from those who have grade-school educations.

The vote by education levels, again considering those who volunteered a "Never" answer as a third category:

	College	High Sch'l	Grade Sch'l
Gradually	73%	59%	41%
Immediately	18	18	20
Never	4	14	25
No opinion	5	9	14

It has now been almost two years since the Supreme Court, on May 17, 1954, ruled that separation of the races in public schools deprived Negroes of equal protection of the law, and declared that integration should be brought about with "all reasonable speed."

The latest survey on the question, reported by the Institute in February of this year, showed seven out of 10 adults outside the South to be in favor of integration in principle.

In the South, however, the vote was overwhelmingly against the Supreme Court's decision.

Negro Votes Could Win House for Republicans

Star Sun. 5-6-56 P.30-A
Washington D.C.

Negroes now hold the balance of power in enough congressional districts to assure the success of Republican efforts to capture control of the House of Representatives in November, should they vote Republican.

As yet, no one is predicting a wholesale swing by Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican column. But that's the goal of an all-out G. P. O. campaign, and already Democrats acknowledge that "some" shift appears inevitable.

Whether or not this switch assumes tidal proportions could be determined by the outcome of congressional action on civil rights legislation. A Senate filibuster by Southern Democrats could be the signal for a stampede by Negroes to the G. P. O. banner.

These are the highlights of a special study by Congressional Quarterly. Basis for the study was a tabulation of the proportions of the Negro population in each of the Nation's 435 congressional districts, according to latest complete census figures.

This part of the study showed that Negroes numbered 10 per cent or more of the total population in 86 of 120 districts in the South, but in only 35 of 315 districts outside the South. And of these 35, 29 elected Democrats to the House in 1954.

Already some of these Democrats are in trouble in their own bailiwicks. In Detroit's 1st district, where Negroes numbered 37.5 per cent of the 1950 population, Polish-born Representative Thaddeus M. Machrowicz will be opposed in the August 7 primary by Mrs. Cora M. Brown, Michigan's first Negro woman State Senator. Last week, Negro delegates walked out of the Democratic convention in the 1st because Negroes "had been pushed around long enough."

Representative Earl Chudoff also is in trouble in Philadelphia's 4th district—44.8 per cent Negro in 1950. Although he won renomination easily with 13,470 votes in last week's primary, one of his two opponents—Earl F. Dales, a Negro—got 5,072 votes, while the unopposed Republican candidate—Horace Scott, also a Negro—got 8,255 votes.

These are two of only 14 districts outside the South in which Negroes numbered 20 per cent or more of the 1950 population, giving them a preponderant political influence. Except for the rural 1st district of Maryland, which has re-elected Republican Representative Edward T. Miller since 1946, all are big-city districts which regularly roll up heavy Democratic majorities.

But there are many more districts in which Negroes, even though relatively less numerous, could exercise the balance of power in close elections. The study identified 61 districts outside the South where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 population exceeded the winning candidate's margin of victory in the 1954 congressional election.

Thirty-two of the 61 districts elected Democrats, 29 Republicans, many by narrow margins.

The G. O. P. must score a net gain of 15 seats to win control of the House. In many of the 32 Democratic-held districts in which they hold the balance of power, three out of four Negroes have voted for Democrats. A shift of one of these —giving Republicans half of all Negro votes—might do the trick.

(Congressional Quarterly)

Negroes Swing Toward GOP?

Herald P.25-A
Sat. 5-26-56
Miami Fla.

NEW YORK — (INS)— A survey conducted by a national magazine showed Thursday that Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging to the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson.

The study, conducted by Reporter magazine, said:

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow, the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic Party . . ."

The article reported that a large segment of the Negro press also is moving away from the Democrats and it quotes the editor of The Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

The author of the article, Robert Bendiner, points out that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Bendiner added, however:

"The saving grace, from the Democratic viewpoint, is that the rebellion appears to be working down from the top and may not go deep enough into the rank and file by November to be as disastrous as Republican strategists fondly hope."

BOTH PARTIES DESERT SOUTH, COLMER SAYS

Commercial Appeal P.3
Wed. 5-16-56
Memphis Tenn.

Civil Rights 'Political Football' For Negro Vote

WASHINGTON, May 15.—(UP)—Representative William Colmer (D., Miss.) said Tuesday the struggle for the Negro vote by the Republicans and Democrats has left the South alone to fight integration, but he predicted failure for am ove to ram a civil rights bill through the current session.

Representative Colmer, a member of the House Rules Committee, says the drive is "not for civil rights for the Negro as such, but for the Negro vote which could be the balance of power" in a national election.

He warned that civil rights legislation may be rammed through the House where Southern representatives are outvoted, but he predicted that "in the Senate where the rules are more flexible, the line will most likely be held."

The Mississippi representative scored the civil rights issue as a "political football," and said the South "could always rely on sufficient Northern Republican strength during the Roosevelt and Truman Administrations to defeat these proposals."

"But now, since the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation, the Republicans have set out to wean the Negro vote from the Democrats," he said.

He said the result of the bidding for the Negro ballot was to "leave the South alone to fight integration and civil rights generally."

Democrats May Lose Negro Vote ---Diggs

BY RAYMOND WILCOVE

WASHINGTON — (INS) — A Negro congressman warned Friday that millions of Negro voters will desert the Democratic party in November "unless the Democrats stop pussyfooting on Civil Rights."

The warning came from Rep. Charles C. Diggs, Jr., (D) Mich. who said he has not decided whether presidential nominee, or President Eisenhower, or neither.

He said in an interview: "The same situation prevails, in my opinion, among all Negroes. In my estimation, support among the Negro population from the democratic party has reached its lowest ebb since before the time of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

BLASTS "MODERATION"

Diggs said Adlai Stevenson's support for what the Congressman termed "a policy of modernation" is threatening "to alienate support for the democratic party."

The Detroit Congressman asserted that Negroes generally voted for Stevenson in the 1952 presidential election rather than for Dwight D. Eisenhower. He explained: "Mr. Eisenhower didn't have any record then for civil rights. There was no reason for Negroes to vote for him after voting democratic for the past 20 years."

Diggs said Negroes wanted Stevenson and other democratic presidential hopefuls "to come out foursquare for the enactment of civil rights legislation by Congress." The Congressman stressed especially the need for legislation "guaranteeing the right to vote."

VOTE FOR IKE

Diggs predicted that unless the democratic presidential nominee, whoever he might be, takes such a position, "millions of Negroes will vote for President Eisenhower."

He added: "Some, of course, will vote the Democratic ticket, as they have for so many years, and quite a number might just refrain from voting for any presidential nominee."

The Michigan legislator said Mr. Eisenhower is regarded by Negroes as having established "a pretty good record" on civil rights while in office.

Diggs said the Eisenhower record is not as good "as some people would have you believe, but it's pretty good."

Diggs declared that much of the progress made in civil rights especially in the nation's capital resulted from groundwork laid during the democratic administration of Harry S. Truman.

He commented: "We'd like the democratic presidential candidate to take the same position on civil rights that President Truman took."

Diggs indicated he wasn't too keen on the position taken by Governor Averell Harriman of New York on civil rights, but praised Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan "for being so forthright."

Negro Voters Seen Fleeing Democrats

NEW YORK — (INS, — A survey conducted by a national magazine showed Wednesday that Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging to the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson.

The study conducted by Reporter magazine, said:

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow, the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic party . ."

NEGRO PRESS TO

The article reported that a large segment of the Negro press also is moving away from the Democrats and it quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

The author of the article, Robert Bendiner, points out that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Bendiner added, however:

HOPE HELD

"The saving grace, from the Democratic viewpoint, is that the rebellion appears to be working down from the top and may not go deep enough into the rank and file by November to be as disastrous as Republican strategists fondly hope."

Our Opinions

Shift In The Vote?

A large part of the American press is busy these days tracking down some exciting new trends indicating that there may be, after an absence of more than 20 years, a major shift in the Negro vote back to the Republican party.

Some eager beaver political dopesters have picked up some fragmentary wisps from scattered points — Indianapolis, Detroit, and Philadelphia, and blown them up into giant size straws in the wind. Personally, we think it's much too early to prognosticate on what will happen in November.

However, we do know this. The rumble of discontent among Negro voters is growing louder each day. The chief reason for dissatisfaction is the failure of the leaders of the Democratic party to be forthright on the burning issue of civil rights.

The average "Man on the Street" Negro is both angry and hurt over what he considers a personal affront by the Democratic party in letting him down after years of loyal devotion and it puzzles him even more when the people he has helped to put in office and who are symbols of his voting power fail to speak out on the things directly affecting him.

He not only wants to do something about injustice. He wants to talk about it and he wants somebody who is able to dramatize his problems to be vocal and speak up about it. So true is this that in any gathering of five or more Negroes, the inevitable topic to come up will be civil rights and what is happening in the South. In the midst of a gay birthday celebration last week, a group of young people who were listening enraptured to a King Cole broadcast, abruptly turned off the radio when they overheard a discussion going on in another part of the room about Senator James O. Eastland and the chances of passage of civil rights legislation. "Turn off the radio," said one. "This is much more important."

In view of all this, it is strange to us to watch the incredible blundering performance of the donkey whose behavior is becoming as peculiar as that of his cousin, the jackass. For instance, the Democratic Digest, the organ of the Democratic National Committee has listed the 10 top issues of 1956, beginning with Farm Slump, Texas, Misconduct, High Prices, Small Business, Favoritism, Giveaways, Anti-labor, Schools, and Monopolies. Not one word on civil rights! Yet, there isn't a news commentator nor an analyst, nor anyone even remotely connected with the communications media who won't agree that civil rights is a leading issue. We wonder where the strategists for the party were when they drafted the issues. Surely they had to be in "Never Never Land."

Actually, most Negroes prefer the Democratic Party and are loathe to leave it and in order to win them back, the GOP will have to come through with some very convincing performances in the civil rights area. We note that Senator Knowland has sent word to the White House that he will guarantee the passage of at least two civil rights measures before Congress adjourns.

Labor leader Walter Reuther has bluntly warned the Democrats that they can't have Eastland and labor too. That goes for the Negro vote as well. As one commentator asked Sunday on "Meet the Press." If the Democrats lose both labor and the Negro vote how do they think they can win?

It's about time the donkey got up off his haunches and decided that you can't have your votes and eat them too.

Miss. Negro voters decline from 22,104 to 8,000, says Diggs

WASHINGTON — Figures for Negro voters of the state of Mississippi, source of which was the White Citizens Council itself, were cited by Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., of Michigan, in a recent speech before the House of Representative, supporting House Civil Rights Bill 627, which was later defeated.

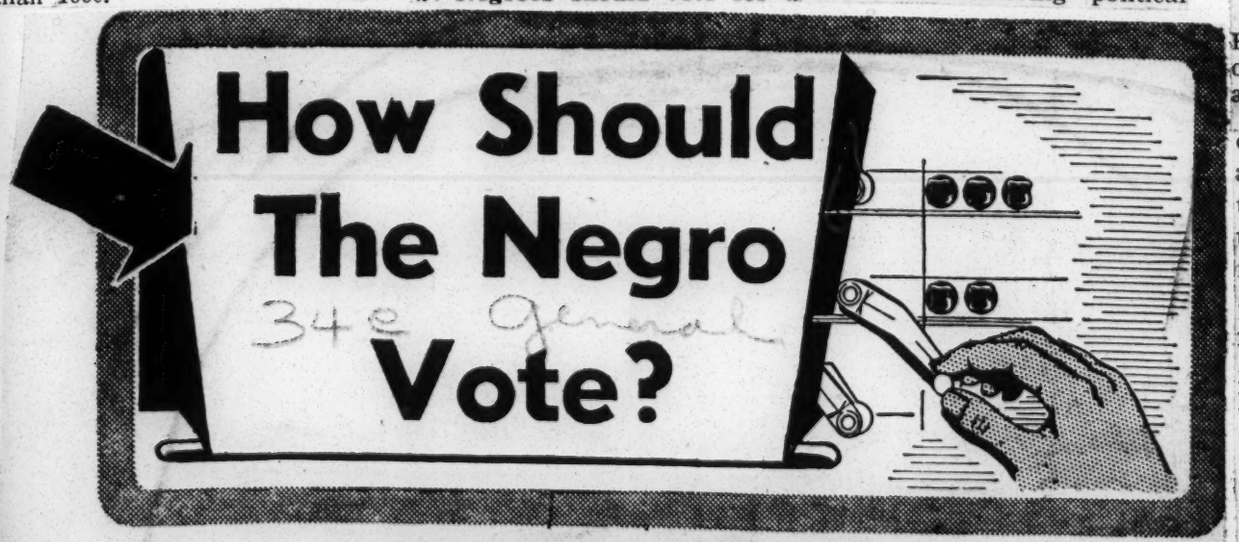
Even the number, approximately 22,104 as of November, 1954, has been reduced by intimidation to approximately 8,000, Diggs said.

Only 7 counties have, or had, 1000 or more Negro voters, the Michigan Democrat said. Largest of these , with 4,014 Negro voters, was Hinds county, in the Southwest Central portion of the state, principal city of which is Jackson, the state capital, and with a population of 107,273.

Thirteen counties in the state have no Negro voters at all, said Diggs, including the now infamous Tallahatchie, scene of the Till murder.

Nine have less than 10 Negro voters; 28 more than 10 but less than 100; 16 more than 100 but less than 500; five more than 500, but less than 1000.

How Should The Negro Vote?



By P. L. PRATTIS. Executive Editor

WHAT does Negro leadership, in various fields, think about the political situation this year? Has Negro leadership clear convictions as to what the Negro voter should do with his vote? What is the trend of thinking, politically, among Negro leaders? Is there substantial agreement among Negro leaders as to what the Negro's political action ought to be?

In order to try to get the answers to the foregoing questions, the Courier wrote one hundred distinguished Negro leaders, North and South, who have national reputations in their fields. The questions asked are reproduced on this page. Not all these leaders answered. Many were on vacation or out of the country.

We propose in the next few weeks to publish pertinent excerpts from the responses received. Names are withheld except where express permission for direct attribution has been given. Responses follow:

■

A past president of the National Association of Negro Musicians, Carl Diton, wrote:

1. A Negro should vote a straight party ticket if the principles of that party are of interest to him.

2. Negroes should vote for a Republican President and liberal candidates for Congress, regardless of party affiliation, if they are thoroughly familiar with the political records of both; or if they owe allegiance to a party by virtue of holding a worthwhile position or a job.

3. Civil rights, by all means, should be regarded, at the present time, as paramount to Negroes as Americans.

4. Negroes should not vote to show their appreciation of steps for their advancement taken by the executive branch of government, and to prove that the Negro vote is intelligent and responsive when properly treated. Both parties confer such honors.

The president of a Negro college in the Deep South writes:

"I think that each American should study the great and crucial issues that confront us, appraise the proposals of the parties for meeting these issues, critically evaluate their chances of success in achieving, with the men who make the races, the goals they set, and then vote on the basis of what appears to be the greatest good for America. Negroes should be no exception to this rule.

"I do not think it would be wise for the Negro to vote a split ticket if he proposes to use the party machinery as a means of achieving political power. Neither do I think that all Negroes should vote Democratic or Republican. Both parties are using civil rights as a political football and plan to do no more about implementing proposals for emancipating the Negro than is forced upon them.

"Civil rights may be regarded as the paramount issue for Americans since the future of our country may rest upon the example we give the world of our ability to treat all men with the utmost of human dignity and respect.

"There are liberals in both parties. Wherever they are, they should be supported by Negroes who share their philosophy of government as well as by whites who do so.

■

"In the South, it appears that for many years to come, if the Negro is to make himself felt politically, it will be within the fold of the Democratic party. It would appear to be the part of wisdom for the Southern Negro to seek to win friends among the growing group of progressive conservatives and liberals and work to become an integral part of the machinery there. In other sections where the two-party system works, it will be good for some Negroes to be active participants on both sides. Then, whoever wins, we shall have some representatives in the councils where the laws are made."

■

Bishop W. J. Walls, senior Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, answers:

"I think I have one answer on this entire political situation for Negroes. That is, nationally, they should vote for the Republican party which is not doing very much for Negroes, but more than we can expect from the Democrats under the threadbare compromise civil rights plank and their vacillating candidate for President.

"White men, North and South, are washing each other's hands on the Negro, but the Republicans do make at least a show of right intentions, whereas the Democrats, in their efforts to appease the South, as Northerners, make themselves ridiculously hypocritical and, as Southerners, make themselves boldly determined to destroy the Negro's rights in this nation.

"I am for neither wholeheartedly, but at this time, the Republicans are showing more loyalty to law where Negroes are concerned."

Voters on spot in November elections

By LOUIS LAUTIER
(For NNPA)

WASHINGTON

The colored voter in one-party states in the South finds himself in a predicament where he must either withhold his vote or vote for candidates who are blatantly opposed to his becoming a first-class citizen.

He may vote for either the re-election of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon or for the Democratic Presidential candidates, Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver. But beyond that he has little or no choice.

* * *

FOR AN illustration, take a look at the political situation in South Carolina where there are 120,000 registered colored voters.

In 1952 Stevenson carried the state by 4,922 votes. Eisenhower received a total vote of 168,082 to 173,004 for Stevenson. Eisenhower ran on two tickets. Democrats, led by James F. Byrnes, gave him 158,289 votes on the Independent ticket. Republicans cast only 9,793 votes for Eisenhower.

At the Democratic convention in Chicago in August, a colored delegation sought to unseat the regular Democratic organization delegates from South carolina. They boasted that they kept the State Democratic in 1952. Not only did they vote for the Stevenson-Sparkman ticket, they boasted, but they also furnished the funds with which to carry on a Democratic campaign.

* * *

THE FACTS were not disputed. The contestants were not seated because they had not entered the precinct conventions and laid the groundwork for claiming South Carolina's seats in the Democratic national convention.

Surely, the party loyalty of colored Democrats in South Carolina deserved better consideration than they received from the Democratic party in their state this year.

The Governor of South Carolina on Dec. 24, 1954, appointed Strom Thurmond, who was the Dixiecrat candidate for President in 1948, to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Burnet R. Maybank. Maybank's term would not have expired until Jan. 3, 1961.

Thurmond opposed efforts of the South Carolina Democratic executive committee to hand-pick a candidate to fill the Maybank term and became a write-in candidate in the Nov. 2, 1954, election. He promised voters that if he were elected, he would resign in 1956 and submit his candidacy to the Democratic Primary.

Thurmond kept his word.

THE TERM of Senator Olin D. Johnson, Democrat, of South Carolina, expires Jan. 3, 1957. Johnson also filed for re-election in the Democratic primary.

By coincidence or hocus-pocus, no Democrat entered the primary against either Thurmond or Johnston. They won re-election without opposition.

Thurmond was the chairman of the South Carolina delegation to the 1948 Democratic national convention. He led the delegation out of the convention after the adoption of a strong civil rights plank. He ran against President Truman on the States' Rights ticket, winning four states and 89 electoral votes.

In the 16 months he served in the Senate, Thurmond tried to out-Eastland Senator James O. Eastland, Dixiecrat, of Mississippi. He attacked the Supreme Court for its decision outlawing racial segregation in the public schools, on the Senate floor, as "a dangerous precedent" and said the southern states "must find ways

means of preserving segregation in the school.

Mitchell Talk Indicates Drive for Negro Vote

Secretary of Labor Mitchell last night fired what sounded like the opening gun of the Republican campaign for the Negro vote in the November election.

The big, burly Irishman, a popular and influential member of the Eisenhower administration, lauded Republican accomplishments in the civil rights field while addressing the four-day 36th annual session of the National Insurance Association in the Hotel Statler.

But that's only half the story, Mr. Mitchell said. He warned that, if individual members of the Nation's minority groups are to improve their lot, much more will have to be done. The Republicans, he indicated, are best suited for the job.

He also defended his "responsibility for the appointment of the first Negro (J. Ernest Wilkins) to a subcabinet post" and the naming of many Negroes to other responsible positions in the Labor Department.

Chosen for Ability

"I did not do this because they were members of any particular race," Mr. Mitchell said. "I appointed these men to important positions only because they were persons of demonstrated ability and devotion to the public welfare."

The Secretary said Mr. Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor, was named to that post "after I saw him in operation in a difficult and responsible position as vice chairman of the President's Committee on Government Contracts and I was impressed by the job he did there."

The Secretary said the list of accomplishments in the civil rights field "is long and impressive."

The administration's Committee on Government Contracts has tightened nondiscrimination regulations on Government jobs and has achieved significant results, including having white-collar jobs in packing houses, public utilities, and the Federal Reserve System opened up to Negroes for the first time, he said.

Cites D. C. Situation

He reminded some 500 delegates that Republican efforts helped break down the bars to employment of Negroes in the District, including their admittance to hitherto all-white jobs with the former Capital Transit Co. and the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Co.

He said the administration has carried out its pledge to end segregation in the District's restaurants, theaters, public housing projects and elsewhere.

"No longer," he declared, "is there a color bar at White House social events and state dinners."

He pointed out that Republicans have placed more than 300 Negroes in executive positions throughout the Government. Thousands more, he said, have been upgraded as a result of improved operations of the Committee on Government Employment Policy.

He held that the administration "deserves much of the credit of the entire elimination of segregation in the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force."

Better Education Urged

Mr. Mitchell held "this record of achievement would have been greater if the civil rights program sent to the Congress by Attorney General Brownell had been enacted."

He called on Negroes to remember that "better jobs require better preparation," and urged further efforts towards providing Negroes with better basic education.

At an awards luncheon yesterday, special commendation was given Charles K. Johnson of the Victory Life Insurance Co. of Chicago. Mr. Johnson wrote $542,000 in insurance to top the field of competitors for the honors.

The meeting, which got under way on Tuesday, was to end today.

DRUMMOND

Indispensable to GOP Victory

Negro Vote May Decide Election

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

SAN FRANCISCO — This Republican convention put a new and powerful political weapon into the hands of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon which could prove to be the one thing in the coming campaign capable of resolving doubts on the side of a Republican victory.

That weapon is a civil rights plank, stronger, more explicit, more concrete, than came from the Democrats in Chicago.

If the deep South and most of the border states are going to return to Democratic ranks this fall — as now seems altogether probable — then there is mighty little in the North that President Eisenhower can afford to lose.

This is why the decisive allegiance of the Negro voter this year is important and may be absolutely indispensable to Republican success.

★ ★ ★

BEAR IN MIND that for the past 20 years the Negroes have voted almost solidly Democratic, first because of the economic gains they feel they received under President Roosevelt and, second, because of the civil rights promises they received from President Truman.

Bear in mind that in the biggest cities of five big electoral-bloc states — New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Michigan — the Negro vote is increasingly concentrated and in any close election holds a potential balance of power.

This isn't just theory. Take two examples:

In 1952 when Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan was re-elected by a statewide margin of only 8,600 votes, three Negro wards in Detroit alone gave him a margin of 28,000.

In 1954 when Averell Harriman won the governorship in the huge state of New York by only 11,125 votes, New York City's five Negro districts spelled the difference between defeat and victory by giving him a margin of 20,221 votes.

156 electoral votes and all of which the Republicans are likely to need to win.

If the Republicans can make a solid break-through in the Negro vote in these cities in these states this fall, which they have not been able to do in many years, this could well over-balance the prospective return of the South to its one-party tradition.

HERE ARE THE TOOLS which the Republicans believe will enable them to make this needed break-through:

1—The Republicans here set forth a platform which goes beyond the Democratic civil rights plank at three important points —(a) by proclaiming that it "concurs" in the decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that public school desegregation must be ended; (b) by pledging itself to "support" this decision and help carry it out "by all branches of the federal government;" (c) by committing the party to a six-point civil rights legislative program designed to help guarantee Negroes against being denied their rights by the states — a program which many Democrats fought in the last session of Congress.

2—A Republican Attorney General directed his Solicitor General to argue the case in behalf of the Supreme Court decision requiring public schools' desegregation "with all deliberate speed." Therefore the Eisenhower administration has established itself as an active ally of the decision.

3—The Eisenhower administration has achieved a record of vigorous and sustained effort to end racial discrimination in every area over which the federal government exerts authority and influence.

★ ★ ★

OBVIOUSLY a party platform in itself will not make possible the Republican break-through in the Negro vote, particularly since the Democratic nominee, Adlai Stevenson, is firmly committed to the same objectives.

But Stevenson is handicapped by strong Democratic opposition to his views and the Eisenhower record is proof that it can and will live up to its pledges.

THE QUESTIONS

1. **Should Negroes vote a straight party ticket; that is, Democratic or Republican?**
2. **Should Negroes vote for a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress?**
3. **Should Negroes vote for a Republican President and a Republican Congress?**
4. **Should Negroes vote for a Democratic President and for liberal members of Congress regardless of their party affiliation?**
5. **Should Negroes vote for a Republican President and for liberal members of Congress regardless of their party affiliation?**
6. **Should Negroes regard civil rights as the issue paramount to them as Americans?**
7. **Should Negroes vote Republican to show their appreciation of steps for their advancement taken by the executive branch of government and to prove that the Negro voter is intelligent and responsive when properly treated?**

■

Basic Question: WHAT SHOULD THE NEGRO VOTER DO WITH HIS VOTE THIS YEAR?

34e 1956

Importance of Negro Vote Stressed in Major Talks At Campaign Conference

New York, N. Y.—The importance of the Negro vote in the 1956 presidential election was stressed in major speeches delivered last week to the first nationwide three-day campaign conference of National Citizens For Eisenhower at the Statler, Washington, D. C.

Five-hundred Citizens For Eisenhower chairmen, co-chairmen and workers from 39 states and Hawaii were greeted by President Eisenhower at the opening session Thursday, May 31, and Vice President Nixon formally closed the convention June 1.

The Citizens' leaders also heard Dr. George D. Flemmings, NAACP board member from Texas, and President of the national fraternity, Phi Beta Sigma, tell why he was voting for Eisenhower after supporting Democratic administrations "for more than thirty years."

Republican Congress

Leaders of the Citizens For Eisenhower organization, which is headed by John Reed Kilpatrick as National Chairman and Mrs. Dorothy D. Houghton as National Co-chairman, were also addressed by Richard L. Tobin, Director of Public Relations.

Mr. Tobin told the delegates that a 5 to 10 per cent switch in the Negro votes this year "would almost certainly" mean the election of a Republican Congress. Also on the campaign conference program was Mrs. Robert L. Vann, president of the "Pittsburgh Courier."

Survey finds Negro critical of Stevenson

NEW YORK — Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging toward the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson, the Reporter magazine claimed today.

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow," the study reports, "the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic Party. . . ."

In "The Negro Vote and the Democrats," Robert Bendiner, recent winner of the Benjamin Franklin magazine award, also reports that a good segment of the Negro press is moving away from the Democrats, and he quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

Bendiner attributes the feeling against Stevenson to his "gradualist" stand on desegregation and the bitter opposition by Southern Democrats to the Supreme Court's decision.

Bendiner said that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote ran close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 percent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

However, Bendiner adds, "the saving grace, from the Democratic viewpoint, is that the rebellion appears to be working down from the top and may not go deep enough into the rank and file by November to be as disastrous as Republican strategists fondly hope."

GENERAL

Northern Republican Scores GOP Efforts For Negro Vote

By MORRIS CUNNINGHAM
From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 17. — A Wisconsin Republican woman has taken vigorous exception to her party's efforts to win the North's Negro vote.

Mrs. Robert A. Murray of Oshkosh, Wis., wrote Senator James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) Friday denouncing the Republican campaign among Northern Negroes as "scurrilous and outrageous."

Registering "one voice of protest," Mrs. Murray enclosed copies of the printed propaganda which she said is being sent out with a covering letter from the Republican National Committee.

"I do not know who wrote the invectives and highly colored statements in this unfortunate mailing piece," she said, "but if they had the help of a staff write for the (communist) Daily Worker it couldn't have been done any better."

'Southern Race-Baiters'

The six propaganda pieces she enclosed, including a copy of the Republican National Committee letter, emphasize the theme that a Northern vote for the Democrats is a vote for "the Southern race-baiters."

"When you feed the head of a dog," one leaflet headlines, "you nourish the whole body.

"Remember, when you vote for a Democratic senator, representative or alderman in New York, Chicago, Detroit—or elsewhere—you vote to make Eastland and the Southern race-baiters chairmen of the important committees in Congress."

Signed By Negro

Another piece, headed "Here's the Score," lists the Southern Democrats who become committee chairmen when Democrats control the Senate.

Behind the name of each Southern senator are symbols indicating whether he promoted the Dixie Manifesto, signed the Manifesto, or has engaged in Senate filibusters.

The Republican National Committee letter bears the name of Leonard W. Hall, Republican national chairman, but is written over the signature of Val. J. Washington, the committee's Negro director of minorities.

'Ask Yourself'

Addressed to the 16,700,000 American Negroes, the letter demands:

"Ask yourself: Haven't many of us been cutting our own throats by voting for Democrat

Follows Communist Theme

"One need only read the Daily Worker and communist literature to realize to what extent the subversive forces in this country are using this issue to foment the very thing which will destroy every freedom we cherish in this country.

"As one Republican who appreciates what you have been doing to continue the good fight for America, I apologize for this latest attack from a most unexpected source."

To underscore her remarks, Mrs. Murray sent a copy of her letter to Robert Humphrey, campaign director of the Republican National Committee.

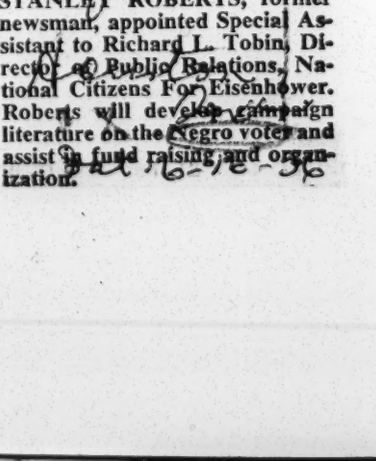
N.A.A.C.P. Lauds Vote Proposal

WASHINGTON, May 13 (AP).—An official of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People said today that President Eisenhower's civil rights proposals would be a "positive help" in breaking down Negro voting bars in the south.

Clarence Mitchell, Washington rirector of the N. A. A. C. P., said the proposals sent to the Democratic-controlled Congress would "go a long way" toward ending discrimination against Negroes at the ballot box.

"Once it is made clear that the right to vote will be protected by the Attorney General in the Federal courts, I think those who promote discouragement of Negro voting will be afraid to dot it," Mr. Mitchell said in an interview.

The House Judiciary Committee has approved the Administration's four-point civil rights program. Majority and minority reports are scheduled to be filed with the committee Tuesday. The measure will go to the powerful House Rules Committee which can clear it for a House vote or can pigeonhole it. However, a petition signed by a majority of the House members —218—could bring it to the floor if it runs into Rules Committee trouble.



Layne Photo

STANLEY ROBERTS, former newsman, appointed Special Assistant to Richard L. Tobin, Director of Public Relations, National Citizens For Eisenhower. Roberts will develop campaign literature on the Negro voter and assist in fund raising and organization.

Loyalty Of Negro To Demos Wavers

Post-Herald. 6-14-56
Bham, Ala.

BY CHARLES LUCEY
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, June 13—The quarter-century political allegiance of Negro voters to the Democratic Party—since Franklin Roosevelt's day—is showing signs of cracking on the West Coast as in industrial centers of the East.

Some Negro leaders say already a certain minimum shift to President Eisenhower and the Republicans this Fall is certain. Others say preponderant Negro loyalty to the Democrats is wavering and that part of the Negro vote can go either way. Aside from Negro community leaders, it is easy to find among educated, middle-class Negroes those who predict a greater Negro vote for the GOP than in many years.

How great the shift becomes depends on civil rights policies laid down by the two parties at their national conventions, Negro leaders say. The western tendency to shift is less pronounced than in the east, but it is clearly present.

Democrats are cheered by Adlai Stevenson's big California Negro vote last week, but the signs are they will have trouble holding past Negro strength when the battle is party vs party, Dwight Eisenhower against a Democratic nominee, this Fall.

The point is that if the Republicans can cut into the Democratic Negro vote by five or 10 per cent it could make a difference in close races in populous states, perhaps particularly in U. S. Senate and House contests.

The Montgomery, Ala., bus strike, the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama and the Emmett Till case in Mississippi have made many Negroes question their Democratic allegiance.

Here in Los Angeles, Lee Merriwether, secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, comments:

"I think a five per cent shift from Democrats to Republicans is conservative.

At NAACP regional offices in San Francisco, Executive Director Williams said:

"This is the year when the Republicans could and very well make inroads on the Negro vote.

"I think everyone recognizes President Eisenhower has extreme popularity among all segments of the community.

In Los Angeles, a Negro city fireman and an airline baggage checker agreed:

"You'll see more Negroes voting for Eisenhower this year than for any Republican in many years.

That's how Negroes are talking now."

Wilkins Predicts Race Vote Switch

Memphis Press-Scimitar Sat. 6-16-56
Courier 6-16

JACKSON, Miss. 2 (INS) —Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, says that segregation is "dead as sure as God made little green apples."

Speaking before some 2,500 cheering Negroes at a state-wide NAACP rally in Jackson's Masonic Temple, Wilkins also predicted that fewer Negroes would vote the Democratic ticket in this year's presidential election.

The Negro leader said less than 50 per cent of Negro votes will go to the Democrats in 1956, compared to the 70 to 80 per cent usually cast for that party. He added:

"Of course, the big city machines won't lose the Negro vote, but there will be a big drop off in the smaller cities and in the rural areas."

Wilkins warned that "this is their (the Democrats) last chance to deliver. We are hoping the Democrats will come through with some of their campaign promises of 1925."

He asserted that Negroes will want platform planks this year that are "more than just mere Court ruling is the law of the land. There must be an affirmative step put forward."

The rally was called to increase the Negro vote in Mississippi which has run around 6,000 in past years.

GOP WOOS NEGROES, ABERNETHY CHARGES

Commercial Appeal 6-21-56
Memphis Tenn.

Northern Vote Is Goal, He Asserts

From The Commercial Appeal Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, June 20.—Representative Tom Abernethy (D., Miss.) Wednesday attacked Republican efforts to woo the Northern Negro vote.

And he contrasted these efforts with the statements of Republican speakers who visit the South.

He noted that recently a Republican speaker in Jackson, Miss., charged some Mississippians and Gov. J. P. Coleman would "sacrifice principles for personal gain" and would "swallow whatever the Democratic convention offers in the way of a platform and nominee."

Mr. Abernethy said the speaker was implying that "the Republican Party was sympathetic to the Southern viewpoint on civil rights, segregation and the like, and was bidding for Southern support."

But on almost the same day, he said, a speaker at a Republican rally in Washington "devoted exactly one-half of his speech to the importance of the Negro vote."

He said the speaker here stressed the Administration's accomplishments in the civil rights field and said that, "under a Democratic Congress, bigoted Southern hacks became chairmen of important committees."

He also quoted the Washington speaker as saying: "Drum into Negro voters over and over again this true fact: A vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland."

Mr. Abernethy made his remarks in a news letter to his constituents.

Our Leaders Warning Us.. 'Be Hard to Get in 1956'

Courier 6-16
Pittsburgh Pa.

Returns from Florida and California reveal that Negro voters in both states supported the "moderate" approach of Adlai Stevenson, in preference to the more outspoken appeals of Senator Estes Kefauver, in their appeal for our votes. Sat. 6-16-56

In Florida's Dade County, where Miami is located, Negro districts gave Stevenson an edge of 3-to-1 over the hand-shaking Tennesseean.

Instead of neutralizing the Negro vote, Kefauver lost the Negro districts of San Francisco, Los Angeles and Oakland by a wide margin—as much as 5-to-1.

Although Stevenson apparently got off on the **"wrong foot"** at Fresno on Feb. 4, and was accused of being "too vacillating," he apparently made up for all the ground he had lost earlier.

■

KEFAUVER HAD accused Stevenson of taking **"conflicting stands"** on integration.

■

THE NEW APPROACH!

NEGRO LEADERS are sounding a note of **caution** to Negro voters this year.

..ROY WILKINS (in Mississippi): "There will be **smaller** percentages of Negroes voting for the Democrats than last time.. We are **still** hoping they (the Dems) will put through some of their campaign promises of 1952 during this session of Congress."

■

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH (in Chicago; "Negroes must remain politically **uncommitted, so** that neither the Republicans nor the Democrats can **take** our vote for granted . . ."

CONCLUSION: They're leading from strength!

■

BIRMINGHAM, Ala.—The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights has replaced the outlawed NAACP in Alabama. Five hundred cheering people, under the leadership of the Rev. **F. L. Shuttlesworth,** formed the group . . . **"dedicated** to wiping out racial segregation."

■

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Micah Jenkins, state chairman of the WCC, says he will lead a movement to have a third party slate of electors on the Presidential ballot.

■

WHA' HAPPENED! Why did the Ink Spots fail to appear at Atlanta's Steak Ranch last week? Booked in for a week's engagement, they called it off . . . said one of their members was ill . . .Grapevine tells another story!

■

AH! THAT PARIS . . . Triple-play at Josephine Baker's **estate** in Dordogne, June 4, saw Jo and her wealthy husband "Jo" Bouillon celebrate their **9th** wedding anniversary . . . saw her brother married to the village **postmistress** . . . and saw Josephine celebrate her **50th** birthday.

Negro Vote Seen Power In Election

Post-Herald
Bham, Ala.
Mon. 8-6-56

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5 (AP)—Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said tonight the Negro vote is strong enough to influence this year's presidential election.

He said, however, that failure by either political party to endorse a strong civil rights plank may not necessarily result in "wholesale defection" of Negro voters.

"We believe that no political party that ignores the Supreme Court decision is being realistic," Wilkins said on the NBC "Meet the Press" TV and radio program.

The Negro leader was referring to the Supreme Court's decision outlawing segregation in public schools.

Wilkins said the NAACP does not favor a "moderate" pace in integrating public schools in the South.

"We don't believe we are going too fast," he said. "Waiting for voluntary action would not result in anything. There have been no such signs in the South."

Wilkins was asked why the NAACP failed to obey an Alabama Supreme Court order that the organization produce its membership list in the state.

He replied that the refusal was to protect the NAACP members in the state from "prosecution, physical threats and violence." He added that "if, in the final determination, the U. S. Supreme Court told us to submit the membership list, we probably would submit it."

Negro Voters Seen Fleeing Democrats

Daily World P. 1
Thurs. 3-24-56 Atlanta, Ga.

NEW YORK — (INS) — A survey conducted by a national magazine showed Wednesday that Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging to the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson.

The study, conducted by Reporter magazine, said:

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow, the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic party . ."

NEGRO PRESS TO

The article reported that a large segment of the Negro press also is moving away from the Democrats and it quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

The author of the article, Robert Bendiner, points out that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Bendiner added, however:

HOPE HELD P. 4

"The saving grace, from the Democratic viewpoint, is that the rebellion appears to be working down from the top and may not go deep enough into the rank and file by November to be as disastrous as Republican strategists fondly hope."

Writer Feels Negro Vote May Swing Republican

World Fri. 6-8-56 Bham, Ala

NEW YORK, N. Y. - (ANP) - Negro voters, consistently Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging toward the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson, a study in The Reporter revealed.

District of Columbia And Alabama Voting

World-Telegram and Sun New York

By RAYMOND LAHR,
United Press Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 1.—Voters in Alabama and the District of Columbia cast ballots in Presidential primaries today.

Tues. 5-1-56

The district balloting provided a contest between delegate slates pledged to Adlai E. Stevenson and Sen. Estes Kefauver (D., Tenn.) in the Democratic primary. But only six convention votes were involved.

In Alabama, a state with 26 convention votes, delegates were unpledged, but about one half have said they favor Mr. Stevenson.

Regarding the District of Columbia primary, Mr. Kefauver said he feared he was behind.

Fewer than 60,000 residents registered for Washington's first primary since the Grant administration. The Republican primary in Washington is a formality. All candidates favor President Eisenhower.

Some 400,000 voters are registered in the Alabama primary.

The major issue was Alabama's Gov. James E. (Kissin' Jim) Folsom, and his race for the national Democratic committeeman post.

The Folsom controversy overshadowed Sen. Lister Hill's race to retain his U.S. Senate seat, opposed by Navy Adm. John G. Crommelin, a World War II naval hero who was retired after his outspoken criticism of defense policies.

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow," the study reports, "the Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic Party."

In a copyrighted article, "The Negro Vote and the Democrats" Robert Bendiner, recent winner of the Benjamin Franklin Magazine Award, also reports that a good segment of the Negro press is moving away from the Democrats, and he quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

Bendiner, who interviewed Negro political and civic leaders across the country attributes the feeling against Stevenson to his "gradualist" stand on desegregation and the bitter opposition by Southern Democrats to the Supreme Court's decision.

Bendiner points out that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman-Dewey campaign, could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Today, he says, after interviews with Negro political and civic leaders, the swing against Stevenson and the Democratic party would result in a loss of votes greater than the decisive 15 per cent difference.

Open Drive To Force Rights Bill To Vote

AP-Atlanta P. 11
Washington, D. C.

A drive to force the mild Administration civil rights bill to the House floor developed as Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) announced that if necessary he would move June 5 to discharge the House Rules Committee from control of the bill.

The Administration proposals, in the meantime, were called "belated" and "rather inadequate" but also a "step in the right direction" by Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO legislative representative, in testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Sat. 6-2-56

Three Major Provisions

The Administration-sponsored measure, already approved by a strong majority of the House Judiciary Committee, has three major provisions:

- It would establish a Commission on Civil Rights to "investigate allegations" that some citizens are being denied the right to vote and are "subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of color or race," and to appraise federal policies on equal protection of the laws.
- An additional assistant attorney general, to head a proposed Civil Rights Division, would be authorized for the Justice Dept.
- The attorney general could bring civil actions in federal courts to prevent or redress practices which violate civil rights statutes.

"We are pleased," Biemiller told the Senate committee, "that this Administration has seen fit after a little over three years in office to turn its attention to (the) vital subject of civil rights legislation."

On the first section, Biemiller said, the AFL-CIO would be "happy" to have a civil rights inquiry made by the appropriate congressional committees. "If Congress does not undertake such a study, we agree that a public commission should be established."

The proposal for one more lawyer in the Justice Dept. "does not strike us as earth-shaking," he testified, but "we are in favor" of it.

The third section "has somewhat more substance," Biemiller declared, and "we are strongly in favor" of it.

Provisions Denounced

Criminal prosecution in certain constitutional cases may increase "the very community tensions which give rise to the civil rights violation," and local juries "simply will not convict," he said.

Biemiller pointed out that the protection of citizens' rights by civil suit was embodied in S. 903, sponsored by Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.), and urged enactment of this bill.

He also advocated an anti-lynching bill and a measure to establish as a federal crime the killing of any member of the Armed Forces "while engaged in the performance of his official duties."

Despite the heavy majority of the House committee voting in favor of the Administration bill, its provisions were hotly denounced by a seven-member minority including six Southern Democrats and one Southern Republican.

"Absolutely shocking," this minority called the bill.

Despite reports that an agreement might be reached for the House Rules Committee to clear the bill for floor action, the measure has remained bottled up.

Parliamentary rules require delay until after June 4 before a discharge petition can be filed.

The bill will move automatically to the floor if a majority of the House membership signs the petition to discharge the Rules Committee.

Both Parties Seek Negro Vote

Journal & Guide Oct. 6-16-56 P. 9

ATLANTA, Ga. — Despite the use of tricks to keep Negroes from voting in some states of the South, their strength has increased to such an extent that neither political party can afford to ignore it in the presidential election in November. Both parties seek Negro support in November.

Already candidates in the race for the nomination at the Democratic and Republican national conventions are making a strong bid for Negro support. Keen competition is on among the candidates, each trying to outdo the other in promises on civil rights and desegregation, which are important issues in the campaign.

* * *

BOTH THE Democrats and Republicans will insist on a strong civil rights plank in the party platform to appeal to Negro voters. Only the southern wing of the two parties will be opposed to such a plank. But some news commentators say the national Democratic party may feel that in the future it can get along without the South.

With the aid of Negro votes in the North and West, the Democrats elected Mr. Truman with four southern states bolting the party. The coalition of Negro votes, the labor vote and regular party members beat the Republicans despite heavy votes which Governor Thomas E. Dewey polled.

* * *

THE NEGRO'S voting strength has increased steadily in the past ten years. In less than 100 years the Negro has advanced from slavery to a place of political power, which must be recognized by both political parties.

Current estimates place the Negro vote between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000. It has been increasing fast in the last five years despite severe registrations and restrictions in some localities in several southern states.

* * *

NEGRO voters went over in mass to the Democratic party during the New Deal administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. By the time Harry Truman ran for a full term in 1948, practically all Negroes in the South were voting the Democratic ticket. The bitter opposition of southern democrats in Congress and southern state leaders to the desegregation decisioi of the U. S. Supreme Court may cause a shift of Negro votes to the Republican party this year.

A survey by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People after the 1952 presidential election disclosed that in 50 cities of the North and South about 75 per cent of the Negro voters had supported Adlai E. Stevenson, the Democratic candidate.

* * *

ONE OF THE most significant cases won by Negroes in their struggle for the franchise was the 1944 Supreme Court decision in a Texas case. The court ruled that the right to vote "is not to be nullified by a state through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election."

Following this victory for Negro voters, some states resorted to other means to curtail the Negro vote. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Mississippi began to use strict voter registration tests. In poll, tax states Negroes have two obstacles to hurdle - the poll tax, which has to be paid annually and registration.

* * *

..IN SOME localities the standard requirement is the ability to read and interpret the United States and state constitutions. In some localities in the South unbelievable tricks have been resorted to in order to baffle the Negroes.

"How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?" was a Mississippi test, according to a complaint in 1954 by the NAACP.

Negroes have a balance of power in a few strategic states and could determine the results in a close election. This is possible in states like New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, California and Missouri.

Article Discusses Negro Vote and Demos in 1956

Tribune & Herald Lulsa, Okla.
Thurs. 5-31-56

NEW YORK, N. Y.— Negro voters, constantly Democratic since 1936, appear to be swinging toward the Republican Party and are markedly critical of Adlai Stevenson, a study in THE REPORTER revealed today.

"It is safe to say that if Stevenson were to run against Eisenhower tomorrow," the study reports, "The Negro vote would show a very marked swing away from the Democratic Party. . . ."

In a copyrighted article, "The Negro Vote and the Democrats," Robert Bendiner, recent winner of the Benjamin Franklin Magazine award, also reports that a good segment of the Negro press is moving away from the Democrats, and he quotes the editor of the Chicago Defender as predicting "a major shift in political alignments" by Negroes this year.

Bendiner, who interviewed Negro political and civic leaders across the country, attributes the feeling against Stevenson to his "gradualist" stand on desegregation and the bitter opposition by Southern Democrats to the Supreme Court's decision.

Negroes Voted Democratic

Bendiner points out that from 1936 through 1952, the Negro vote has run close to 80 per cent Democratic, and in close elections, like the Truman - Dewey campaign could have cost the Democrats their victory with less than a 15 per cent switch in key states like California, Ohio and Illinois.

Today, he says, after interviews with Negro political and civic leaders, the swing against Stevenson and the Democratic Party would result in a loss of votes greater than the decisive 15 per cent difference.

However, Bendiner adds, "the saving grace, from the Democratic view point, is that republican appears to be working down from the top and may not go deep enough into the rank and file by November to be as disastrous as Republican strategists fondly hope."

He says, too, that continuation of a prosperous economy is still another factor that will be decisive in November.

Political Unrest Seen

Nevertheless, the study reveals that "political unrest among Negro voters has been swelling ever since the first violent Southern reactions to the Supreme Court's ban on segregation in the schools."

Leaders of the revolt include officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization theoretically nonpartisan, but which "has run in easy harness with the New Deal Fair Deal party,' Bendiner says.

Recently, he reports, the NAACY's Washington Director, Clarence Mitchell, warned that if the Democratic Party persists in weighing itself down with such an "albatross" as Senator James O. Eastland, of Mississippi, it may have to "kiss our votes good-bye."

Negro politicians across the nation told Bendiner that mot criticism is directed against Stevenson.

Gradualism is Cited

"Everywhere I went in Negro communities, I found this word 'gradualism' the red rag. . . ." Bendiner reports. "Colored leaders Democrat and Republican alike, seemed appalled at the staff work that allowed Stevenson to use the hated word. . . ."

A New York Negro leader, Bendiner says, said simply that Stevenson "has lost status among Negro voters" who feel he is "pusyfooting and playing for Southern support." Another reported that Negro political circles regard Stevenson as a "false-hearted lover" and that Negro party workers consider him "a dead duck right now."

A Philadelphia Republican Negro worker, conceding that the "G.O.P. itself is not loved by the Negroes" of that city, says that Stevenson cannot recover the Negro vote because Negroes "stopped listening" to him after his pronouncement on gradulaism. Both in Philadelphia and Baltimore, political leaders said that Negroes will probably "turn to the Republicans no matter what they do." They will "vote against the Democrats, not for the Republicans." Bendiner reports them as saying.

Bendiner also emphasized the "positive appeal" that President Eisenhower has for Negro voters in his own right.

Credit to Eisenhower

"It is impossible to talk politics in a colored gathering," he reports, "without hearing that the president has contributed quite a bit to the cause of Negro advancement.

he adds that most people he talked to feel the Democrats can hold the Negro vote in line "only if they adopt an uncompromising plank on civil rights, an unequivocal stand on enforcing the Supreme Court's ruling.'

Bendiner concludes that the "sizable bloc" of "militant and frustrated" Negroes will not vote Democratic, adding:

'A majority of Negro votes will probably be found in the Democratic column even in this year of strong emotion, but all the signs are that the days of 80 percent majorities are over and done with."

34e 1956

Rep. Simpson sees upswing in Northern Negro GOP vote

WASHINGTON, March 16—(AP)—Rep. Richard M. Simpson (R., Pa.), chairman of the GOP congressional campaign committee, today predicted a big upswing in the Northern Negro vote for Republicans this year.

And Rep. Powell (D., N. Y.), one of three Negro House members, told a news conference yesterday "many Negroes will desert" the Democratic Party unless it returns to what he called the stronger civil rights policies of former President Truman.

Powell said President Eisenhower has not been as affirmative in favor of civil rights as he was earlier in his term.

SIMPSON SAID the Negro vote in big Northern cities ran about 4-1 in favor of the Democrats in 1952, but now is swinging "very definitely toward the Republicans."

By election time this Fall, he said, it should be evenly split between the two parties and should help swing into the GOP column some contested congressional seats. He specifically mentioned Philadelphia and St. Louis.

He declared the Negroes "appreciate" what he termed civil rights gains under the Eisenhower administration.

REP. MADDEN (D., Ind.), chairman of the executive committee for the Democratic campaign group, said the Negroes know that "the Democratic Party with the exception of the Southern leaders has been leading the fight for civil rights."

Sen. Monroney (D., Okla.) predicted the Democrats will close ranks by mid-August. He discounted the effects on party harmony of the "manifesto" signed by more than 100 Southern members of Congress and said "the Democrats are not as divided as the Republicans would like to believe."

The manifesto pledged use of all "lawful means" to seek a reversal of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing racal segregation in the public schools.

GENERAL

THOMAS L. STOKES

Contest to Win the Negro Vote

G. O. P. Civil Rights Plan, However Mild, Poses Challenge to Democrats

The contest between Republican and Democratic Parties to win Negro votes in large urban centers in this November's presidential election will revolve partly, so far as Congress is concerned, around a civil rights legislative program to protect the rights of Negroes, including the right of franchise now being denied in some parts of the South.

The Eisenhower administration finally took its ground in the series of proposals submitted to Congress early this week by Attorney General Herbert Brownell, jr. These are mild in character. They are in fact matched, and in some respects even exceeded, by a series of bills jointly introduced over a year ago by a bipartisan civil rights bloc of Republican Senators and Northern and Western Democratic Senators. Three of these measures recently were reported favorably to the Senate Judiciary Committee by its Constitutional Rights Subcommittee headed by Senator Tom Hennings, Democrat of Missouri.

Nevertheless the civil rights issue offers a political challenge to the national Democratic Party which will require considerable vigor and plenty of diplomacy to meet in this pre-election session. This is because of the hostility to civil rights legislation found in the Southern wing of the party which is so well entrenched in Congress in key positions and therefore speaks with such authority on policy. This powerful Southern element also is unusually sensitive now on this subject because of the Supreme Court public school integration decision which keeps the spotlight constantly on the South.

The Democratic Party nationally is somewhat embarrassed as the civil rights issue is projected into Congress because one of the Southern extremists—Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi—recently succeeded upon the death of Senator Harley M. Kilgore, Democrat of West Virginia, to chairmanship of the Judiciary Committee which will have jurisdiction in the Brownell program and similar civil rights proposals espoused by Northern Democrats.

This imposes upon the party leaders outside of the South the problem of somehow breaking through the barrier of Senator Eastland as well as other Southern Democrats influential in the party organization that now controls the Senate.

A tip-toe approach is noted in both the Eisenhower administration and the Democratic civil rights bloc toward civil rights legislation in this election year. That is evidence of the desire of both to give the South the least possible offense while trying at the same time to woo Negro votes in critical urban districts outside the South. From either or both areas might come the decisive votes in the November election.

For example, the controversial bill to prevent discrimination in employment on account of race, color or national origin—the long-familiar FEPC — is included in neither the Brownell program nor in the three bills reported to the Judiciary Committee by the Hennings subcommittee.

Those three bills were described as "a minimum basic package of civil rights legislation" by Senator Hubert Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, who is among those pushing for action by his party at this session. By leaving out the FEPC the Democratic civil rights bloc avoids the certain filibuster by Southern Senators which would meet submission to the Senate of such a proposal, and which would, of course, dramatize for all to see the split in the party over civil rights.

The Brownell program and that embodied in the three bills reported by the Hennings subcommittee are similar in major respects. Both include a bill to create another Assistant Attorney General to head a new civil rights division in the Department of Justice. Included in both programs, too, are bills to outlaw practices by which Negroes are prevented from voting in some parts of the South by threats, intimidation, and economic boycotts. Such practices cropped up in Mississippi, for instance, in the wake of the Emmett Till murder and the renewed activity that crime provoked by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The Brownell program also includes a proposal that Congress create a six-member, bipartisan commission to study the whole field of civil rights with the aim of strengthening their preservation and protection. This would be authorized by bills now pending in Congress, including one by Senator Humphrey, but the Hennings subcommittee did not include it in its recent report. It did, however, include a bill for a Federal antilynching law which was not recommended by the Attorney General.

Senator Humphrey said he believes that a majority of the Senate Judiciary Committee, eight of its 15 members—four of each party—would approve the three bills and send them to the Senate for action if all these Senators could get to a meeting of the committee at the same time—something that has not occurred. The Attorney General's recommendations put the finger on Republican members of the committee. Up to now the committee has exhibited apathy on civil rights legislation which Senator Eastland certainly is not going to rush in to try to dispel, though it is reported he would not interpose obstacles if a majority of the committee showed itself really desirous of getting the bills out of committee.

DEMOCRATS WORRY OVER THE NEGRO VOTE

Rep. Powell of New York, a Democrat, says Mr. Eisenhower's Republican advisors are keeping him from driving ahead on a program of civil rights for Negroes. For the first two years of the term, Mr. Eisenhower's performance in these matters delighted Mr. Powell, but it seems that of late the palace guard has hog-tied the President, progress has ceased, and there has been some backsliding.

The moral which Mr. Powell wishes Negro voters to draw is that their cause will be advanced if they help put a Democrat in the White House and elect enough Democrats to Congress to retain control of both houses.

This is nonsense, as Mr. Powell must know, but it is significant nonsense. It goes a long way toward proving that northern Democratic politicians are fearful of losing the Congressional districts in which the Negro vote is heavy. In recent years, these districts have gone Democratic.

Negro voters are expected to forget that, with the fewest exceptions, all the southern members of Congress are Democrats and, almost to a man, favor segregation, and deplore the Supreme court's opinion that segregation in the public schools violates the 14th amendment. There are no Republicans among the trustees of the University of Alabama who voted to exclude Miss Autherine Lucy. It is safe to say that the Tuscaloosa mob which demonstrated against Miss Lucy was composed overwhelmingly of Democrats. It was a Democratic district attorney who asked for the indictment of the Negro preachers in Montgomery, Ala., and a Democratic judge who convicted and sentenced the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. on the charge of organizing the bus boycott.

That is to say, close to half of the Democratic strength in Congress demands segregation because the voters back home in the south, mostly Democrats, demand it.

Republicans ought not to push this point too far. They must admit, in candor, that every man who has been considered seriously as a Democratic candidate for President is committed against segregation and can be expected to uphold the Supreme court's decision.

Honest Republicans must admit, also, that Rep. Powell isn't the only politician who is trying to win the Negro voters with deceptive words. Mr. Eisenhower has asked for a bipartisan civil rights commission that isn't likely to accomplish anything useful but would provide a forum in which angry men on both sides could work themselves into rages. The President says that if Congress won't give him the commission, he will call a civil rights conference, which will serve almost as well to make everybody madder. We cannot believe that either of these devices will contribute to the settlement of a difficult problem.

But, coming back to Mr. Powell, if it is true, as he says, that the next President's policies on segregation will be strongly influenced by those in closest touch with him—his palace guard—the Negroes have far more reason for desiring a Republican victory than a Democratic one. With a Democratic victory, leading congressional committees would continue to have segregationist chairmen and there would be more professional southerners in and around the White House than will be found there if the Republicans win.

Votes And Bluffing

The impression is being spread around that the Negro vote, for more than 20 years, the exclusive property of the Democratic Party is on the verge of shifting back to the Republican Party where it held a long lease since the freed slaves were given the right to vote.

The possibility has both political parties sitting on the edges of their seats and chewing nails. Both sides, however, are craftily trying to figure out how they can get the prize without giving up much. In other words, the boys are trying to play us cheap. The Democrats scoff at the idea of Negroes leaving and they go back in history and dig up a long recital of how good we had it under Roosevelt and Truman. The Republicans counter with "Look what we've done in Washington."

We're not taking away any credit from Roosevelt, and it's the Lord's truth that we're still wild about Harry, but gone are the days and we can't rest on the past. And as for the party in power, pardon us if we remind them that there are a few people outside of Washington, D. C. and the scrubbing in is needed elsewhere too.

We might as well let both sides in on a secret. The price is high and it isn't coming down. We're all for listening, but the phoney stuff goes back to the warehouse. Maybe somebody else can use it. Our price is an airtight civil rights platform with no escape hatches. And we aren't bluffing.

Primary In Washington

Voters Gave Adlai Stevenson Delegates Big Majority Over Those For Estes

BY JAMES FREE
Washington Correspondent
The Birmingham News

ALABAMIANS WERE too busy with their own Democratic primary election last Tuesday to have paid much attention to the small-fry District of Columbia primary held that same day. But there are several things about this District vote—the first of its kind in 82 years—that ought to be of interest to the remainder of the country, to the South in particular.

Most important is that a slate of convention delegates pledged to Adlai Stevenson won by a surprisingly wide margin over the delegates who favored Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee. And this in spite of the fact that both Kefauver and his campaign manager, F. Joseph Donohue, have lived here for many years. Donohue, in fact, is a former member of the District Board of Commissioners.

Kefauver did considerably more campaigning here than did Stevenson. And, due to Washington's large Negro population, many observers thought that the senator would get a big share of this vote. After all, Kefauver has been stronger for D. C. "home rule" and his statements on integration have won more praise from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People than have the "moderate" statements of Stevenson.

Yet, in the showdown, Stevenson got just as many—if not more—Negro votes than did Kefauver.

Why? No one can be sure of all the answers, of course. Yet several weeks before election day a prominent Negro educator, who favored Stevenson, predicted that most Negroes would not vote for Kefauver. She explained that Negroes know that the senator says one thing about civil rights in California and something else on this same subject in Florida.

Whether Washington Is 'South' Is Question

ANOTHER FACTOR that probably had more effect in the District than it would have had anywhere else in the country is this: it is widely known and talked about here that Kefauver has only a handful of supporters on Capitol Hill, and none on the Senate side, while dozens of legislators openly prefer Stevenson. As one political reporter said waggishly: "Among those who know Estes bestes', it's Adlai 10 to 1."

In explaining Kefauver's defeat in Washington, Campaign Manager Donohue said that the Kefauver forces had to buck the united pro-Stevenson sentiment of the Democratic Central Committee of D. C. This sounds very much like the Kefauver claim in New Hamphire, Wisconsin, California and most everywhere else that Stevenson has the support of the "party machine" and the "bosses." It is difficult to see, though, how there could be much Democratic bossism in a city that does not have any Democratic patronage whatever and in which the voters have no say in their government.

It was said often in the years prior to integration in the public schools of Washington that the nation's capital was essentially a Southern city. When it turned out that only about one-third of the same 31,000 persons who registered to vote in the Democratic primary were Negroes, there were those who remarked that this seeming reluctance of Negroes to register and vote reminded them of the situation in some cities in the South.

Capitol Hill Support Is Considered Small

WHETHER WASHINGTON still has strong Southern influences of this kind may be debatable. But if there is even the slightest spell of Dixie in the District Democratic primary results, it bodes no good for Kefauver in the upcoming Florida primary.

On the other hand, if the D. C. victory for Stevenson is to be chalked up as a strictly non-Southern affair, this would lend no encouragement to the Kefauver cause in the forthcoming California primary.

In sum, the District primary and the six convention votes it involved may have been pretty small stuff. But it was no comfort to Kefauver any way one looks at it.

PRIMARIES SHOW BIG VOTING DROP

One-Ticket GOP Ballots Down in Percentage

WASHINGTON, May 6 (AP)—Nearly complete returns from the seven states that have held two-party presidential primaries so far this year showed today a drop in the total vote and a big percentage increase by the Democrats compared with the 1952 primary vote.

A tabulation by The Associated Press showed a total two-party vote of 5,285,468 in the seven East and Midwest states, compared with 6,539,093 in the same primaries four years ago. All seven states were carried by President Eisenhower in the 1952 general election.

While the aggregate Republican vote this year still topped the Democratic, the latter party pulled up greatly percentagewise, boosting its share of the total from 26.9 in 1952 to 45.1. The GOP percentage dropped from 73.1 to 54.9.

Republicans polled 2,899,263 and the Democrats 2,386,205 this year. In 1952 the respective totals were 4,782,126 and 1,756,967.

Demos Outpolled

Republicans outpolled the Democrats in all but Minnesota and Massachusetts this year, whereas four years ago the GOP led in all seven states.

Republican totals dropped in all seven states this year compared with 1952 and fell in percentage of the total vote in all except New Jersey. Democratic totals dropped in New Hampshire, Illinois, New Jersey and Massachusetts and gained in percentage of the total vote in all but New Jersey.

Both parties have given different interpretations of the state by state results. It is generally agreed, however, that primary votes vary from year to year because some years there will be hot contests in one or both parties and in other years intraparty competition will be lacking. Issues of course figure in the change.

Lack of GOP Fight

For example, New Hampshire's total vote of 99,430 this year was 36,729 less than the 1952 presidential primary record. The drop was due largely to lack of any real GOP fight this year. Four years ago the 1952 primary featured a sizzling Eisenhower-Taft struggle.

In Minnesota, for another example, the reversal of the 1952 situation this year with the Democratic vote more than doubling the Republican total, was attributed among other things to farm unrest, a wide open primary permitting cross-voting, and a hot Stevenson-Kefauver contest. There was no such Democratic competition in 1952.

A third example was in Massachusetts where the big drop in the 1956 vote was due to the almost complete lack of contests this year, whereas four years ago the Eisenhower-Taft battle attracted a heavy ballot turnout.

34e 1956

Can They Elect A President?

Daily World P. 1

Magazine Probes Negro Vote Power

Sat. 8-4-56 Atlanta Ga.

BY ERIC LINCOLN

The August 17th issue of Collier's Magazine has eight pages devoted to the question of the Negro voter, and whether he can elect the next president of this country. The article is written by Theodore H. White, and the implications to be drawn from the data presented are clear and unambiguous. They are also challenging.

The introduction to the very scholarly and well documented article reveals that "Negroes now hold the balance of power in America's five biggest cities. These cities in turn dominate states that cast 156 electoral votes, three fifths the number needed to elect a President. The drama of this month's national conventions will revolve in large part around the efforts of both major parties to convince American Negroes that politically they do not stand trapped.. 'between the devil and the suspected witch.' Whichever party succeeds best may well swing the crucial Negro vote - and the 1956 election - next November."

The major question confronting the vote-conscious politicians in both parties, is whether the Negro vote will again be overwhelmingly Democratic - as it has been since the Roosevelt area, or whether the Negro currently so freedom conscious and bent on equality - will return to the party of Abraham Lincoln and Dwight Eisenhower. There are inducements on either hand.

In the great cities of the North, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia. etc., the immense political power weilded by Negroes is principally under the aegis of the Democratic Party. Each of the three Negroes now in the United States Congress - Adam Powell of New York, William Dawson of Chicago, and Charles Diggs, Jr., of Detroit - is a Democrat, although Powell has indicated a willingness to ally himself with the Republicans at the first "emphatic demonstration" that they are willing to push civil rights faster than the Democrats.

Most of the other Northern Negroes who are prominent in politics are Democrats. The nine Negroes in the Michigan legislature, Chicago's five Negro aldermen, two Negro city councilors in Philadelphia, and two Negro assemblymen in California - are all Democrats

However, there are three stubborn factors which are currently threatening the continued allegiance of Negroes to the Democrats, and they are creative of the most intnse pontical anxiety that party has known in recent years. The first, (and the one most often overlooked), is the emergence of a genuine Negro middle class. The comfortable, suburban-dwelling, edcated "New Negro" has an ear for "Republicanism" "Roosevelt," he reasons, "is dead.' But Eastland, and now Talmadge, are very much alive. In the present crisis, a vote for the Democrats looks very much a vote for Eastland." This new generation is detemined not to be will weigh the issue - and carefully. They know that the ballot is still the most effective weapon.

EISENHOWER WILLING

Another factor is that Eisenhower has shown that he is willing to move "ium the right direction ' He has not given Negroes what they want most - effective protection at the ballot box, and in other areas affecting the exercise of civil liberties. On the other hand, the desegregation of the armed forces, and of the Washington public schools is a fact for all to see. He might do more, with encouragement at the polls.

Finally, Negroes have come to learn the effectiveness of ballot-splitting. As was said by Willoughby Abner, (Education and Political Action Director of the overwhelmingly Democratic UAW), "For the Negro, straight-ticket voting is too expensive a luxury this year." This year will probably see more "picking and choosing" among Negroes than at any other time in history.

GENERAL

Ticket splitting will begin at the top of the ballot, thereby continuing in office those "friendly local Democrats" while making certain that the national control is not returned to Democratic leadership.

A case in point is the California elections of 1954. In those elections, thirty Negro precincts - solidly Democratic, gave Democratic candidates the usual three-to-one margin, except in the case of the governorship. For governor, the Negroes voted for Goodwin Knight an ardent exponent of civil rights The Collier's article draws the very logical conclusion that "any such Negro vote-splitting in this fall's campaign in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago or Detroit, would doom the Democrats' hopes of carrying these states for the national ticket."

POWER OF VOTE

The power of the Negro vote is further illustrated by the following statistics: "In the 1054 gubernatorial election Harriman carried the whole Empire State by only 11,125 votes, while just one of New York City's five Negro districts gave him a majority of 20,221! Governor Williams statewide margin of victory in 1952 was 8,600 for all Michigan: but the solid-Negro 2nd, 5th and 7th Wards of Detroit gave him a margin of 28,123 votes alone."

And Collier's draws the conclusion that "potential power as great as this is too stupendous to be concealed - least of all from those who shape and lead it. And what has happened is that American Negro leaders have become aware of their strength; and they are determined to use it this year. Any white American in whose mind is still yesterday's fuzzy picture of Booker T. Washington, is today completely out of touch with reality...The NAACP is the (Negro's) senior legal arm, prying open opportunity after opporunity through the courts; the Urban League fights on the industrial front, wrenching open closed jobs in field after field; the Negro church has come alive, vibrant, passionate, inflaming politics with religion; a Negro press of constant and effective indignation amplifies and magnifies them all among their own people."

As this article goes to press, eleven Southern governors (or their representatives), from as many Southern states, have just concluded a meeting in Atlanta. All of them happened to be Democrats. Thier object? Concerted action to see that nothing is written into the convention platform of the Democratic Party (when they meet in Chicago next week), which will in any way encourage Negro Americans to hope for their rights as citizens.

Val Washington Disputes Gallop Poll On Negro Vote

Daily World P. 1

Thurs. 8-9-56 Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — Val Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee, Monday disputed a Gallop poll showing that there has been no shift in the colored vote from Democrats to Republicans since 1952.

"The Gallup Poll has been wrong before and probably is wrong this time in predicting that northern colored voters will go heavily Democratic in November no matter what the civil-rights planks of the two parties may be" said Mr. Washington adding:

The poll indicated that if President Eisenhower and Adlai E. Stevenson are pitted against each other in the Presidential election, 13 per cent more of the colored voters would vote for Eisenhower than did in 1952.

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If Eisenhower and Gov. Averell Harriman of New York are the candidates, the poll indicated that Eisenhower would get 41 per cent of the colored vote as compared with the 34 per cent he would receive if Stevenson opposes him.

"Certainly the findings of the Gallup Poll are in disagreement with all private polls and with the opinion of colored leaders and of professional politicians.

"The Gallup Poll gives the impression that colored voters are concerned with their own selfish individual economic condition and that the solid accomplishments of the Eisenhower Administration in the field of civil rights mean nothing to them.

"I think the Gallup Poll was never so wrong. The growing membership of the NAACP is proof that colored people are concerned with their civil rights.

"The whole question of civil rights was sharpened by the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954, outlawing racial segregation in public schools.

"Nearly every political writer who has surveyed the attitudes of colored voters in the forthcoming Presidential election has reported a shift to the Republican party.

"A recent article in a national magazine reported that a survey of top Democrats indicated increasing signs of defection was alarming Democrat party leaders.

"The article said Democrat leaders ranging from Harry Truman to Harry Byrd, now striving to prevent a southern bolt over the civil rights issue were unhappy because of the swi ch of colored voters to the Republicans.

"The survey found Democrats particularly alarmed in the North, where a substantial switch of the colored vote to the GOP could cost them not only the Presidency but control of Congress.

"That a considerable number of colored voters, who voted Democrat in 1952, will vote Republican in 1956 is evidenced by the fact that in various primary elections through out the country last spring they asked for Republican ballots.

"The 1952 election returns showed that 25 per cent of the votes in predominantly colored wards in the North, East and West voted Republicans. The Gallup Poll reports a shift of 13 per cent to President Eisenhower.

"On the basis of reports I have received from all over the country, I confidently believe that more than 50 per cent of the colored vote will go Republican in 1956."

Negro Voter Has Balance Of Power, Dr. Martin Says

Daily World Thurs. 7-19-56
Atlanta Ga.

The vitroilic attacks of Southern politicians against Supreme Court desegregation rulings are the result not of widespread pressure from white Southerners, but of a deliberate and sinister exploitation of the issues for political purposes, according to Dr. Robert Martin.

The Howard University political scientist who is currently teaching in the Atlanta University Summer School said, "Their protest is against the whole pattern of change, particularly against the Negro as a political force."

Speaking to the Atlanta University Summer School Assembly, he said that the fact that two-thirds of the potential Negro electorate does not vote constituted a challenge which Negro leadership must meet.

Dr. Martin discussed six factors which were changing established political patterns, developments which are important not only for Negro status, but for the nation as a whole, particularly the Southern scene. These are an increasing political interest among Negroes which has led to the development of civic consciousness; an increase in registration and voting, exemplified by the fact that Negro voting in the low income bracket in the North is double the white; a shift of the Nero from the Republican to the Democratic party, based on a more realistic appraisal of what the two parties have to offer him; a movement towards voting on class lines; urbanization with a resulting cohesiveness of the Negro vote; and an increasing sophistication of the Negro voter.

Negroes Feel Economic Link to Democrats

World-Telegram & Sun
7-14-56

By SAMUEL LUBELL.

The much-publicized Republican hopes for a major break in the Democratic solidarity of Negro voters seem to be fading into frustration.

Samuel Lubell

Here and there among the Negroes I have talked with in five cities across the country, an occasional one has said: "Eisenhower is best on civil rights," or "the Republicans were in when the Emancipation Proclamation was signed. Ike was in when schools were unsegregated. I'm changing."

But such shifts have been few. And in at least two cities—Los Angeles and Detroit—I actually found these GOP gains being offset by a shift back to the Democrats of Negroes who voted for Ike four years ago.

The main obstacle the Republicans have been unable to overcome, it is clear, is one basic fact: that the Negro's attachment to the Democratic party is more economic than racial.

Unemployment Factor.

Take a pullman porter in Chicago, who told me: "Eisenhower has done a lot to improve civil rights. My train gets into Washington at night. It used to be there were only six or seven places in that whole city where a Negro could eat. Eisenhower has changed all that."

But when I asked whom he would be voting for, this porter replied, "Democratic, of course. I'm a working man."

In Detroit, unemployment has sharpened this feeling which so many Negroes voice, that "the Republicans are the rich man's party and the Democrats are for the poor people." In one Negro precinct, a third of the families interviewed had some one out of a job. Still, in New York and Los Angeles, a common Negro complaint was this:

"It's easier to earn a buck under the Democrats. When the Republicans get in, the money goes somewhere. The big fellows must get it and hold onto it."

Considerable anger is expressed over how some Southern communities have resisted school integration. Many Negroes resent that neither the Democratic nor Republican platform called for vigorous enforcement of the Supreme Court's decision. As one Negro in Columbus, O., grumbled, "Both parties talk so much of world politics. Why don't they talk of what's happening here at home?"

State's Rights Issue.

A fair number of Negroes say flatly, "I'd vote for Eisenhowed" if he'd "speak out and say that he wants the law of the land enforced."

Said one 38-year-old truck driver in Los Angeles: "State's rights is bad for my people. It's what they use in the South to beat them. I'd go for Ike if he got off that states rights."

But with "both parties hedging" — to use one Harlem Negro's phrase — the dominant attitude seems to be that voiced by a Los Angeles music teacher who backed Eisenhower four years ago:

"I figure both parties will do about the same on civil rights. So I'll vote for the one that's best for me economically. I'm not rich enough to be a Republican."

Again, in Detroit an unemployed auto worker remarked, "Both parties have been talking nonsense on civil rights. They tell you everything to get elected and won't do any of it when they get in. But a man out of work doesn't vote for the people who put him out of work. I'll stick with the Democrats."

Republican Obstacle.

Still another obstacle the Republicans face is the sheer solidarity of Negro voting. Since the end of World War II, Negroes have been the one voting element in the country which has grown steadily more Democratic with each Presidential election. In 1948, Harry Truman drew a higher percentage of the Negro vote than had Franklin Roosevelt. In 1952 — despite the Eisenhower landslide — Adlai Stevenson got an even higher percentage than Truman did.

In well-to-do areas like the West Adams district of Los Angelest or Conant Gardens in Detroit, where homes range from $20,000 to $30,000, one finds a fair proportion of Republicans among the Negroes. But in the lower-income Negro precincts I visited, Stevenson supporters outnumbered Eisenhower voters 10 to 1. This means, of course, that in most of these neighborhoods there are almost no Negroes even to argue the Republican case.

Some Negroes recalled they had been "mad enough" to vote Republican earlier this year when the newspaper headlines were full of Autherine Lucy's trouble in Alabama. Although this anger still smolders, particularly among Negroes with relatives in the South, it tends to be talked down by the more Democratic Negroes.

Among the arguments being used are: "The groundwork for the Republican progress on civil rights was laid under the Democrats," or "Stevenson is a known liberal. He's not saying anything because he has to play politics, but Eisenhower is the President. He should speak out as a leader."

In sum, while a dramatic statement on civil rights by Mr. Eisenhower might still win over many Negro votes, at this point the most likely development seems reflected in the 15 Negroes interviewed who will be voting for the first time this November.

All but one of these first voters intends to go Democratic.

NEXT: A "surprise" in Detroit.

Voting Fraud

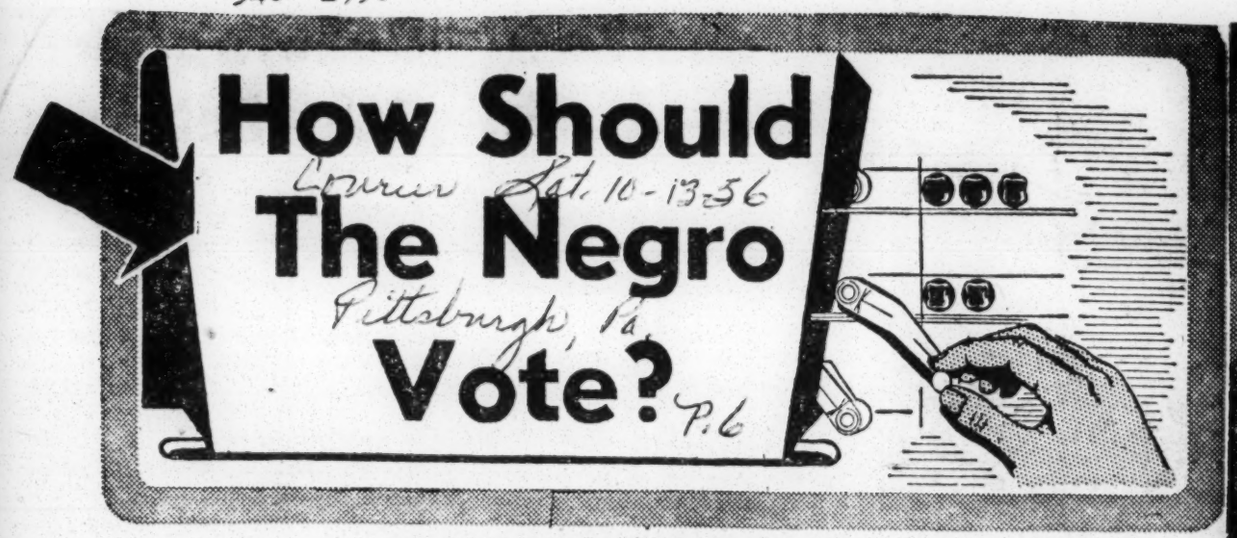
Post
Mon. 12-29-56

It is outrageous, though hardly surprising, that white supremacy groups in a number of Southern States have purged thousands of qualified Negro voters from the election rolls. Registration of Negroes has grown markedly in recent years. If Negroes in large numbers are allowed to vote, candidates for public office will necessarily become responsive to them; and the South's outmoded pattern of racial discrimination will wither. This is why the right to vote is basic to Negro emancipation; it is also why the opponents of emancipation are determined to rob Negroes of that right.

But voting is a right of American citizenship guaranteed by the Constitution to those qualified to exercise it. And protection of the right is a vital responsibility of the Federal Government. It is altogether appropriate, therefore, that Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III has expressed the lively concern of the Justice Department over the purging of election rolls. "In every instance where it can be shown that a qualified citizen was denied the right to vote simply because of color we intend to prosecute," he declared. Unfortunately, the threat, of itself, is hardly likely to be effectual. Under existing law, the Justice Department cannot prosecute until a voter has actually been denied the right to vote on Election Day—too late to give meaning to the right on Nov. 6. Moreover, it may be difficult to prove fraud in connection with the tortured technicalities by which Negroes are being disfranchised.

Washington, D.C.

The brazenness with which Negroes are being purged from election rolls demonstrates the imperative need for strengthened civil rights statutes—especially for the statute introduced in the closing days of the Eighty-fourth Congress empowering the Department of Justice to bring civil suits in cases where individuals are deprived of the right to vote and to seek a Federal injunction against groups threatening to interfere forcibly with the right to vote. Beyond this, there ought to be, as Mr. Olney suggested, a firm enforcement of the constitutional stipulation that when the right of qualified citizens to vote in national elections is abridged in any state, "the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such state." In the meantime, the moral and legal authority of the President and the Department of Justice ought to be exerted to their fullest possible extent to protect the right to vote.



Courier Sat. 10-13-56
Pittsburgh, Pa.
P.6

By P. L. PRATTIS, Executive Editor

THE question, "What Shall the Negro Do With His Vote?" has elicited from national leaders of Negro opinion the general consensus that Negroes should vote for men and issues which mean most to the welfare of the nation. This week excerpts from the answers of four more leaders are published.

Alexander P. Shaw, retired Bishop of the Methodist Church, states that he is "fully aware of the excellent service rendered us as a race under the administrations of Roosevelt and Truman."

"The foundation laid by these great Democratic leaders," continues Bishop Shaw, "has been built upon for further progress by **President Eisenhower** under whose administration the greatest single victory has been achieved: the decision of the Supreme Court against segregation in the public schools.

"It took 20 years for the Democrats to make the progress they made. I am therefore of the opinion that the Republican administration should be continued a longer time before there is any genuine opposition to its leaders.

"President Eisenhower is a **truly great man** which means more in genuine leadership than a great politician. I sincerely believe that it is for our best interests as a race to re-elect him and give him a Congress that will support his administration."

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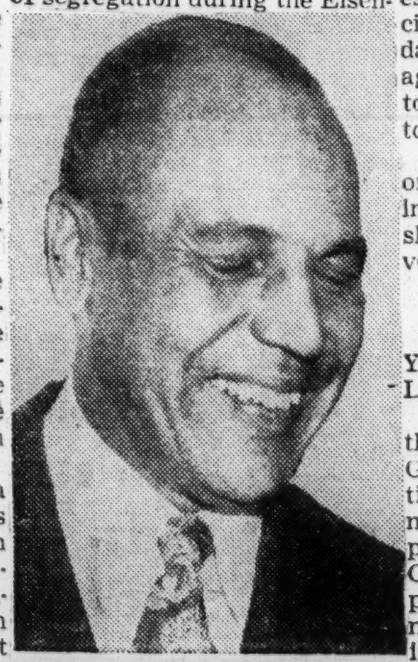
Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts, a member of the New York State Board of Social Welfare, writes:

"I think that party regularity is a luxury that only the professional politicians can afford this year. It seems to me more important to elect liberals to the House and Senate than Republicans or Democrats. I would hope that more of these could be found in the Republican ranks so as to eliminate the Eastlands from important chairmanships.

"As to the choice for President, I feel that the issues to date are not clearly enough defined. Certainly more progress has been made on the problems of segregation during the Eisenhower administration than during the past 20 years of lip service that the Democrats gave. If the President would offer more affirmative leadership himself, I would be inclined to feel that the smart vote might go to him. At the same time, I am concerned about his health and the probable successor to the office. I would not feel that foreign affairs or domestic issues were in the best possible hands if Mr. Nixon were to be elevated.

"Experience has taught that party platforms are too often disregarded after elections. Yet we must scrutinize them and throw the weight of our votes to the one that pledges strongest implementations of the principles they contain. The candidates themselves must offer aggressive leadership in order to satisfy me and enable me to make a choice.

"The Negro vote is a strategic one, which puts us in a bargaining position. I think advantage should be taken of this and the votes go to the highest bidder."



JUDGE EDWARD DUDLEY

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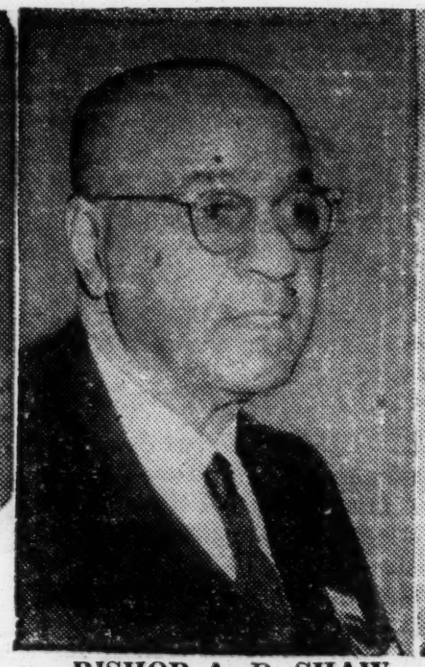
Judge Edward Dudley, New York, former ambassador to Liberia, opines:

"We all know that of the three branches of the Federal Government, only the legislative, or Congress, has done nothing to relieve the Negro's plight in the past 50 years. The Chief Executive is always in a position to use legal, as well as moral, forces at his command in bringing proper pressures to bear on a problem.

"Therefore, when the President of the United States does not carry the ball, no matter what party he heads, then the Negro should express at the polls his dissatisfaction by voting against the incumbent.

"Our present President has narrowed his responsibility on this question to areas of Federal jurisdiction. I submit this is far from enough. Any office-holder who is content to keep silent on the biggest issue confronting our country today is certainly not meeting the challenge. I would therefore urge all Americans to elect a responsible President with the hope that a defeat for the present incumbent would stand as a threat to future office-holders that a positive, forthright stand is the only proper course for Americans and the only one that will insure victory in the future."



BISHOP A. P. SHAW

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"Personally, I am not a Democrat or a Republican," writes the **Rev. J. C. Austin,** pastor of Pilgrim Baptist Church, Chicago. "I am an American citizen 100 per cent ready to support any leadership that's for the people in general, which naturally includes the Negro."

"When it comes to civil rights," the Rev. Mr. Austin continues, "the issue should apply not to Negroes alone, but to those of any group who may be robbed of their civil rights. Any special enactment or fight for Negroes alone is nothing less than a form of segregation and jim-crowism.

REV. J. C. AUSTIN

"When it comes to electing a leader for this nation, we should be concerned by the platform. We should be for the platform that upholds uncompromisingly the Constitution and the decision of the Supreme Court."

The Hazy Role Of FBI In Voting Investigation

Advertiser 10-27-56 Montgomery Ala.

A SUPERFICIAL inquiry into the U.S. Justice Department's investigations on the alleged violations of the civil rights of three Montgomery Negroes indicates the FBI is confused about its role. Wash. D.C. 10-24-56

In a telephone inquiry to Washington we were informed that Atty. Gen. Brownell's whole argument for the need of a Civil Rights Commission and other civil rights legislation is based on the limitations surrounding the FBI's role, under existing law, in such cases as the Montgomery one.

After a preliminary investigation what?

If the Justice Department believes violations have occurred, a second, full-scale investigation may be ordered to collect evidence leading to a possible indictment. The investigation in Montgomery was ordered by the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, in an attempt to find whether there has been a violation of federal civil rights statutes.

If one is alleged, the registrars may be tried on criminal charges in civil court. But the federal government cannot take any civil action—to seek an injunction — until the Negroes have exhausted their remedies in Alabama state courts. Since the Montgomery Negroes have not initiated action in the state courts, the only present court prospect is under federal criminal law.

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THE Associated Press's Justice Department reporter was unable to get an immediate statement on the number of investigations now under way in the South. But on Oct. 10, the head of the Department's Criminal Division, testifying before a Senate elections subcommittee, cited three specific cases of what he called "mass disfranchisement" of Negroes: in Ouachita and Rapides Parishes, La., and Pierce County, Ga.

In such cases, Brownell has said, the department's hands are tied until the damage is done. The principal objective of the proposed civil rights commission, defeated by the South in the recent Congress, would spell out the authority and scope of governmental power. The commission, composed of six members nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, would be directed to:

> Investigate the alegations that certain citizens of the United States are being deprived of their right to vote or are being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin.

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THE commission could summon witnesses by subpoena and anyone displaying "contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena" could be directed to obey by a federal court. Failure to obey the court order could be punished as contempt.

Brownell urges a change in federal law which forbids deprivations of the right to vote by state officers "or other persons purporting to act under authority of the law." He has asked for a new section which would prevent anyone—whether a state officer or an ordinary citizen—from depriving anyone of his right to vote in any primary or election concerning candidates for federal officers. This section is purportedly aimed at the activities of White Citizens Council groups as well as Southern boards of registrars. It would prevent anyone from "threatening, intimidating or coercing an individual in the exercise of his right to vote."

Also included in the Brownell plan is creation of a special civil rights division in the Justice Department to handle the caseload expected from the whole integration controversy. Brownell asks that the attorney general be authorized to bring action in the courts on behalf of any aggrieved person.

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THE plan would erase the present requirement *that administrative and judicial remedies in the states must be exhausted before a civil rights case can be taken to federal court.* (This seems to be the heart of the present limitation on the FBI's authority to handle voter complaints.)

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IT MAY well be that the Montgomery investigation is only an effort to obtain propaganda evidence on which to build a case for the civil rights proposals in the next Congress. We understand the order to investigate the Montgomery Board of Registrars contained no reference to the specific federal laws which were allegedly violated.

40 Pct. of Negro Vote Is Claimed by Nixon

Evening Star Washington D.C. 10-26-56

By J. A. O'LEARY
Star Staff Correspondent

EN ROUTE WIT NIXON, Oct. 26.—Vice President Nixon predicted today President Eisenhower will get 40 per cent of the Negro vote this year, which would be double the percentage he received in 1952.

He made the forecast as he took off from Chicago for a final tour of the West Coast to fight for California's 32 electoral votes and to try to beat Democratic Senators Morse in Oregon and Magnuson in Washington.

Before reaching the coast he will stop early this afternoon for one appearance in Montana, at Great Falls. The Democrats are making a strong bid to bring Montana back into their column, where it remained for 20 years until President Eisenhower carried it in 1952 by 51,000. Mr. Nixon will be trying to stem the Democratic tide and hold those four electoral votes for the Republican ticket.

Rally at Walla Walla

Later today he will land at Walla Walla, Wash., for a street rally, at which is expected to make a plea for the election to the Senate of Gov. Arthur B Langlie, who is opposing Senator Magnuson.

The Vice President then will move on to Medford, Ore., for a night meeting. There, also, his main objective will be to put in a plug for the election of former Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to the Senate seat now held by Senator Morse.

Mr. Nixon said this morning that before he came to Chicago he had concluded that the Eisenhower share of the Negro vote in the big industrial centers would increase from 20 per cent in 1952 to 30 per cent.

He said he revised his estimate upward on the basis of the make-up of the crowds at Republican meetings, the reports of local leaders, and "usually reliable public and private polls" that have come to his attention.

Chicago Motorcade

Chicago turned out strong to see the Vice President yesterday as he drove nearly all day in a motorcade downtown and in the suburbs.

In addition to the throngs that lined the streets as he drove through the famous loop business area, Mr. Nixon drew an audience of 3,500, nearly all Negroes, when he spoke in the Trianon Ballroom, on Chicago's south side.

His day also included a luncheon meeting at the Covenant Club, arranged by Jewish supporters of the Republican ticket, and attended by about 1,500.

The highlight of his day in Chicago was the motor parade through the Loop, shortly after noon. The crowd was four or more deep along the sidewalk on both sides of State street as the Vice President, with Mrs. Nixon at his side, stood up in an open car and waved continuously to the spectators.

While it is true that State street is always crowded at the lunch hour, mort of the spectators were not hurrying along to the stores and restaurants. Most of them were standing along the curbs for a distance of several blocks, waiting for the Nixon car to pass.

Shakes Spectators' Hands

At the intersection of State and Washington streets, the Vice President got out of his car and began shaking hands. Many of the spectators moved out and surrounded his car, stopping the parade for several minutes.

The Vice President made a short hop by plane last night from Chicago to Rockford, Ill., and spoke to 4,000 in a high school auditorium there.

A sudden rainstorm came up as the Nixon party was boarding planes in Rockford after the meeting, but it did not interfere with the flight back to Chicago.

In his statement this morning on the division of the Negro vote, Mr. Nixon said he believes that, "like all other Americans, Negro voters do not want to risk their better jobs, their paychecks, their security and their peace by changing administration at this time."

Civil Rights Hopes

He said also that Negro leaders "in increasing numbers," have informed him they believe their only hope of getting action "on the moderate civil rights program of President Eisenhower is to remove from key committee chairmanships those Democratic Senators and Congressmen who have consistently refused to allow civil rights legislation to be reported out of committee for action."

The Vice President also said he disagrees with political experts who are saying President Eisenhower will get a smaller share of the wage earners this year than in 1952.

"If our campaign continues at its present pace," he continued, "the scupport we receive from this group will be substantially higher than in 1952."

But he again admonished Republicans not to be complacent or to relax in their efforts to get out the vote on election day.

Addressing the Jewish audience at yesterday's luncheon in Chicago, both Republican Senator Dirksen and Mr. Nixon praised the plank in this year's Republican platform promising to support the independence of Israel against armed aggression.

Milwaukee Suggests a Trend

Negro Vote Is Detected Swinging to Republicans

Herald Tribune, New York, p. 19, Sat. 4-8-56

By Rowland Evans Jr.

WASHINGTON, Apr. 7.—Republican strategists are finding comfort in Wisconsin primary statistics showing what appears to be a significant gain in Republican voting strength in Milwaukee's Negro districts.

Whereas Sen. Estes Kefauver, D., Tenn., attracted surprising support in the agricultural areas, President Eisenhower seemed to offset this apparently Republican farm defection by polling a substantial Negro vote in Milwaukee's traditionally Democratic Sixth Ward.

Analysis Due

Comparisons are always inexact. In the case of Milwaukee's Sixth Ward, they are perhaps somewhat dangerous, because of a city-wide re-districting since the last Presidential primary. The Republican National Committee has said nothing publicly about apparent new Republican Negro strength in the Milwaukee balloting, but Val Washington, the committee's minorities expert, hopes to come up with an analysis next week.

The Sixth Ward is slightly more than half Negro. Mr. Eisenhower polled 2,326 primary votes and Sen. Kefauver 3,450. The 1952 general election voting in the area which is now basically the Sixth Ward gave Adlai E. Stevenson 76 per cent of the total, far more than Sen. Kefauver's 58 per cent in last week's primary.

There was no contest worth mentioning on either side of the Wisconsin primaries. Nor were the President and Sen. Kefauver really running against each other. The presence of complicating local factors which always exert influence on elections, together with the absence of a direct contest in the Presidential primary, make firm conclusions difficult to draw.

6,000,000 to Vote

The Republican National Committee, however, is convinced that substantial numbers of Negroes, most of them so far in higher income brackets, are deserting the Democratic party, to which they have been attached since 1936 in a ratio of almost four to one, having been magnetized by the economic revolution of the Roosevelt New Deal. Some 6,000,000 Negroes, mostly in the North, will vote in the November election. If the switch in allegiance to the Republican party filters down to the rank and file, Republicans contend the Negro vote could well mean the difference between victory or defeat in marginal Congressional districts in the big cities, perhaps in a couple of Senate contests, such as Oregon, and in electoral votes for the Presidency.

Ready To Switch

The Republicans base their hopes on the civil rights split within the Democratic party, particularly over the inflammatory issue of integration in the public schools. Such leading Negroes recently have questioned whethe rtheir best interests lie with the Democratic party, particularly since Congressional committee chairmen, with Congress under Democratic control, are so often from the South.

The Republican National Committee has received hundreds of letters within the last several months, as the school issue grew warmer, which it says dramatize better than anything else the concern of the Democrats and the hopes of the Republicans on the question of Negro political allegiance.

These letters, from Southern Negro editors, from leaders of local chapters of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and others, state in some cases a positive desire to leave the Democratic Party, to register Republican and work for the re-election of President Eisenhower.

A New York Negro Democrat recently told this reporter:

"The main factor in my mind is that the most effective leaders of the Democrats are members of the States' Rights bloc. They have actually disfranchised the Negro from the Democratic party. Northern liberals cannot explain away the fact that Sen. Eastland is chairman of the Judiciary Committee and that the Senate itself is in thc hands of Southerners like Walter F. George and Richard B. Russell of Georgia."

However, the hold on the mass of Negro voters of the Roosevelt tradition is still a factor of great importance in Negro voting habits. Democrats say that economic advances gained by Negroes during the New and Fair Deals will still be the primary motivation in Negro voting next November.

N.A.A.C.P. Against Killing Poll Tax By Amendment

Courier-Journal, Sat. 4-14-56, Louisville Ky.

Washington, April 13 (AP)—The National Association for The Advancement of Colored People today urged a Senate judiciary subcommittee not to approve a constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the organization's Washington bureau, testified that N.A.A.C.P. strongly wants to see the poll tax lifted in the five Southern states that still maintain it.

But to seek to do so by constitutional amendment, he contended, would set "a dangerous precedent." P. 13

It could mean, he said, the establishing of a "pattern of trying to dispose of all civil-rights questions by proposing constitutional amendments."

The N.A.A.C.P. official urged instead that Congress pass a simple bill to outlaw the poll tax.

One vote in Miss. worth four times one in Delaware

Afro-American P. 5 Sat. 4-21-56, Baltimore, Md.

By LOUIS LAUTIER
For the NNPA News Service

WASHINGTON

Any election reform which may be brought forward at this session of Congress should aim at equalizing the value of vote throughout the country in congressional as well as presidential elections.

A vote in a state where a large number of people are denied the right to vote or where voter participation is low for one reason or another, has several times the weight to a vote in a state where a large percentage of the population votes.

For example, a vote in Mississippi in the 1955 presidential election carried approximately four times the weight of a Delaware vote.

* * *

THE LOW participation states include all 11 states of the usually Democratic Solid South, and the two most consistently Republican states, Maine andvermont.

There are two factors which account for low voter participation in these states.

One is the fact that these are one-party states. The other is that in the southern states, restrictive voting requirements including the poll-tax and arbitrary administration of registration laws by registrars, keep the electorate low.

Not only that — but in the states where colored voters have managed to qualify in relatively large numbers, the absence of contests for nominations in the Democratic primary also account for low voter porticipation.

* * *

AN EXAMPLE is South Carolina. There the deadline for candidates to file passed recently without any candidates offering themselves in opposition to Sens. Olin D. Johnston and Strom Thurmond.

Johnston is what is termed a "wool-hat," and Thurmond, the 1948 Dixiecrat candidate against ex-President Harry S. Truman, is an embryonic Eastland.

Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.) in his debate with Val Washington, director of minorities for the Republican National Committee, at the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity House here recently, said there are 125,000 colored persons registered in South Carolina.

These colored South Carolinians, who are qualified to vote, are as effectively disfranchised in the election of two U.S. Senators as they would be if they lived in Soviet Russia and had to vote for the candidates of the All Union Communist Party, the only legal party.

* * *

"THE NUMBER of seats in the House is supposedly based on population; but this is not true.

For example, the average number of votes in congressional districts in Illinois in the 1955 election was 175,000; in Texas, it was 99,00; in Georgia, 66,000; Virginia, 62,00; Tennessee 99,; Alabama, 47,000; Louisiana, 82,000; Mississippi, 48,000; South Carolina, 59,000; Arkansas, 68,000; North Carolina, 101,000; and Florrida, 110,00.

Thus, in Alabama and Mississippi in the Presidential election one vote will be equal to almost four votes in Illinois. In South Carolina, one vote will be worth over three votes in Illinois.

In Virginia, one vote would be worth just under three votes in Illinois. In Arkansas and Georgia, one vote will be about 2½ votes in Illinois; and in Louisiana, one vote will be worth over two votes in Illinois.

The voter turnout in national elections, based on the per cent of actual voters compared with various elections follows:

	Citizens of Voting Age	Actual Voters	Voting Turnout in Per Cent
1950—Congressional			
11 Southern States	21,629,084	2,676,443	12.4
5 Border States	8,394,704	3.582,323	42.7
32 Northern States	64,950,672	34,170,790	52.6
1952—Presidential			
11 Southern States	21,852,000	8,553,729	39.1
5 Border States	8,444,000	5,609,'16	66.4
32 Northern States	67,548,000	47,388,374	70.2
1954—Congressional			
11 Southern States	22,179,000	3,679,594	15.6
5 Border States	8,349,000	3,631,457	42.4
32 Northern States	69,880,000	35,584,598	53.7

(The 11 Southern States are North Carolina, Florida Tennessee, Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Virginia, Georgia, South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi. The Border States are West Virginia, Missouri, Oklahoma, Kentucky and Maryland).

Vote For Electoral College Reform May Be Attacked

Daily World Thurs., 3-29-56
Atlanta Ga.

NEW YORK — Support of the proposed amendment to change the present method of electing the President and Vice President "will be interpreted by Negro voters as anti-civil rights," Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said in a telegram to a group of sponsors of the resolution which is now being debated on the Senate floor.

P. 8

The present proposal, Mr. Wilkins said, is essentially the same as the Lodge-Gossett resolution of 1950. The arguments advanced by Representative Ed Gossett of Texas at that time were "nakedly racial in character," the NAACP leader told the senators.

At that time, the Texan explained that the purpose of his resolution was to curb the power of the Negro, labor, Jewish and foreign-born vote in the large northern cities. He charged that the present system of allocating the total electoral vote of each state to the candidate with the highest number of popular votes places a "premium on a few thousand labor votes, or Italian votes, or Irish votes, or Negro votes, or Jewish votes, or Polish votes, or Communist votes, or big-city machine votes ..... located in two or three large industrial pivotal states."

The NAACP, Mr. Wilkins said in his telegram to the senators, "hopes very much that you will vote against any change in the electoral college system except that to elect the President by direct popular vote. Proposal to divide electoral vote of states in proportion to popular vote or according to congressional districts will discriminate against urban population which is already under-represented."

Moreover, the NAACP spokesman pointed out, the "proposal would partially disfranchise Negro voters outside the South while increasing influence of southern states where Negroes are not now permitted to vote freely."

The message was sent to the following: Senators Irving M. Ives, H. Alexander Smith, John W. Bricker, Charles E. Potter, Everett McKinley Dirksen, William F. Knowland, Thomas E. Martin, Edward J. Thye, Alexander Wiley, Dennis Chavez, James E. Murray, John J. Williams, Bourke B. Hickenlooper and Gordon Allott.

Branches of the NAACP in key cities of pivotal states have been asked to communicate with their senators urging them to vote against the proposed amendment which requires passage by both Houses of Congress by a two-thirds vote and ratification by three-fourths of the states before becoming law.

GOP WOOS NEGRO VOTE TO GAIN HOUSE SEATS

Commercial Appeal

Outcome Of Civil Rights Bills May Control Loyalty

Fri. 5-4-56

MINORITY IS POWERFUL

Memphis, Tenn.

Special to The Commercial Appeal

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Negroes now hold the balance of power in enough congressional districts to assure the success of Republican efforts to capture control of the House of Representatives in November should they vote Republican.

P. 18

As yet, no one is predicting a wholesale swing by Negro voters from the Democratic to the Republican column. But that's the goal of an all-out GOP campaign, and Democrats acknowledge that some shift appears inevitable.

Hangs On Civil Rights Bills

Whether this switch assumes tidal proportions could be determined by the outcome of congressional action on civil rights legislation. A Senate filibuster by Southern Democrats could be the signal for a stampede by Negroes to the GOP banner.

These are the highlights of a special study by Congressional Quarterly, a private research organization. Basis for the study was a tabulation of the proportions of Negro population in each of the nation's 435 congressional districts, according to latest census figures.

This part of the study showed Negroes numbered 10 per cent or more of the total population in 86 of 120 districts in the South, but in only 35 of 315 districts outside the South. Of these, 35, 29 elected Democrats to the House in 1954.

Already some of these Democrats are in trouble in their own bailiwicks. In Detroit's First District, where Negroes numbered 37.5 per cent of the 1950 population, Polish-born Representative Thaddeus M. Machrowicz will be opposed in the Aug. 7 primary by Cora M. Brown, a Republican and Michigan's first Negro woman state senator. Last week, Negro delegates walked out of the Democratic convention in the First District because Negroes "had been pushed around long enough." Republicans are certain to profit by such intra-party incidents.

Another Faces Trouble

Representative Earl Chudoff (D., Penn.) also is in trouble in Philadelphia's Fourth District —44.8 per cent Negro in 1950. Although he won renomination easily with 13,470 votes in last week's primary, one of his two opponents—Earl F. Dales, a Negro—got 5,072 votes, while the unopposed Republican candidate —Horace Scott, also a Negro— got 8,255 votes. All told, Representative Chudoff received only 48 per cent of the vote in the primary.

These are two of 14 districts outside the South in which Negroes number 20 per cent or more of the 1950 population, giving them a preponderant political influence. Except for the rural First District of Maryland, which has re-elected Republican Representative Edward T. Miller since 1946, all are big-city districts which regularly roll up heavy Democratic majorities.

But there are many more districts in which Negroes, even though relatively less numerous, could exercise the balance of power in close elections. Congressional Quarterly's study identified 61 districts outside the South where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 population exceeded the winning candidate's margin of victory in the 1954 congressional election.

Democrats Vulnerable

Thirty-two of the 61 districts elected Democrats, 29 Republicans, many by narrow margins. Other things being equal, a substantial shift of Negro votes would tend to strengthen Republicans in their districts and weaken the Democrats in theirs —especially in 10 districts in which Democrats ousted Republicans in 1954 by narrow margins.

One of these is the Illinois 25th, a rural district composed of 15 counties at the southern end of the state. In 1950, there were 20,000 Negroes in the district, making up six per cent of the population. In 1954, Democrat Kenneth B. Gray defeated the veteran GOP incumbent, seventermer C. W. 'Runt' Bishop, by 6,903 votes. Representative Gray's share of the votes was 52.6 per cent, and by all accounts, he had the votes of a majority of Negroes in the district.

As elsewhere, many factors are at work in this district—including unemployment and falling farm prices—in addition to the civil rights issue. In the April 10 primary, a four-way contest for the Republican nomination probably accounted for the fact that Representative Gray, who was unopposed for renomination, got only 44 per cent of the vote for all candidates. But the figures show Representative Gray could be hurt and possibly defeated by a heavy loss of Negro votes in November.

The GOP must gain 15 seats to win control of the House. In many of the 32 Democratic-held districts in which they hold the balance of power, three of four Negroes have voted for Democrats. A shift of one of these— giving Republicans half of all Negro votes—might do the trick. That is why Democrats are worried, and why Republicans are pulling out all stops to capitalize on the split between Northern and Southern Democrats in order to win Negro voters.

BROWNELL PLANS TO FIGHT VOTE BIAS

Atlanta Ga. New York

Says Eisenhower Demands That Race or Creed Shall Bar No One From Polls

Thurs. 5-3-56

Attorney General Herbert Brownell Jr. declared yesterday that President Eisenhower was determined that no person should be denied the right to vote because of his color or religion.

Addressing a luncheon meeting of the New York Young Republican Club, Mr. Brownell described the right to vote as the most fundamental of civil and human rights. The luncheon was held at Schwartz' restaurant, 56 Broad Street. About 200 persons were present.

In many sections of the country the right to vote is now being denied because of race, the Attorney General asserted. He added: "Until we get this question settled and settled right, we cannot rest."

After the luncheon, Mr. Brownell said he was hopeful of Congressional approval this year of an Administration bill to amplify the powers of the Department of Justice in election cases.

At present, he explained, Federal law permits the Attorney General to prosecute those who abridge the right to vote after the abridgement has taken place. This is not the best way to deal with the problem, Mr. Brownell declared.

Instead, he said, the Justice Department should be authorized to obtain a civil injunction forbidding a denial of the right to vote before it takes place. The Administration bill would give the Attorney General this power. It has already been approved by the House Judiciary Committee.

Answering questions at the luncheon, Mr. Brownell said he favored a "reasonable" literacy qualification for voters. But in some southern states, he added, literacy tests given to Negroes are far from reasonable. He said one question was, "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap?" Another was, "How do you bring a case to trial?"

The Attorney General reported that the Republican attitude on civil rights was winning the party the support of many young voters.

Mr. Brownell predicted another victory for "Ike and Dick" this year. Asked afterward if he was sure Vice President Richard M. Nixon would be renominated, he answered: "It certainly looks like it."

Questioned about the possibility of his running for the United States Senate in New York this fall, Mr. Brownell replied that he had no intention of being a candidate.

Mr. Brownell was introduced at the luncheon by Jacob K. Javits, Attorney General of New York State. Mr. Javits quoted President Eisenhower as saying Mr. Brownell had "one of the best political minds in the country."

Ike Means For All To Have Vote Right

Daily World
Atlanta Ga.
Sat 5-5-56

NEW YORK —President Eisenhower is determined that no person shall be denied the right to vote because of his color or religion.

P. 17

So said Attorney General Gerbert Brownell, Jr., The official, while declaring that this right is being denied in many sections of the United States because of race, asserted that

"Until we get this question settled and settled right, we cannot rest."

Mr. Brownell expressed his views during an address before the New York Young Republican Club and in an interview that followed shortly

He said he is hopeful that Congress will give approval this year to an administration bill to widen the powers of the Justice Department in election cases.

AT PRESENT, Brownell explained, federal law authorizes the attorney general to prosecute those who abridge the right to vote after the abridgement has taken place through civil injunctions.

Brownell predicted that, despite the Republican administration's stand on civil rights. Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon will get more votes in the South this year than they did in 1952.

He said the administration's bill would give his office authority to anticipate civil rights violations and "stop them before they happen."

FBI Will Continue Vote Probe In South

Daily Worker Jul. 10-30-56

Atlanta Da. P.1

WASHINGTON, D. C. — (NNPA) — The Federal Bureau of Investigation will continue its investigation of the purging of qualified colored voters from the voting list in Pierce County, Ga., regardless of what decision a federal judge hands down in a pending civil suit on the matter, a Justice Department spokesman said recently.

The Justice Department spokesman said the pending civil suit would not affect the FBI investigation.

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Attorney Foster Memory in Pierce County Thursday charged that the FBI investigation was being made "just to catch a few Negro votes."

Memory said the names of some colored persons were removed following a report that the colored voter list 'it's segregated) was "padded." They were taken off, he continued, on the grounds that they "hadn't taken the oath that was required by law" and that they "were not able to answer certain prescribed questions."

Memory, who is county attorney, said the names of "about 300" colored persons were challenged and some 60 or 70 showed up for a check of their qualifications. Some 130 who did not attend the hearing were stricken from the list of qualified voters.

VOTING LIST

The 130 have filed suit in federal district court to be restored to the voting list. Federal Judge Frank M. Scarlett of Brunswick, Ga., has said he will hand down his decision this week.

Judge Scarlett said he has issued an injunction to prevent anyone "from interfering in any way with their (the 130 colored persons) right to vote."

Pierce County was one of the areas where Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III, who is in charge of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, said 25 to 30 per cent of the colored voters had been stricken from voting lists while no white voters had been challenged.

Daily Worker

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County board of registration, said Thursday that two FBI agents questioned him regarding the removal of some 130 colored voters from the registration book.

He said they were removed after "failing to appear to meet the challenge at a board meeting." He said they were among some 300 or 400 colored persons whose voting rights were challenged. Echols said 95 per cent of those who appeared at the hearing retained their voting rights.

Daily Worker 10-30-56

P.3

In another development respecting mass disfranchisement of colored voters in certain areas of the south, Mr. Olney replied to charges that partisan politics had inspired the Justice Department investigations into complaints in some southern states that colored persons were being deprived of their right to vote in the elections on Nov. 6.

Mr. Olney had said earlier that qualified colored voters in some areas were being removed from voting lists through the application of tests not required of white voters. In others, he said, devices were being used to prevent colored persons from registering to vote.

Gov. J. P. Coleman of Mississippi denounced as "mass slander" and "a cheap political bluff" Mr. Olney's announcement of plans to prosecute instances of disfranchisement.

Mississippians have not been guilty of any violation of this kind and to make a blanket charge against them without names and places is just another form of mass slander," Coleman said.

ELECTION LAWS

Mississippi election laws make no reference to race. But, to qualify, anyone applying to register must interpret the state constitution to the satisfaction of the election clerk.

Alabama State Senator Sam Englehardt said the Alabama Association of White Citizens Councils, which he heads, "hasn't done a thing" about trying to get colored citizens off voting lists. Two Alabama circuit solicitors in areas where investigations are under way said they know of no disfranchisement.

Asa Carter, executive secretary, said the Alabama White Citizens Councils had never made an effort to "intimidate or threaten board registrars to disfranchise" colored citizens. His group is not connected with Englehardt's councils.

Mr. Olney issued the following statement in reply to Gov. Coleman:

"It is true that the action being taken is political because it is a matter of fundamental political principle, a political right — the right to vote. But it cannot be claimed that the action taken is partisan when nine of ten are Democrats being disfranchised by Democrats."

Sharp Split in Negro Vote Noted in North and South

Sunday Star 11-4

Washington, D. C.

By the Associated Press.

If you look South, the Negro voter has returned to the Republican Party. But if you look North, he's still Democratic although not so staunchly as he was four years ago.

And because there are more Negro votes outside the South than in it, the "Party of Lincoln" still has a long way to go to regain the politico-racial domination it held so firmly from reconstruction days until Franklin D. Roosevelt smashed it 24 years ago.

Jour. 11-11-56

Nearly all Southern States Tuesday saw a complete reversal in the presidential balloting among Negroes, with Adlai Stevenson's wide 1952 majorities turning into very similar margins for President Eisenhower this time.

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In three of five Southern States won by the President—Virginia, Tennessee and Louisiana—this preference by Negro voters was very important in the final results, if not actually the deciding factor.

Trend to Eisenhower

In nearly all the great Northern centers of Negro population there was a definite trend away from the Democratic ticket although not enough to give Mr. Eisenhower a majority in any major area of Negro registration.

This trend was characterized by James L. Hicks, managing editor of the Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, as a divorce from the Democrats rather than a marriage to the Republicans.

Other interpretations of this trend vary widely — oriented mostly on the speaker's own politics.

Why was the shift so much more marked in the South? While many factors were operative there—including Mr. Eisenhower's great personal appeal—the Southern Negro's stand was much more negative than positive. They were protesting what one Negro spokesman called "Eastlandism" on the segregation issue—referring to Senator Eastland, Mississippi Democrat, and like-thinkers among Democratic office holders who have been most vocal and active in denying Negroes the school integration ordered by the Supreme Court.

If the greatly increased Republican vote in the South is not just an Eisenhower-induced surge that will end when he retires, it is certain that Southern Democrats must reckon with the Negro vote as they never have before. Although Negro registration remains small—156,000 of 1,310,000 in Georgia, for example—it will grow and could loom very large in a close race—as, indeed, it did this year in Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia.

Nationally, Negroes make up about 4 million of the 61 million estimated total registration. Of these, about 1.5 million are in Southern States, with 2.5 million in the rest of the country. Those outside the South are concentrated largely in New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California, where they often can hold balance-of-power positions which they never have been able to hold until this year in Southern States as a whole.

State-by-State Study

State-by-State, the picture of Negro voting in Tuesday's election, and interpretations of it, were:

Alabama—The Negro vote was an important and possibly deciding factor in Mr. Eisenhower carrying Jefferson, Mobile and Montgomery Counties. Oscar W. Adams, jr., Birmingham Negro Republican leader, said about three - fourths of Jefferson County's 7,000 Negroes switched to Mr. Eisenhower this year and estimated the same percentage swing throughout the State. He said many Negroes thought a Democratic vote would be a vote for reactionary Senators "like Eastland."

Arkansas—The opinion of most qualified observers is that there was no significant shift in the Negro vote.

California—There was slight indication that some Negro votes switched from Democrats to Republicans in the mixed 26th district where Representative James Roosevelt won re-election by a smaller margin than Democrat Sam Yorty did in 1952. There has been no tabulation of the presidential race by districts. One Los Angeles County Negro leader estimated that "maybe 5 per cent of the Negro vote shifted, but I don't think it was more than that." There are an estimated 265,000 Negro voters in the county and Mr. Eisenhower carried it by 258,000.

Florida—Gilbert Porter of Tallahassee, director of the Florida Negro Voters League, said there is no question but that the Florida Negro vote, which has been Democratic, was predominantly Republican this time. He said it was due to resentment against Senator Eastland and others on the national level and local developments for which Negroes blamed the Democrats. Florida has 148,636 registered Negro voters of which 137,868 are Democrats and 10,768 Republicans. In Miami, Negro districts which had voted Democratic gave slight majorities to Mr. Eisenhower. Tampa results showed a definite shift of Negro votes to the Republicans and two all-Negro precincts in Walton County, created by the recent Legislature, went solidly Republican.

Shift in Georgia

Georgia—The Negro vote in Georgia's two largest cities, Atlanta and Savannah, shifted sharply to Mr. Eisenhower. In Atlanta, Randolph Thrower, Republican opponent of Representative James C. Davis, chairman of the subcommittee which investigated integration in Washington schools, ran ahead of Mr. Eisenhower. One Negro box voted almost 16-1 for Mr.

Thrower and nearly 7-1 for Mr. Eisenhower.

Illinois—Only a slight shift was indicated in the Chicago Negro vote. The Negro wards, highly organized by Democrats, all gave pluralities to Mr. Stevenson but by a slightly smaller percentage than in 1952. However, there has been a big drop in registrations due to slum clearance projects and other factors. Enoch Waters, executive editor of the Chicago Defender, Negro newspaper, said some Chicago Negroes voted for Mr. Eisenhower as a protest against the "reactionary Southern wing of the Democratic Party," but that the switch was smaller in Chicago than in some other cities.

Louisiana—A shift of Negro votes, particularly in New Orleans, is given credit for Mr. Eisenhower's majority in Louisiana by Camille Gravel, Democratic national committeeman. A. P. Tureaud, State attorney for the outlawed National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said "Negroes wanted to put in a protest vote."

Maryland—In Baltimore Negro districts which in 1952 had voted 3-1 and 4-1 for Mr. Stevenson, Tuesday went 2-1 and 3-1 for Mr. Eisenhower. State Senator Harry A. Cole, first Negro elected to the Maryland General Assembly, said, "I don't believe the Republican civil rights platform had anything to do with it. It was mostly due to the great respect for Eisenhower and to intensive organizing efforts on the precinct level."

About the Same

Michigan — Neither party claims any shift of Negro votes in the Detroit area. Mr. Stevenson polled almost the same percentage as in 1952. Representative Diggs, who was re-elected with 69 per cent of the vote over a Negro opponent in the 13th district, won with 65 per cent over a white opponent in 1954.

Mississippi — H. T. Ashford, Hinds County (Jackson) circuit clerk, estimated the bulk of 4,000 Negro voters in the county voted Republican. "As usual there was no shift," he said. "The Negroes here always have voted Republican."

New York—New York's Harlem voted Democratic but by substantially reduced percentages. Representative Powell, a Democrat who bolted the ticket to support Mr. Eisenhower, said Negroes "temporarily deserted" the Democratic Party because of "creeping Eastlandism," his term for the segregation stand of Southern Democrats. Among the factors involved in the Negro voters upheaval, the New York Post said editorially, were Senator Eastland's elevation to the chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the Authurine Lucy mob in Alabama and Mr. Stevenson's use of the "inflammatory word 'moderation'" in speaking on the race issue.

North Carolina — Indications point to a decided shift of North Carolina Negro votes to the Republican Party. Two Negro leaders attribute it largely to resentment against moves of the Democratic State administration to circumvent the segregation decision. They tended to minimize the effect of national platforms and said Republicans went after the Negro vote much more ac-

Pennsylvania — Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Negro wards voted Democratic but by substantially lower percentages than in 1952. Democrats discounted any Negro vote shift. State Democratic Chairman Joseph M. Barr said, "I don't think the colored question had one-half of 1 per cent bearing on the entire election."

South Carolina—There was a pronounced shift of Negro votes to the Republicans in South Carolina. Negro Democratic leader John McCray of Columbia estimated it as 35 per cent. He heads the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, an organization dominated by Negroes which still considers itself part of the Democratic Party.

Tennessee—The heavy Negro vote in Shelby County (Memphis) apparently was a major factor in Tennessee's vote for Mr. Eisenhower. In 31 precincts where the Negro vote is dominant, Mr. Eisenhower lost them all in 1952 but won 23 this year. Negro G. O. P. leader George W. Lee said the switch was an indorsement of the President's civil rights program and repudiation of the Democratic attitude in the South.

Texas—Apparently a majority of Texas Negro voters remained Democratic and certainly did not swing the State. Arthur Dewitty, State legislative representative for the NAACP, said he knew of no substantial shift in the Negro vote. However, the Houston Post said that in 18 predominantly Negro precincts where Mr. Stevenson got 95 per cent of the vote in 1952, the vote this year was only 67 per cent for the Democratic nominee.

Virginia—The Virginia Negro vote in a number of major cities swung sharply Republican. The switch was massive in some precincts. P. B. Young, Negro publisher of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, expressed the opinion that Negroes switched because they "felt Eisenhower was a bit more sincere in whatever he said on the civil rights issue."

Negro Vote Switching, Says Look

NEW YORK — A major defection from the Democratic ranks will give President Eisenhower nearly twice the Negro vote he received in 1952, a prize-winning Negro reporter, predicted today.

Carl Rowan of the Minneapolis Tribune, writing in the new issue of LOOK Magazine, declared that while "the Republicans do not yet seem to offer enough courage, enough hope for Eisenhower to get half the Negro vote, "he could garner nearly 40 per cent of it.

"Whether he does or not," said Rowan, 'will depend on how well the GOP capitalizes on the Negro's deep frustrations, on whether Republicans convince the Negro that he can enter, through the front door, a party no longer dominated by conservatives with outdated social and economic views."

A three-time winner of journalism's coveted Sigma Delta Chi awards, Rowan stressed that the Negro's dilemma is not only how to vote, but whether to vote at all.

Citing Negro dissatisfaction with the Democratic civil rights platform ("the Democrats had a choice and they kicked the Negro in the teeth") and traditional apathy toward the GOP, the LOOK article quoted a Negro doctor's view of the alternatives:

"The Negro can lay aside his racial feelings and continue to vote Democratic, because he believes the party is still best for the country and the little man, which means the Negro.

"We can vote Republican and make all the Democrats pay for compromising with Sen. Eastland and the segregationists, or we can tell both parties to go to hell while we play poker election day."

Keeping The Record Straight

Unwarranted and fantastic conclusions are being drawn about what colored voters did or did not do in the November 6 election.

An isolated precinct or ward which Mr. Eisenhower carried or failed to carry by a substantial margin is cited as representative by "experts" who foolishly argue it offers the key to how colored people throughout the city voted.

One ward in Memphis which in 1952 voted 801 for Adlai Stevenson to 114 for Eisenhower, and in 1956 gave its 801 votes to Ike and only 460 for Adlai, is blithely accepted as setting the trend for the whole colored community.

In Norfolk the 21st precinct is used as a barometer. It shows that Eisenhower received 990 votes to 229 for Stevenson. In 1952 the same precinct gave Adlai 866 and Ike 133.

* * *

THIS UNPRECEDENTED turnabout in a single precinct is blown up to indicate that in all other precincts where the majority of voters are colored, there were comparable switches of allegiance.

Kiplinger's estimate that Ike got twice as many colored votes in big cities as four years ago does not apply to Baltimore. The President's increase here was 50 per cent, not 100 per cent.

In similar vein, another so-called analyst reported that Mr. Eisenhower carried every single colored precinct in Baltimore and ended up with 60 per cent of the colored vote.

This simply is not true.

There are 110 precincts in Baltimore where colored people cast 85 per cent or more of the vote and white 15 per cent or less.

Adlai Stevenson carried 25 of these precincts.

There were five all-colored precincts which gave Mr. Eisenhower 61 per cent of their vote and Mr. Stevenson 39 per cent.

Five of the 25 typical precincts carried by Mr. Stevenson gave him 54.4 per cent of their vote and Eisenhower, 45.6 per cent.

The total vote was Eisenhower, 28,548; Stevenson, 23,580.

* * *

MR. EISENHOWER received 54.7 per cent of Baltimore's colored vote, not 60 per cent as the hasty analysts have declared.

Four years ago Mr. Stevenson received 66.7 per cent of the colored vote in the same area.

These facts can be obtained accurately in Baltimore only because the city still registers voters according to race.

And it was possible for the AFRO to find 110 precincts out of the city's total of 570 in which colored registrants are in the overwhelming majority.

It then sent its representatives to the supervisor of elections on election night and tabulated the votes in these precincts.

* * *

THE RESULT is the AFRO doesn't have to guess, it knows how colored people voted in Baltimore and is able to give the facts rather than estimates or fancy.

Unless these hasty analysts are able to support their estimates by carefully documented figures, their conclusions must be taken with a grain of salt.

Reliable records of the vote by parties are as important to us as the standing of the clubs and batting averages are to big league baseball.

And in neither case are they of any value if they are not accurate.

U. S. to Prosecute in Dixie Vote Purge

(See Other Story on Page 4)

WASHINGTON—"In every instance where it can be shown that a qualified citizen was denied the right to vote simply because of color we intend to prosecute," declared Warren Olney III, assistant attorney general in charge of the Criminal Division.

Complaints from three or four areas each in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina a.e being studied by the Federal Bureau of Investigation charging that Negroes are being purged from voting lists by election officials who work hand in glove with "white citizens councils."

Three letters have been written by Mr. Olney to Congressional committees, detailing the evidence in the possession of the Justice Department.

Olney said he offered his office's cooperation in any "pre-election inquiries" these committees might undertake. There had been no response to his letters to the chairmen of these committees, he stated.

■

"THE PATTERN of the purges," the assistant attorney general said, "indicates top leadership and coordination to kill the Negro vote in the South.

The Justice Department cannot prosecute unless a citizen has been denied the right to vote on Election Day. Neither can the department take civil action in advance against individual acts or conspiracies to deprive legally registered voters of their rights.

Negro registrants have been challenged and their names stricken from the roll by unconstitutional means and in effect kills off the vote.

Congressional committees have not taken action recommended by the Justice Department. This means that Negroes in many southern states cannot vote.

Prosecution after the elections would be too late to make the Negro vote effective but future voters would be protected from unconstitutional political practices on the part of officials in southern states.

Colored Voters Increase In Face Of "Road Blocks"

Special To Journal and Guide

ATLANTA — Despite the existence of four major "road blocks," approximately 1,239,500 colored citizens are registered to vote in the 11 southern states, according to a report by the Southern Regional Council.

The figure represents about 25 per cent of the total southern Negro voting population. It is estimated that 11,072,125 white persons are registered to vote, which is about 60 per cent of the voting population.

• • •

THE NEGRO voting figure shows an increase of 210,000 registered voters, since 1952.

Federal prosecutors throughout the nation, and especially in the South, were alerted to "promptly investigate" complaints that citizens are being denied the right to vote.

Just recently, a top Justice Department official threatened all-out criminal prosecution for what he called the "purge" of thousands of qualified citizens from voting lists in the South. The official pointed out that in addition to criminal prosecution, the South might lose representation in Congress, under the 14th amendment of the Constitution.

• • •

THOUGH THE Negro registered voters' figure represents an increase since 1952, the percentage of Negroes of voting age remains comparatively low.

The Southern Regional Council cites four reasons for the lower Negro registration percentages as follows: threats and violence, still reportedly existing in some areas; discriminatory practices which include severe literacy tests; dependency of many Negroes on members of the white community, thus resulting in fear of economic pressures; and lack of political consciousness and apathy.

Texas leads the southern states in the number of Negroes registered to vote. Some 214,000 Negroes are registered, which is an increase of 32,084 over 1952. Population-wise, the colored citizens represent 12 per cent of the total voting population and around eight per cent are registered to vote.

GEORGIA FOLLOWS with 163,825 registered Negro voters. In that state, Negroes have a voting potential of 29 per cent of the total population, and around 12 per cent are registered. Voting registrations have increased 18,990 since 1952, according to the Council.

Louisiana has 161,400 colored citizens registered to vote, which is an increase of 41,410 since 1952. Percentage-wise, the Negro voting potential is 30 per cent of the total population, while 18 per cent are actually registered.

In North Carolina, 135,000 Negroes are registered, indicating an increase of 35,000 since 1952. Here, colored citizens have a voting potential of 24 per cent, and only seven per cent are actually registered.

THE COUNCIL revealed that 100,709 Negroes are registered in South Carolina, representing 16 per cent of the total voting population. Colored residents represent 34 per cent of the state's total voting potential.

Approximately 90 thousand Negroes are registered to vote in Tennessee, which is approximately an increase of 5,000 since 1952. In this state, Negroes represent 16 per cent of the total voting population, and 15 per cent are registered.

Here in Virginia, 83,098 Negroes are registered, which is an increase of 13,772 since 1952. In this state, Negroes represent a voting potential of 21 per cent of the total population, and nine per cent are actually registered.

Down in Mississippi Negroes were registered to vote in 1954. No figures were available for 1956. There, Negroes represent 41 per cent of the total voting potential.

"The war situation won some Negro votes for Eisenhower. The women especially felt the war danger keenly, and decided to vote for the President.

"The decline of Negro votes for Stevenson was logical and did not represent any disenchantment over civil rights.

"And in Chicago the Republicans spent more money than they've ever spent before among the Negroes."

Rep. Powell had this to say about the trend:

Negro voters by the droves have temporarily deserted the Democratic party to vote for President Eisenhower.

"This does not necessarily mean a shift to the Republican Party. It should serve as a warning to Democratic bosses that no one controls the Negro vote.

"The Democratic Party must rid itself of its fascist elements headed by Eastland of Mississippi, Talmadge of Georgia and Long of Louisiana.

"President Eisenhower has promised little but actually done more than any other President in the field of civil rights."

Powell, Dawson Tell Of Negro Vote Shift

CHICAGO— (ANP) —The meaning of the Negro shift away from the Democratic party in last week's election has been blamed on a series of factors. Among them:

(1) The Democrats' weak civil rights plank in the party's 1956 platform is seen as one of the major reasons for the drift.

(2) Adlai Stevenson's advocacy of "moderation" on racial problems.

(3) Sen. James O. Eastland (D., Miss.) and other pro-segregationists who hold chairmanships of key congressional committees.

(4) The switch of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D., N. Y.) and other prominent Negroes from the Democratic party to the GOP.

In Chicago, political observers attributed the swing to Rep. William L. Dawson's refusal to come out strongly for civil rights, and the influence of the Windy City ministers who supported the Republican ticket.

Dawson had this to say about the turn of events:

1,239,500 NEGROES REGISTER IN SOUTH

Represent 25% of Potential —'Low' Figure Attributed to Apathy, Fear and Bias

Special to The New York Times.

ATLANTA, Nov. 4—About 1,239,500 Negroes in eleven states, only one in every four of voting age, are registered to vote in Tuesday's general elections, the Southern Regional Council reported today.

The registration of white voters for the eleven states was estimated at 11,072,125. The white populace of voting age was 16,882,882, and the Negro 4,980,740. This made the white registration about 65 percent of the

potential, and the Negro 25 percent.

The council, an interracial organization of Southerners, emphasized that while current Negro registrations represented an increase of 210,000 over 1952, the "comparatively low" total was atetributable to four major factors:

1. Discriminatory practices against potential Negro registrants—for example, unusually severe literacy and constitional interpretation tests and difficulty in securing registration certificates.
2. Lack of political consciousness and apathy, demonstrated by the fact that in some cities where registration was comparatively easy the number of Negroes registered had remained low.
3. Dependency of many Negroes on members of the white community and the resultant fear of incurring economic pressures.
4. Violence and threats, still reported in some areas, although generally replaced by more subtle forms of intimidation.

Texas Negroes Lead

According to the council, Texas leads the region in the number of Negroes registered—214,000.

Georgia is next with 163,825. Louisiana follows with 161,410 and also shows the greatest gain over 1952—41,410.

The council emphasized that in most instances the figures were estimates, based on county-by-county reports, checks with voting officials, registration records, or interviews with informed observers.

The most incomplete figures came from Mississippi, the council said. There the latest estimate of Negro registrants was made in 1954, when 20,000 were listed. The consensus was that at best the number had not increased. Some felt the figure had remained constant and others that there had been a drop to as few as 8,000.

The 1954 figure was used in computing the current eleven-state total.

Following are the council's estimates of Negro registrations in the eleven states:

ALABAMA — 52,000 Negroes registered, an increase since 1952 of 26,776. Negroes represent 30 per cent of the voting-age population and 6 per cent of the total registration.

ARKANSAS—69,677 Negroes registered, an increase since 1952 of 8,264. Negroes represent 21 per cent of the total population of voting age and 12 per cent of the total registration.

FLORIDA — 149,786 Negroes, registered, an increase of 28,886 since 1952. Negroes represent 20 per cent of the voting age population and 9 per cent of the total registration.

GEORGIA — 163,825 Negroes registered, an increase of 18,990 since 1952. Negroes represent 29 per cent of the total population of voting age (18 and over in Georgia) and 12 per cent of the total registration.

LOUISIANA—161,400 Negroes registered, an increase of 41,410 since 1952. Negroes represent 30 per cent of the total population of voting age and 18 per cent of the total registration.

MISSISSIPPI—19,975 Negroes registered in 1954, approximately the same number as in 1952. Registration for 1956 unavailable. Negroes make up 41 per cent of the total population of voting age.

NORTH CAROLINA—135,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 35,000 since 1952. Negroes represent 24 per cent of the total population of voting age and 7 per cent of the total registration.

SOUTH CAROLINA—100,790 Negroes registered, showing little change from 1952. Negroes represent 34 per cent of the total population of voting age and 16 per cent of the total registration.

TENNESSEE—90,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 5,000 over 1952. Negroes represent 16 per cent of the total population of voting age and 15 per cent of the total registration.

TEXAS—214,000 Negroes registered, an increase of 32,084 over 1952. Negroes represent 12 per cent of the total population of voting age and 8 per cent of the total registration.

VIRGINIA — 83,098 Negroes registered, an increase of 13,772 over 1952. Negroes represent 21 per cent of the total population of voting age and 9 per cent of the total registration.

Negro Voters In South Show 210,000 Rise

Star P. 9-a
Sun. 11-4-56
Washington D.C.

ATLANTA, Nov. 3 (AP).—The Southern Regional Council reported today there are at least 1,239,500 Negroes registered to vote in the 11 Southern States, an increase of 210,000 since 1952.

The council is an inter-racial organization of Southerners working in the field of human relations. It reported that while the Negro vote in the South has grown steadily since 1944 and the outlawing of the "white" primary, the percentage of Negroes of voting age registered remains comparatively low.

Registration of white voters for the 11 States was estimated at 11,072,125. Voting-age white population in the 11 States was 16,882,882 and Negro voting age population 4,980,740, making white registration about 60 per cent of the potential, Negro registration about 25 per cent.

4 Reasons Listed

Four reasons for the comparatively low Negro registration were listed:

1. Discriminatory practices, including unusually severe literacy and constitutional interpretation tests and difficulty in securing registration certificates.

2. Lack of political consciousness and apathy, demonstrated by the fact that in some cities where registration was comparatively easy the number of Negroes registered remained low.

3. Dependency of many Negroes on members of the white community and resultant fear of incurring economic pressures.

4. Violence and threats, still reported in some areas, "although generally replaced by more subtle forms of intimidation."

State Estimates Given.

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Percentage, however, is low—

Negro voters up 210,000 in Dixie

News P. 29-a
Sun. 11-4-56
Birmingham Ala.

ATLANTA, Nov. 3—(AP)—The Southern Regional Council Saturday reported there are at least 1,239,500 Negroes registered to vote in the 11 Southern states, an increase of 210,000 since 1952.

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FOUR REASONS for the comparatively low Negro registration were listed:

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The council gave the following estimates by states:

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Courier Election Analysis

Courier P. 3

By WILLIAM G. NUNN SR.
(National Affairs Editor)

Pittsburgh Pa.

The Negro vote is being "courted" this year—as never in the past 20 years! In 1932, when the nation elected Franklin D. Roosevelt, Negroes still remained loyal to the GOP.

Pub. 11-3-56

In 1934, the "big switch" took place, and by 1936, the Negro vote was firmly wedded to the Democratic Party.

Neither Willkie (1940), Dewey (1944 and 1948) nor Eisenhower (1952) could divorce 'em.

The best showing the Republicans could make was a 20% Negro vote (one out of five) in 1952, according to informed political sources.

■

TODAY, VICE PRESIDENT Richard M. Nixon is predicting that 40% of the Negro vote will go Republican. Others, not so optimistic, say that the Republicans will deflect 10% or 12% more of the Negro vote.

In order to give Courier readers an objective analysis, The Courier herewith publishes observations of "key" representatives in various "key" states.

■

NEW YORK (45 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro votes to GOP, 10%to 15%.

Reason: Southern Democrats' attitude on civil rights; opposition to Southern Democrats holding chairmanships of important committees; defection of Congressman Adam Clayton Powell.

Eisenhower to carry state, but most Negroes will vote for Stevenson, because of large number of Negro elected and appointed officeholders.

Javits to defeat Wagner and Powell to retain his seat in Congress.

■

NEW JERSEY (16 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro votes to GOP, 8%.

Reason: GOP action on civil rights and fear of Southern Democrats controlling Congressional committees.

Eisenhower to carry state, with margin of votes cut down.

MARYLAND (9 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro votes to GOP, 16% to 20%, with Baltimore Negroes splitting down the middle.

Reason: Liberal program of Gov. McKeldin and alleged insult to Negro Democratic leaders by state organization, which set up headquarters in hotel where Negroes were barred. Civil rights and Eastland also factors in switch.

Eisenhower to carry state.

■

PENNSYLVANIA(32 electoral votes)

PHILADELPHIA — No noticeable defection of Negro voters from Democratic Party.

Reason: Superb Democratic organization plus split among Republicans.

Dr. Horace Scott (GOP candidate for Congress) trailing white Democratic incumbent.

PITTSBURGH—Shift of Negro votes to GOP—MAYBE 6%.

Democrats control all city and county offices; have smooth-working organization with labor going all-out for Democratic ticket.

Pennsylvania leaning slightly to Eisenhower with women's vote a decisive factor. Duff in trouble in Senatorial race.

■

OHIO (25 electoral votes)

Over 400,000 registered Negro voters.

Shift of Negro voters to GOP (5% in rural areas; 2% in big cities).

Eisenhower to carry state, but Stevenson to get majority of Negro votes.

Senator Bender in deep trouble for Senatorial seat, because Lausche has consistently been supported by Negroes as gubernatorial candidate.

Negro candidates: Representative McClure (Cincinnati) will be re-elected. Former Rep. Bowers (Dayton) who lost last election by 25 votes, will win.

Loeb trailing in Congressional fight (Cleveland).

■

ILLINOIS (27 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro voters to GOP, less than 10%.

Reason: Anger over Till case, Democratic control of Congress with Southerners holding key chairmanships, active GOP campaign by Negro ministers.

Eisenhower to carry state, with Negroes giving marginal majority to Stevenson.

Dawson to win again. Dirksen ahead. Will get appreciable Negro support.

■

CALIFORNIA (32 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro votes to GOP, 2%.

Reason: Eisenhower's civil rights record and fear of Southerners controlling Congress.

Stevenson to get majority of Negro vote.

Eisenhower to carry state, with Kuchel (R.) slightly ahead of Richards (D.) in Senate race.

Negroes Hawkins (Los Angeles) and Rumford (Oakland) unopposed for State Assembly.

■

MICHIGAN (20 electoral votes)

Shift of Negro votes to GOP, between 10% and 12%.

Reason: Public endorsement of Eisenhower by Rep. Adam Powell and State Senator Cora Brown, both Democrats.

Williams leading Cobo in fight for Governor.

Diggs leading Ward in fight for Congress.

■

FLORIDA (10 electoral votes)

This state's 153,000 registered Negro voters "all dressed up with no place to go." Florida white Republican leaders have written off Negro vote, while Democrats take Negro vote for granted. Privately, both parties admit they would just as soon have Negro voters "stay at home."

Negroes favor Eisenhower, but won't vote for prejudiced local GOPers.

Prediction on outcome — Your guess is as good as ours.

■

LOUISIANA (10 electoral votes)

Real shift — 60% of Negroes will vote for Eisenhower, but won't change registration. Total Negro registration this year 160,000 against 100,000 in '52. State will go Democratic, because whites are angry over civil rights, school integration.

Southerners Deny Move To Ban Negro Voting

Evening Star Thurs. 10-25-56

Washington D.C. P. 26-a

By the Associated Press

Southern leaders have challenged a Justice Department official's statement that a mass campaign to deny Negroes the right to vote is under way in the South.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney said yesterday investigations already are under way in sections of five States, and criminal charges will be filed where Negroes are deprived of voting privileges because of their race.

"Disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis," Mr. Olney said, in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina. This is being accomplished, he said, by what he called "systematic" revisions of registration rolls, frequently on the basis of challenges by White Citizens Councils.

Called Political Move

Mississippi's Gov. J. P. Coleman replied that "on its face this is a political move designed to get votes from the Northern Negro." He said he personally will join in defending any Mississippian indicted on what he called "these trumped up charges."

Earl Echols, chairman of the Pierce County (Ga.) board of registration, said 130 Negro voters were removed from rolls there after "failing to appear to meet the challenge (of their eligibility" at a board hearing." Of others who did appear, he added, "only three, four or five" were removed, two of them because of felony convictions. Mr. Olney had said Pierce County was one of those under investigation.

Denials came from several officials in Alabama.

State Senator Sam Englehardt, head of the Alabama Association of Citizens Councils, said that organization "hasn't done a thing" about trying to get Negroes off voting lists.

Intimidation Denied

Asa Carter, executive secretary of the separate Alabama Citizens Councils, said his group has made no effort to "intimidate or threaten board registrars to disfranchise Negroes."

William F. Thetford, circuit solicitor for Montgomery County, Ala., labeled as "untrue" and "political propaganda" any such report in his county, and Tom F. Young, solicitor for Macon County, said he had received no such reports. Both counties had been named by Mr. Olney.

The Justice Department official said wholesale removals were reported also in Ouachita, Rapides and Grant Parishes in Louisiana, and in "some other" counties he could not name at this time.

He told newsmen he intends to bring criminal prosecutions "in every instance where we can show a qualified person was denied the right to vote simply because of his color" in the forthcoming general elections.

Must Wait for Case

He said the statutes available for such prosecutions carry penalties ranging from one to ten years imprisonment and fines of $5,000 to $10,000.

He described the situation as "unprecedented as a mass movement," because he said it involved the "purging" of voters previously recognized by local authorities as qualified.

There is little or nothing the Justice Department can do now, Mr. Olney said, because "you can't make a case until a qualified voter is deprived of his rights at the polls."

Mr. Olney said he also has of the Fourteenth Amendment which provides in effect that persons wrongly deprived of the right to vote may not be counted in determining the number of Representatives to which a Sta is entitled.

U. S. Set To Prosecute In Negro-Voter Purges

Justice Department Plans Criminal Action Against Whites In 5 Southern States

By The United Press

Washington, Oct. 24.—The Federal Government plans criminal prosecution against white supremacists in five Southern states for "wholesale purges" of qualified Negroes from voting lists, it was disclosed today.

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney, III, head of the Department's Criminal Division, said the Government would act after the November 6 election on "many thousands" of complaints by formerly qualified Negroes that they will not be allowed to vote.

He said the prosecutions could not be undertaken on a sound legal basis until after the Negroes actually are blocked from voting.

"In every instance where we can show a person was denied his right to vote by reason of his color, we intend to prosecute," Olney said.

'Trouble Spots' Mentioned

He said the "unprecedented" mass move to disfranchise Negro voters had a "recognizable leadership" in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

Olney singled out as particular trouble spots Montgomery and Macon counties in Alabama and Grant Parish in Louisiana. He told Senate investigators earlier this year that similar conditions prevailed in Ouachita and Rapides parishes in Louisiana and Pierce County in Georgia.

Olney said that, under the leadership of local White Citizens Councils, thousands of Negroes who previously had voted were stricken from the voting rolls in "three or four sections" in each of the five states.

In each case, he said, the F.B.I. is actively investigating the complaints.

He said there was "an exact pattern" to the method used to "systematically knock off" Negroes as qualified voters in the affected states. He showed a news conference Southern newspaper accounts of how the Negroes were purged.

In each case, he said, the Negro's right to vote was first challenged through the efforts of a White Citizens Council. White voters of the community were never challenged, Olney said.

He said the Negroes then were ensnared in a number of technical questions where only an exact answer was accepted. Olney cited one instance where Negro voters were dropped from the rolls by filling in a blank for color with the letter "C" instead of writing out "colored."

Failed To Meet Standards

He said one Southern newspaper reported that most prominent white persons in the community, including all members of the local White Citizens Council, failed to meet the standards in the form required of Negroes.

Olney said F.B.I. investigations turned up evidence of "one large conspiracy" conducted by a top echelon of leadership of White Council members. He refused to "name names" on this point, however.

Olney said he had brought the situation to the attention of both the Senate elections subcommittee and the House Committee on Administration. He said he had received no reply from either group on his offer to aid in a Congressional investigation.

Cites 14th Amendment

Olney said he reminded the House committee, headed by Representative Burleson (D., Tex.), of a provision in the 14th Amendment to the Constitution. It provides that Congress may reduce a state's representation in the House in direct ratio to the number of persons in the the state illegally deprived of a vote.

Olney cited three laws under which persons could be prosecuted for tampering with others' civil rights.

One was the general-conspiracy statute, which carries penalties of up to $10,000 fine and five years' imprisonment. This act makes it illegal to conspire to break any federal law.

Olney said two other laws dealing with conspiracy against the rights of citizens and the deprivation of civil rights also could be invoked. The conspiracy statute provides penalties ranging up to $5,000 and 10 years. The second statute carries a penalty of $1,000 and one year.

Percentage, however, is low—

Negro voters up 210,000 in Dixie

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FOUR REASONS for the comparatively low Negro registration were listed:

1. Discriminatory practices — including unusually severe literacy and constitutional interpretation tests and difficulty in securing registration certificates.
2. Lack of political consciousness and apathy, demonstrated by the fact that in some cities where registration was comparatively easy the number of Negroes registered remained low.
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4. Violence and threats, still reported in some areas, "although generally replaced by more subtle forms of intimidation."

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Federal action hinted in vote challenge cases

BY JACK ADAMS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 26—(AP)—Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said today he thinks federal authorities could prosecute election officials who give different tests for qualifying Negro and white voters.

He replied "I think so" when a reporter asked whether federal action could be applied in such cases as those reported by the Justice Department yesterday.

THE DEPARTMENT said it has had complaints from more than a half-dozen North Carolina counties that registrars there have been excluding Negroes from the voting registration rolls by what it called "unusual" conditions not required of white applicants.

The department noted the complaints from North Carolina are somewhat different from those received from a number of other Southern states where Olney said earlier this week he was investigating an apparent "systematic" removal of Negro voters from registration lists in advance of the Nov. 6 general elections.

IN THESE CASES, the assistant attorney general said he proposes criminal prosecution in every instance where it can be shown that the registrant was deprived of his vote solely because of color.

The department said the complaints from North Carolina, dealing largely with alleged difficulties in obtaining registration, included as an example one relating to making a transcrip of the U. S. Constitution.

In this instance, the complaint said that when a Negro applied for registration, the registrar read the Constitution aloud and the applicant was required to copy this down, with all capitalization and punctuations correct." The complaint said white applicants were not subjected to such a test.

OLNEY SAID late yesterday his investigations in the South, through FBI agents, could be called "political" because they involved what he said was "a basic political right—the right to vote." However, he asserted they could not be called "partisan" because the investigations involved reported disfranchisement "of Democrats by Democrats."

IN ISSUING the formal statement, Olney, a California Republican, appeared to be replying to a declaration by Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman terming the Olney announcement as "a cheap political bluff."

Coleman said "on the face this is a political move designed to get votes from the northern Negro."

COLEMAN LED a chorus of disclaimers in the South after the assistant attorney general charged yesterday that "disfranchisement of colored voters is going forward on a mass basis" in some areas of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.

34e 1956 GEORGIA

THEY'RE QUALIFIED VOTERS NOW — The first of a group of members of the Carver Homes Tenants Association leave the Fulton County Administration Building Saturday, after having placed their names on the registration book as qualified voters. An official of the organization said that more groups from the Carver Homes would follow in the future.

In 300,000 vote drive

MACON, Ga.—"I cannot recall a perod in my entire lifetime when racial animosities have been so openly and flagrantly advocated as they are today."

John W. Dobbs president of the Georgia Voters League, made this pronouncement in a meeting last week to boost a statewide drive for 300,0000 registered colored voters.

In his address, Mr. Dobbs said that "most of our problems will be solved and settled at the ballot box."

HE URGED that his hearers influence all eligible men and women (those above 18 in the state of Georgia) to become registered voters.

He noted that the colored population of the state is 1,100,000 of which there are 600,00 elegible to vote with only 175 presently registered.

He closed by urging the audience to trust God, the Supreme Court and the NAACP.

Dobbs Sets Goal Of 300,000 Negro Voters

MACON, Ga., March 10 (AP)—A Georgia Negro leader Saturday deplored "serious and far-reaching atrocities . . . against our group in Georgia and the South" and told Negro voters most of their problems would be "settled at the ballot box."

John Wesley Dobbs, Atlanta, president of the Negro Georgia Voters League, told a Negro gathering at the AME Church here that "In the days ahead, we will not need the leadership of hotheads and vain braggarts. On the contrary, we will need quiet, courageous, Christian leadership. . . .

"We believe in God first and next in the ideals of America. . . . We must trust God and believe that right will overcome wrong and that truth will, eventually, overcome error," Dobbs said.

* * *

HE TOLD THE Negroes to trust "God . . ., Those nine judges on the U.S. Supreme Court bench," and ". . . the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, Thurgood Marshall and their legal staff. . ."

Dobbs said the league's goal is 300,000 voters out of Georgia's population of 1,100,000 Negroes. He said 175,000 are presently registered and that there are 600,000 "potential" voters.

He said "Southern governors, politicians and state legislatures have been loud in their denunciation of the U.S. Supreme Court . . ." and that "the feelings and passions of citizens, both white and black, have been unduly inflamed with loose talk and wild propaganda about interposition, nullification and villification. . . .

* * *

"IT SEEMS LIKE the churches, with their Christian leadership, stand helpless before this onslaught of intolerance and violence."

He mentioned as examples the Autherine Lucy case at the University of Alabama, the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott and "the tragic slaying of Dr. Thomas H. Brewer Sr., at Columbus, Georgia."

Dobbs said "we must of necessity face these problems. We cannot run away from them. We have nowhere to go. . . We must decide now, once and for all time, that in God's name, we will stay right here in Georgia, and work out our salvation in a spirit of humility and courage."

TOP 14 OFFICERS

Georgia Women Voters Chiefs Resign On Segregation Issue

ATLANTA, March 30 (AP) — The top 14 officers of the 1,100-member Atlanta League of Women Voters resigned en masse today on the segregation issue — only to be told later that they had no cause to do so.

The resigning leaders accused the state president, Mrs. Walter Paschall, also an Atlanta member, in effect with trying to ram a national league racial integration policy down their throats.

Mrs. Paschall, after a hurried conference with her board of directors, declared:

"From the statements of those who resigned, their action obviously was based on a misunderstanding of the basic structure of the League of Women Voters.

NO RELATION

"Membership in the League of Women Voters has no relation to the issue of public segregation."

Six remaining directors of the Atlanta league also met and issued a statement saying they regretted the resignations and believed "the differences of opinion are honest on both sides."

Quitting the league as members as well as officers were the president, three vice presidents, treasurer, secretary and five directors along with three members of the nominating committee. This left only one vice president and a handful of directors and nominating committee members to direct activities.

The remaining vice president, Mrs. Harry Dunstan, was elevated to presiding officer under the league's bylaws, explained Mrs. Rushton Coulborn, a director.

MASS EXODUS

Leading the mass exodus was Miss Mary Richardson, newly elected president and author of an unsuccessful resolution to continue the league's policy of excluding Negroes from membership.

This resolution was defeated 42-57 at the local league's annual meeting Tuesday. Mrs. Paschall said she regarded the action as affirming national league bylaws which place no racial restriction on membership. Miss Richardson and others differ with her, holding that the vote by only a fraction of the league membership was inconclusive.

The withdrawing officers issued a statement to the membership giving several reasons for their action, among them conflict and partisanship among the membership and "increasing centralization of authority on a national level."

CRUX OF COMPLAINT

But obviously the crux of their complaint was integration, about which their statement had this to say:

"Although the Georgia league has heretofore contended that the league has no stand on segregation, the statements of Mrs. Walter Paschall, president of the Georgia league, during and following our annual meeting, made it clear that all leagues in Georgia must now take a stand and become integrated. We feel that the integration of our league at this time will raise so many problems that the effectiveness of the Atlanta league will be seriously impaired and that we can no longer properly function in the political life of our community."

For many years the league in Georgia has engaged in fact finding and reporting on public affairs, including candidates for office. It is supported by membership dues.

LARGEST IN GEORGIA

The Atlanta unit is by far the largest in Georgia. Miss Richardson had said she is leaving Monday for a vacation and would be ready to confer on the point upon her return.

Miss Richardson, a native of South Carolina, formerly lived in Spartanburg.

Women's Voters League Splits On Question Of Integration

Daily World P. 1
Sat. 3-31-56
Atlanta, Ga.

A dispute over autonomy of local units, and the admission of Negro members, Friday split the Atlanta League of Women Voters.

Most of the officers of the Atlanta chapter of the organization resigned, complaining of "strained" relations within the group, and declaring integration would destroy the League's effectiveness.

Miss Mary Richardson, who quit as president of the Atlanta chapter said it was "clear that all leagues in Georgia must now take a stand and become integrated." She and 12 others who resigned added:

"We feel that the integration of our league at this time will raise so many problems that the effectiveness of the Atlanta League will be seriously impaired and that we can no longer properly function in the political life of our community.

The League previously has had no policy at all on segregation, Miss Richardson and the others said, but earlier this week the Atlanta group argued over a resolution that would have declared a policy against admission of Negro members.

Referring to this action, the statement of the resigned officers said:

"The closeness of the vote at the annual meeting shows that the division of thought on the purpose of the league is so deep as to divide us into factions and to prevent our working effectively."

..The resigning members also complained that "there is a serious division within the League itself on its basic objectives, and added:

"We are not in accord with the increasing centralization of authority on a national level, nor with the emphasis on conformity without regard for the individual needs of our League. We feel that conflicting interpretations are endangering our non-partisanship."

Open Letter To Ministers On Registration

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.

The Officers and Directors of the All Citizens Voter's League which is operating under the joint sponsorship of the various Minister's Alliances, Civic and Political Organizations and the Georgia Voters League are calling upon the Ministers of Greater Atlanta to designate Sunday March 25 as Registration Sunday in all of the Churches. The Ministers are asked to do two things in relationship to the Campaign, first, it is the hope that the Ministers will preach a special sermon dealing with Citizenship responsibility as its emphasis on that Sunday; and second, the Committeee is requesting an opportunity to speak at least five minutes at the morning services as additional impact to the admonition from the pulpit.

Bolting Segregationists Lock Out Voter League

Constitution P. 9
Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 4-4-56

Directors of the League of Women Voters of Atlanta Tuesday approved a letter to be sent to its membership assuring them League activities will be carried on.

Meanwhile Tuesday it was disclosed that League officeholders who resigned last week had locks on the doors of League offices changed. Directors who did not resign had to call a locksmith in Monday to gain admission.

Both sides played down the importance of the incident, however.

A spokesman for the group who resigned last week after the League membership failed to recommend continued exclusion of Negroes said the outgoing officers were not trying to bar remaining officers from the records.

The locks were changed to protect League property until an audit could be made and property officially turned over to the new officers, the spokesman said.

Mrs. Harry Dunstan, acting president of the League, said she saw no reason why that explanation could not be accepted.

The locksmith was called after directors were unable to enter for a meeting Monday. A second meeting was held Tuesday, at which time the letter to the membership was agreed upon. Besides assuring continued League activities, the letter said new officers will be elected in the near future.

The Westside Voters League Tonight

Daily World P. 16
Atlanta, Ga.
Tues. 4-3-56

Coming up to April 3rd, and an important meeting of the Westside Voters League, many happy expectations of wholesome results are in the offing. On Easter Sunday, from many churches and public forums went out the appeal for the unregistered to get busy and get their names on the registration rolls. The ministers did a good job while other citizens made appearances at various churches to intensify the awakening evident on every front in an unprecedented registration drive.

The Westside Voters League, of which Attorney Cassandra E. Maxwell is president will stage a "homecoming" affair at the Warren Memorial Methodist Church, 181 Ashby Street, S. W., this Tuesday night at 8 P. M., April 3rd.

Jesse O. Thomas, who heads the Registration Drive will speak as well as others.

The Westside Voters League saw excellent service during the last campaign. This will be one of the most important election years of many a generation. It will bring a challenge to the door of every voter and those who feel that the nation should continue in prosperity and the noble work begun for the bringing of justice to the door of every citizen in a Democracy making no provisions for second-class citizenship, should be eligible for an expression of appreciation.

Regardless of party faith or affiliation, every citizen must make his contribution to the effort of government with the consent of the governed.

This cannot obtain without an all out reach for every possible registrant to do his or her duty.

Every citizen interested in the common welfare should be on hand to make his contribution.

Let the word be passed on that the meeting will be representative.

Negroes Must Perpetuate Registration, Bacote Says

Daily World P. 1
Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 5-16-56

Dr. C. A. Bacote, president of the All-Citizens Registration Committee, called upon Atlantans to "concentrate on getting the registered out to vote." He was speaking to the weekly meeting of the Frontiers in the Holiday Room of Joe's Coffee Bar.

Telling of the voting history among Negroes in Atlanta Dr. Bacote said that it was urgent that a plan is developed to perpetuate registration as well as make the community vote conscious.

He told how the white primary and the poll tax had effected the Negro in government just after the Civil War and until 1942.

Here he pointed to the mass registration in the years following the outlawing of the poll tax and white primary.

Dr. Bacote pointed to Negroes who had held various elected positions in city government. Two he pointed up were William Finch and William Rogers. Both were councilmen.

Finch served as a Councilman in 1871. He was a tailor and was elected on December 7. 1870, according to Dr. Bacote. He was interested in public education and was responsible for government interest in education for Negroes.

Rogers served an elected office from 1906 through 1908.

Speaker of the mass registration just after the outlawing of the poll tax and white primary Dr. Bacote credited the high percentage to liberal elements in government, the novelty and neighborhood registration centers.

Praise in the recent two month campaign was given ministers, school principals and the Boy Scouts. The church leaders were cited because of the emphasis placed upon good citizenship as a part of the religious life. The school were mentioned because of the concentrated effort to get parents of all students registered and the Boy Scouts for distribution of literature.

He outlined plans for securing a full potential of voting in the forthcoming elections.

Dr. Bacote told the Frontiers that two projects should be continued He said that effective work could be done through the churches and in the schools to make citizens vote conscious.

Following the address the Frontiers approved a Get-Out the Vote Campaign. The action project will get under way with Frontiers spearheading a drive in both church and school.

Frontiers also acted favorable on a plan to develop within the community a full-time registraton and citizenship project.

11 Vote League Officers Quit in Integration Tiff

Constitution Sat. 3-31-56
Atlanta, Ga. p. 1

By M. L. ST. JOHN

Eleven top officers of the Atlanta League of Women Voters resigned Friday, charging the state president is trying to force racial integration on its membership.

Mrs. Walter Paschall, state president, replied that the league has taken no stand on segregation—and that a woman can be a loyal member of the league whether she believes in public segregation or public integration.

Remaining directors of the Atlanta League of Women Voters elevated Mrs. Harry Dunstan to the post of acting president and predicted the organization will continue to be politically effective here.

The 1,100-member Atlanta League, one of the largest and oldest in the nation, failed Tuesday by a 42-57 vote to adopt a resolution to continue its policy of excluding Negroes. Resigning members said the membership is so badly separated on this and other points "as to divide us in factions and prevent our working effectively."

Friday was a day of statement-issuing by Atlanta women leaders divided sharply in this League dispute.

First came this statement by Miss Mary Richardson, president, and the other officers who resigned:

"We, as officers and members of the League of Women Voters of Atlanta, have reached a decision to tender our resignations. We have done this after careful consideration.

Constitution p. 3

"We feel obligated to tell the membership our reasons. Recently it has become apparent to us that there is a serious division within the League itself as to its basic objectives. We are not in accord with the increasing centralization of authority on a national level, nor with the emphasis on conformity without regard for the individual needs of our League. We feel that conflicting interpretations are endangering our nonpartisanship. In addition, during this past year, the relations between the board of the Atlanta League and the board of the Georgia League have become so strained that it has now become impossible for us to work effectively.

"Although the Georgia League has heretofore contended that the League has no stand on segregation, the statements of Mrs. Walter Paschall, president of the Georgia League, during and following our annual meeting make it clear that all leagues in Georgia must now take a stand and become integrated. We feel that the integration of our leagues at this time will raise so many problems that the effectiveness of the Atlanta League will be seriously impaired and that we can no longer properly function in the political life of our community.

CLOSE VOTE

"The closeness of the vote at the annual meeting shows that the division of thought on the purpose of the League is so deep as to divide us into factions and to prevent our working effectively. We were not able to vote on revisions to inoperable by-laws, and the elections procedures for the selection of officers were challenged.

"For these reasons, we feel we cannot continue to carry the heavy responsibility for league leadership and work."

This was signed by Miss Richardson; Mrs. Edward A. Pierce, executive vice president; Mrs. Dan Byrd Jr. and Mrs. Alfred Green Jr., vice presidents; Mrs. W. R. McKelvy, secretary; Mrs. Homer Hulse, treasurer; Mrs. Alan Ritter, Mrs. Richard Landis, Mrs. Murdock Equen, Mrs. Darwood Holm and Mrs. O. V. Branson, members of the board of directors; Mrs. William B. Stone, Mrs. Robert Whitaker, and Mrs. Ronald Pentecost, members of the nominating committee.

CALL SESSION

The remaining directors held a called meeting and issued this statement:

"The Board of Directors of the League of Women Voters of Atlanta regrets the resignation of the 11 members and expresses its high regard for these resigning officers and members.

"They are women of integrity with many years of devoted dedicated service to the League of Women Voters behind them. We feel the differences of opinion are honest on both sides.

"The membership at the annual meeting March 27 voted down a resolution introduced by Miss Mary Richardson, president-elect, recommending continued policy of limiting membership to white women. Since no pressure had been used by state or national leagues and since the resolution had not been discussed with the board, the introduction of the resolution came as a shock to other board members and the general membership. For more than five years the by-laws of the League of Women Voters of Atlanta have not contained a restrictive clause.

"We believe that with its 37-year record of non-partisan service to Atlanta and Fulton County the League of Women Voters of Atlanta will remain politically effective. We feel confident that our many friends will continue to support our program. We pledge ourselves to carry out the purpose of the League of Women Voters of Atlanta: To promote political responsibility through informed and active participation of citizens in government."

This was signed by Mrs. Dunstan, Mrs. John S. Correll, Mrs. Rushton Coulborn, Mrs. Ray Mitchell, Mrs. Harry Pfiffner and Mrs. Fred Ryan.

DIRECTORS CONFER

Mrs. Paschall conferred with some state directors and issued the following statement:

"We regret the resignation of the 11 officers and members of the board of the Atlanta League. According to the by-laws of the Atlanta League adopted six years ago 'any person who subscribes to the purpose and policy of the league shall be eligible for membership.'

"From the statements of those who resigned, their actions obviously were based on a misunderstanding of the basic structure of the League of Women Voters.

"Membership in the League of Women Voters has no relation to the issue of public segregation. The League of Women Voters of Georgia as well as the League of Women Voters of the United States has taken no stand on the subject of public segregation. Under this policy, an individual can be a loyal member of the league and believe in public segregation or in public integration. Our membership includes women voters of varied political beliefs and affiliations. While we may vote differently, we all work together to promote political responsibility."

ATLANTA GROUP CUTS TIES WITH VOTERS' LEAGUE

Daily Tribune
Sat. 3-31-56
Chicago Ill.
p. 2

Atlanta, March 30 (AP)—Nearly all the officers of the 1,100 member Atlanta League of Women Voters seceded today in protest against racial integration and other policies.

Turning in their resgnations were the presdent, three vice presidents, treasurer, secretary, and five directors, along with three members of the nominating committee.

The league, largest in the state, was left with only a vice president, a handful of directors, and a nominating committee, to continue business.

Complete Severance

The withdrawal, one of the officers emphasized, was as members as well as officers—a complete severance from the organization.

The resigning leaders issued a statement to the membership giving several reasons for their exodus, all of them relating to policies of the national league, which has no racial restrictions on membership.

The local league had failed Tuesday by a 42-57 vote to adopt a resolution continuing its policy of excluding Negroes. Seceding members said the membership is so deeply separated on this and other points "as to divide us in factions and to prevent our working effectively."

"So Many Problems"

Dealing directly with segregation, the statement said:

"Altho the Georgia league has heretofore contended that the league has no stand on segregation, the statements of Mrs. Walter Paschall, president of the Georgia league, during and following our annual meeting, make it clear that all leagues in Georgia must now take a stand and become integrated. We feel that the integration of our league at this time will raise so many problems that the effectiveness of the Atlanta league will be seriously impaired and that we can no longer properly function in the political life of our community."

Mrs. Paschall declined to comment.

The secession led to hurriedly called meetings of the directors both of the Atlanta and Georgia leagues.

The league, as its name implies, is made up of women voters. It is supported by membership dues, and reports on public affairs, including candidates for office.

Alphas Will Give Rides To Register

Daily World
Wed. 4-25-56
Atlanta Ga.

The different housing projects have agreed to serve as concentration points to accomodate the people who wish to take advantage of the

automobile transpartation pool sponsored by the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Friday from 1 P. M. - 4 P. M. and Saturday from 8 A. M. - 11 A. M. private cars driven by members of the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity will pick up prospective registrants at one of the Housing Projects designated below and take them to the courthouse for the purpose of registering and return them to their homes within the time limit stated above.

Persons unable to provide their own transportation or are otherwise inconvenienced who wish to register Friday afternoon or Saturday morning who live in the Northeast section of the city are requested to assemble at the Grady Homes. Those living in the Southeast section will be picked up at Carver Homes. Those living in the Southwest Section are requested to Assemble at the John Hope Homes and those living in the Northwest section will be picked up either at the Eagan Homes or Herndon Homes. Those in the Rockdale section will concentrate at Perry Homes.

If there is any undue delay in securing transportation at the pool these members may be called: Registration Office - CY. 0935 or the Chairman of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Mr. Rod Harris MU. 8-9560.

Morris Brown "Greeks" In Voters Drive

The nine Greek letter undergraduate sororities and fraternities on Morris Brown Campus launched an Intensive Registration Campaign some three weeks ago when culminated in having some 94 per cent of the members of the student body who live in Metropolitan Atlanta signing their names on the dotted line.

This Campaign was spearheaded by members of the Omega Psi Phi Fraternity. Some three weeks ago, the men of Omega had charge of the chapel program with emphasis upon registration. They chose as their speaker Jesse O. Thomas, Director of the All Citizens Registration Committee.

Following his address in the chapel a conference was held with the representatives of the nine sororities and fraternities out of which evolved the program of allocating to each sorority and fraternity one ninth of the resident student population The response to this Intensive On the Campus Campaign under student leadership far excelled a corresponding effort on any other College Campus in the city of Atlanta which was conducted under faculty co-ordinator. The officers of the various sororities and fraternities are: Delta Sigma, Miss Beatties, Alpha Kappa Alpha. Miss Zelma Williams. Sigma Gamma Rho, Miss Rubye T. Campbell. Zeta Phi Beta. Mrs. Margaret Reeves. Iota Phi Lambda. Mrs. Gwendolyn Blount Phi Beta Sigma. Mr. W. Rufus Philpot. Omega Psi Phi. Mr. Linton Powell. Kappa Alpha Psi. Mr. Douglas McKinnon Alpha Phi Alpha. Mr. Norris Long.

REGISTRATION as promoted by the All Citizens Registration group proceeds as fraternities, sororities and institutions take part to promote greater interest in voting. Dr. C. A. Bacote, of Atlanta University is shown standing in the center of a group of women representing the Starlettes Social Club as they appeared for registration at Fulton County Court House recently. Left to right, Rosetta Kemp, Corene Houston Dorothy Johnson, Ruby Neal, club president Dr. Bacote, Naomi Bush, Christine Holmes, Marie Blake, Rosa Sturges and Louise Phillips. — (Adams' Photo)

Two Active Parties, The Answer To The Voters League's Demand

Many of those who privately as well as publicly decried the practice of injecting race issues into political campaigns will find such vigorous organization as the Active Voters League in its annual session here last Saturday attacking "State Administration leaders" for using the race question "to advance their personal ambitions."

There is found in the new quote of this organization a serious indictment of those who make use of tension and unrest in the coining of votes.

At the closing session of their meeting they adopted a resolution, "condemning the leadership of the present state administration in the manner of, handling the Supreme Court Decision."

It will be recalled that the high court ruling outlawed segregation in the public schools. The citizen group charged "many Georgia politicians" with "riding a dangerous wave of emotionalism that may end in violence and bloodshed."

Thusly runs the statement from a reliable organization toward our corner in which we have urged all along that the importance and dignity of issues transcend those petty appeals to prejudice and racial passion as employed for generation in southern politics as bait for the unsuspecting, the bias and otherwise enemies to free government.

The two-party systems offers a remedy to the alarming situation. It would detract attention from race issues and little things and throw the floodlights on live issues, causing the opposition party to leave the flesh-pots of racism that have paid off so long in votes.

The two-party system would offer a serious challenge to the practice lamented by the Active Voters League as well as those others who would like to see campaigns for office leave the sooty smoke screens of delusion and come out into the sunlight of wholesome discussions and better relations.

Let the unregistered get registered and those friends of good government get on the battle fronts and strangle the unfortunate practice by cutting down its pay-off at the ballot box.

SHE REGISTERS DESPITE DOUBLE HANDICAP — Mrs. Ethel Williams makes mark on registration form, with aid of Superintendent H. T. Marshburn. MAAB director, P. J. Woods is shown in the center. — (Perry's Photo)

WITHOUT MALICE

Woman Without Sight, Hands Example For Voters

BY HARMON G. PERRY

Of the large throng of people who filled the registration room Monday in the Fulton County Administration Building to qualify as voters, non drew more attention or deserve more praise than Mrs. Ethel Williams.

The presence of blind people down at the registration office, qualifying as registered voters has long ceased to be a novelty, for officials there have come to regard them as among the best prepared in answering the necessary questions.

HANDS LOST TOO

But, in addition to being deprived of her sight, the 57-year-old Mrs. Williams is without both hands, the result of an unfortunate incident over 34 years ago, but her civic spirit and desire to become a participating citizen, should encite those who are physically more fortunate.

While patiently waiting for the huge crowd in the room to thin out before taking her turn before a registration official, Mrs. Williams vividly and without malice, recalled the incident that resulted in her double handicap on April 6, 1922.

EXPLOSION

At the time, while working as a maid for a congressman from Georgia, Mrs. Wiliams explained that she, by some strange twist of fate, opened a mailed package addressed for her employer. The package turned out to be a booby tarp, and the explosion cost her her eyes and hands.

In the passing years Mrs. Williams has readjusted her life, and has continued to be an active and happy individual. Since becoming a member of the Metropolitan Atlanta Association For The Blind in 1948, Mrs. Williams has given much time and service to this organization, working chiefly as a saleswoman, selling those merchandise made at the association.

P. J. Woods, director of the MAAB, claims that the attitude exemplified by Mrs. Williams is typical of those who make up his organization. They are determined, in spite of their handicaps, to be useful and active citizens. He estimated that over 60 per cent of the blind population of Fulton County are qualified to vote.

H. T. Marshburn, superintendent of voter registration, congratulated Mrs. Williams after she had rolled off the answers to the qualifying questions as fast as he asked them.

He then commended her, and followed by aiding her in placing the pencil at the frists. She made her mark on the dotted line, thus becoming Mrs. Ethel Williams.... qualified voter.

Many Professionals Failed To Register To Vote, Thomas Says

ATLANTA, GA. (SNS)

A "surprising" number of Atlanta professional people apparently do not bother to register to vote, Jesse O. Thomas revealed yesterday.

Mr. Thomas declared:

"We have in the registration office a complete list of all persons who were registered and qualified to vote as of 1955. A surprising number of insurance executives, business and professional men and women, preachers and teachers in both the public school system and the institutions of higher learning names are absent from the list.

"It would not be expected, therefore, that a voteless teacher, business and professional man and woman or insurance official could exercise much persuasive influence in causing other people to assume their citizenship responsibility in this area.

"This startling revelation may supply partial explanatory information as to why the 75,000 colored people in greater Atlanta, 18 years of age and over and therefore qualified to register are not registered.

"1956 should increasingly become a year of historic significance for Negro America from a point view of political participatio Mr. Thomas said.

Democracy forces Ga. women out

ATLANTA — Insistence of members of the Atlanta League of Women Voters upon following a policy of democratic, interracial membership forced the resignations of 11 officers and three of its members last week.

The local league's membership voted 57 to 42 to uphold an amendment to the bylaws of the national organization adopted at its national convention which eliminates any racial barriers to membership.

The vote came on a resolution offered by Miss Mary Richardson, league president, recommending that the local board's policy of excluding colored members be continued.

THE MAJORITY vote defeat came with about one tenth of the membership present.

After those favoring racial exclusion lost their fight, the president, three vice presidents, the secretary, treasurer and five directors and three lay members resigned in protest.

The mass resignations left the local league with only one vice president, a few directors and a nominating committee. Three members of last year's nominating committee were among those resigning.

Among reasons offered by the resigning officers for their actions were "increasing centralization of authority on the national level" and "a serious division within the league itself as to its basic objectives."

* * *

IN WASHINGTON a spokesman for the League of Women Voters confirmed the fact that the bylaws of the national organization include no racial barriers to membership

Several local leagues have admitted colored persons, she asserted because the bylaws provide that "any person" who subscribes to the policies and objectives of the league is eligible for membership.

Vote League Divided on Race Motion

By KATHERINE BARNWELL

The Atlanta League of Women Voters Tuesday defeated a motion to continue its policy of excluding Negroes from membership — but members were widely split afterward on the meaning of the action.

Miss Mary Richardson, new president of the League, said in her opinion the League "has taken no stand on segregation."

VOTE OPENS DOORS?

"The vote was negative," Miss Richardson said. "It was just a vote against the present policy. It didn't say what the policy should be."

Mrs. Walter Paschall, president of the Georgia League of Women Voters and past president of the Atlanta League, said the vote "undoubtedly meant that Negroes can be admitted as members."

Mrs. Paschall had announced she planned to abstain from voting on the motion "because it's not within the province of any local league to vote on this question." She said under the bylaws all women citizens of voting age — Negro or white—are eligible for membership.

ORIGINAL MOTION

Miss Richardson introduced the original motion to continue the policy of the Atlanta League board barring Negroes from membership at the annual meeting at the Atlanta Woman's Club.

The motion was defeated, 57-42, on a secret ballot, with seven members abstaining.

Mrs. Murdock Equen, retiring president, pointed out the Atlanta League has been segregated for 37 years "with the full knowledge of the state and national leagues." She explained the word "white" had been eliminated from membership requirements in the by-

laws after World War II—but the League's directors had adopted a policy of continuing segregation.

Mrs. Equen said she felt the vote on the motion was inconclusive because it was "negative."

She said two Negro women, including a lawyer, had applied for membership in the League recently but action on their applications has been "evaded."

A lively discussion of the issue preceded the balloting.

Mrs. A. J. Brumbaugh said she had been a member of an integrated League of Women Voters in Washington, D.C., and "some of the finest members there were Negro schoolteachers." She said she considered her association with them "one of the rewarding experiences of my life."

"I think we are doing ourselves an injustice by excluding Negro members," Mrs. Brumbaugh said.

Mrs. R. E. Landis opposed admitting Negro members "because we can't solve all the problems of segregation in the Atlanta League."

"How effective can the League be if it is desegregated?" she asked. "Will our government officials listen to us when we propose reforms? Where will we have office space? Where will we have our luncheons? Is this community ready to accept this? Can we afford to do this?"

Mrs. J. B. Pendergrast Jr. spoke in favor of admitting Negroes. She said the League could help them "exercise their responsibility."

Mrs. Frank Carpenter questioned whether the League was well enough established "to take up the cudgel and fight for integration."

Besides Miss Richardson, League president, other officers elected are Mrs. Edward Pierce, executive vice president; Mrs. H. Dunstan, Mrs. Alfred Green Jr. and Mrs. Dan Byrd, vice presidents; Mrs. Homer Hulse, secretary, and Mrs. W. R. McKelvey, secretary.

QUIT VOTERS' LEAGUE

ATLANTA, Ga., March 30 (AP). Nearly all the officers of the 1100-member Atlanta League of Women Voters seceded today in protest against racial integration and other policies.

The resigning leaders issued a statement giving several reasons for their exodus, all of them more or less directly connected with policies of the national league, which has no racial restrictions on membership.

Local Clubs Enter Competition For Top Voter Registration

Five local clubs began a friendly contest Thursday to see which could first lay claim that all of its members are registered voters.

The contest is being staged in connection with a drive by Civic leaders to register voters throughout the city.

Jesse O. Thomas, campaign leader, announced the following clubs as contestants: Deltaretts S. S. Club, Miss Mary Mitchell, president; Blue Flame Club, Mrs. Lyndia Mae Carr, president; Y's Men's Club, John O. Boon, president; The Jewels, Mrs. Juanita Wyatt, president; and the Five O'clock Club, Mrs. Jensy Robinson Booker, president.

Mr. Thomas said Price High School is leading other public schools in the registration drive. All of the Price faculty and 100 per cent of its students who are 18 or will be 18 years old by November 1 have already registered, he said. Turner High is sending 183 persons to the polls to register this afternoon, he added.

Wheat Street Baptist and the Mt. Vernon Baptist Churches have made their buses available to transport prospective voters to register. Mr. Thomas, whose office is located at the Butler Street YMCA, said they will furnish transportation for any group of 15 or more persons. He encouraged clubs and other canvassers to call upon them for this service.

The Westside Voters Act

The Westside Voters League is to be commended for the position it took Tuesday night in ordering its executive committee to investigate the recent bombings of Negro homes in the northwest area of the city. It also instructed the same committee to release a protest to the recently announced leasing of twelve state parks, obviously intended for the circumventing of court decisions outlawing segregation in that phase of American life.

Many startling disclosures came out of the meeting which in a large measure were nothing short of open challenges which no liberty loving, law abiding citizen can default.

The assembly was in hearty accord with the determination of those affected and resolved to go all out to effect such redress as to discourage further impending discriminations.

It is well that the citizens are aroused to this serious condition which in part declares that no citizen among us is immune from this ugly practice imperiling the lives and property of our people.

Too long such conditions have run unmolested and as such have been open invitations to further encroachment upon the rights and freedoms of taxpaying citizens.

Every religious, civic and educational organization within our confines should move in this direction.

No people is safe where the rights of their fellows are preyed upon. Not only the organizations, but private individuals can come in and help in this effort to rout such lawlessness. The qualification to vote is one of the answers. Only a few days remain in which volunteers may enlist in this vast army bent on preserving the good offices and opportunities of our people and institutions.

Staff Photo—Hugh Stovall

MAYOR ADDRESSES LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Mrs. Murdock Equen, Hartsfield, Mrs. Ray Mitchell

Women Voters Organize New Hilltop Chapter Here

The League of Negro Women Voters Inc., organized a chapter in Lynwood Park May 1, 1956 at the China Grove Baptist Church, Rev. G. R. Marignay, pastor.

Mrs. Meldora Hardin was in charge of the program. Mrs. Hardin introduced Mrs. Ruby Blackburn the guest speaker. After speaking concerning the Women Voters Mrs. Blackburn lectured on the NAACP and its value and importance to "our people." She said any citizen that has any pride will be a member of the NAACP.

"It (NAACP) has done more for us than we will ever be able to repay," she said. At this time the large audience broke into applause and pledged their support to the NAACP.

Deacon Stone praised Mrs. Blackburn and said he would be a moving factor behind "our women."

The officers selected for the Lynnwood Park Chapter are: Mrs. Meldora Hardin, president; Mrs Eddie Jackson, vice president; Mrs. Eloise Tyner, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Ethel Lane, recording secretary; Mrs. Annie Truitt, treasurer.

Deacon Harden urged all men of the church to give their support to the women voters.

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Bacote Maps History Of Local Negro Vote

Daily World P.1
Thurs. 2-16-56 Atlanta, Ga.

BY WILLIAM GORDON
Managing Editor, Atlanta Daily World

The dramatic story of the Negro in Atlanta politics was uniquely analyzed Wednesday at the Butler Street YMCA before an enthusiastic Hungry Club audience.

Dr. C. A. Bacote, professor of history at Atlanta Universiy, was the guest speaker for the weekly forum. He was introduced by Dr. Albert N. Whiting, dean of Morris Brown College.

Dr. Bacote's speech was taken from a recent study he has made dealing with the chronology of the major political factors affecting the Negro in Atlanta politics from the year 1869 to present.

URGES VOTING

In addition to his analysis, Dr. Bacote urged the Negro to register and vote. He cited the upward trend of Negro voting immediately following 1946 and added that the trend today reveals that fewer of them are registered and even greater numbers fail to avail themselves to the use of the ballot.

He said Negroes must also lose their prejudices and do not overlook those whites in the South who have stood for the good of all.

The professor of history also said that as long as there are white ministers who are willing to take a stand; as long as there are students in white colleges and universities, willing to accept the Negro and as long as there are those who disapprove race baiting, there is hope in the South.

Dr. Bacote said in effect that from 1868 to 1872, the Negro had a substantial hand in Atlanta politics. He said, however, this also was during the period when the Republican Party had strength in the South.

But in 1877, the trend took a different twist. A poll tax was added and there was more rigid enforcement of residential requirements in order to register and vote. Whites as well as Negroes were affected by this change.

EVILS OF ONE-PARTY SYSTEM

"One consequence of the one-party system," Dr. Bacote said, "which came into existence, was to keep the number of Negroes and whites who registered and voted relatively low." He told how the trend of voting varied from the usual ones, since the main issues at that time was prohibition rather than the usual party-line differences."

Daily World

With the influence of the Republican party taking a downward trend in the South, the tendency later was to split the Negro vote. Alhough, the feeling was to divide and distort the Negro's voting interest, many of them, usually backed the better elements of the community and were not deceived by false promises.

Dr. Bacote cited instance after instance where candidates used various methods to capture the Negro vote. In his article for Phylon Magazine he goes into a complete breakdown of campaign strategy, the attempts by politicians to lure Negroes into various camps.

FORMATION OF WHITE PRIMARY P.4

Dr. Bacote also spoke of rival factions seeking office in 1891. He pointed to the feeling growing out of the campaign of that year and told how the so-called white primary was formed. There was one white man, Tyler Cooper of the Fifth Ward, who stood up against the white primary. He said:

"I am against a white primary ...there are some Negroes in the city who are more competent and more willing to vote that ticket which best represents the interests of the city...than some white men and I am opposed to cutting them out."

Others said it was unconstitutional to deprive the Negro of his voting rights.

Negroes resented the action and answered in protest. In a letter to the Atlanta Journal they said in part:

"We have no objection to your having a democratic primary, but when you have city elections where no politics are involved...we should be recognized. We are equally interested in good government."

As the years went by, the significance of Negro voting became less and less.

"In the state election of 1896," Dr. Bacote said, "the Populists suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Democrats." This actually marked the end for Negro active participation. Those Negroes who continued to register and vote, did so only as a matter of principle.

CORRUPTION RISES

Under the so-called white primary, corrupt politics increased. The mayor, in particular, he said, "disgraced" the city making himself a constant target for attack by the more liberal and decent element of the city.

Dr. Bacote said that from 1908 to 1943, he "found Negro political interest reaching its nadir in Atlanta as well as in the rest of the state."

The white primary, he said had discouraged the Negro's political interest and that poll tax and intimidations further prevented him to have active participation. From this point on, he could only vote in general and open elections.

In his speech and also in his article for Phylon, Dr. Bacote tells how organized Negro leadership finally worked out a solution to regain political strength in the city and in the state. There were men like C. A. Scott, editor and general manager of the Atlanta Daily World, Attorney A. T. Walden, John Wesley Dobbs, head of the Georgia Masons; the late Professor C. L. Harper; members of the Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, all taking part in an organized effort to restore to the Negro his political rights.

Much of their efforts, he pointed out, led to conditioning the climate for outlawing the white primary.

Dr. Bacote concluded that "While conditions are not ideal, Atlanta is probably more progressive in its political thinking and planning than any of the other cities in the Deep South."

Dr. Bacote feels that the city has been a pioneer in developing a better understanding between the races. He also believes that the Negro voter, who represents one-third of the population, by supporting the issues and candidates will improve conditions in the city for all people. He, likewise, believes that the Negro has demonstrated his fitness for political participation and will always vote for the best interest of the city.

Morris Brown Students Told To Register, Vote

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 2-10-56

Get registerd and vote—get on the firing line," was the crux of the admonition given the students at Morris Brown College by Attorney J. Robert Williams last Monday morning at 10 o'clock in the college chapel. P.3

NAACP MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

The program was under the sponsorship of the college chapter of the NAACP. This was the kick-off campaign. Officers of the chapter are: Oliver W. Jackson, president; Mary McKelvey, vice-president; Evelyn Drewery secretary; Carl Middleton, terasurer; Sallie Smart, program chairman; Burke Johnson, Marion Bennett, Louis Bailey, and Willie Smith, recruiting officerss; Johnson Marion Bennett, Louie Bailey, and Willie Smith, recruiting officers; George Davis. Arthur Foster; and John Epps, publicity committee; Dr. Julia F. Jackson, advisor.

CITES PROBLEMS OF NAACP

Attorney Williams gave in a graphical manner the historical reasons for the organization of the NAACP and then went on to trace the successful efforts made by it, especially beginning in 1944 when the supreme court said, "let my people vote."

The Attorney said that "what we want and what we are moving forward to is a Second Emancipation; and emancipation from the shackles of economic slavery, and emancipation from the chains of political servitude." "The way to gain this emancipation be asserted "is to join the NAACP and help fight such things as the White Citizens Council which seeks to keep us in political and economis slavery.

Williams gave a summary of the efforts now underway in South Caro lina, Mississippi, Georgia and other states to maintain the evil practices of an outmoded way of life, as problems confronting the NAACP. Among these he mentioned the resurgence of the KKK via different guises.

All of these declared the speaker "will meet their death at the hands of the NAACP as all the other issues of the past have met death, through the courts of the land." However, opined Attorney Williams, "we can bring death to a more rapid ending, if as individuals, do our part and that is, get registered and vote—get on the firing line. Our ballot is our fire power. This is the only weapoin that the demagogues fear and it is because of this fear that they have tried to circumscribe its use."

"We have never though of violence" declared the speaker, "as a means of gaining an end." We have chosen to focus the battle of complete citizenship upon a higher battleground, with first class citizenship as our guiding star. We have made this choice because wehave faith in that sphere we have faith in the constitution. We have faith in the universal law .. that justice and right will overcome.'

Others on the program were: Oliver W. Jackson who introduced Attorney Williams; Louie Bailey read the scripture. The prayer was given by George W. Davis. Sallie Smart presented the occasion. A solo was sung by Patricia Maddox. Willa Smith and Mary McKelvey served as ushers for the occasion. Dr. A. N. Whiting dean of the college made significant remarks in connection with the program.

Negro Women Voters Add Another Chapter

Daily World P.6
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 2-10-56

The League of Negro Women Voters has added another chapter.

The new chapter was organized at the First Baptist Church at Scotts Crossing. Rev. S. Randolph, pastor, preached from the subject: "Are You Prepared to Meet Your Obligation in Your Community."

Rev. Randolph said, "We must drop all things that are not of interest and keep our hands in God's hands, and be willing to cooperate and help the Women Voters organize.

"Without organization, we'll go nowhere, and without the mothers, we'll go nowhere," he said. The minister urged the women of the church to remain after services. He, along with Mrs. Ruby Blackburn, set up the new chapter of Women Voters, asking every woman of the church and community to become members of the chapter.

Elected officers of the new chapter are: Mrs. Ella L. White, president; Mrs. Kitty A. Jones, vice-president; Mrs. Jimmy Lou Smith, secretary; Mrs. Willis Mason, treasurer; Mrs. Hattie Lee Jordon, assistant secretary; and Mrs. F. Fouch, reporter.

FRONTIERS CITE DAN DUKE — R. R. Moton, Jr. (R) presents Atlanta Attorney Daniel Duke with a plaque for his work in restoring the names of 800 Randolph County Negro voters to the registry. Benjamin Shorter, second from right, was also cited for leading the cause of the voters in that County. Jesse O. Thomas, second from left, is President of the Atlanta Chapter, Frontiers of America. — (Photo by Alexander Adams)

Attorney Duke Assails Those Against Public School System

Daily World P. 1 Tues. 1-31-56 Atlanta, Ga.

A militant lawyer Sunday, speaking before a group who came to honor him, assailed those who would destroy the school system "by peddling hate and race prejudice."

Attorney Lawrence Daniel Duke spoke before a group of Atlanta citizens Sunday who came to honor him for what he has done in the interest of civil rights.

The program was sponsored by the Frontiers of America, Atlanta chapter in cooperation with a citizens committee of Atlanta. Jesse O. Thomas is president of the Frontiers here.

The attorney was presented a plaque by R. R. Moton, Jr., program secretary of the Frontiers' Club.

In a meeting held at the First Congregational Church here, where attorney Duke and Benjamin Shorter were honored for their work in the Randolph County voter-registration case, the attorney said:

"Some parts of the South are caught in the cross-fire" of change while a new life is emerging in the region.

Attorney Duke criticized state officials whom he said are attempting to destroy the public schools system at a time, "When we may soon be facing a war."

To destroy a system, "Which we have worked generations to build, would be like giving 20 divisions of soldiers to Moscow."

The attorney said the South and the country need all the skill it can get to fight aggression.

"Many of our state officials through their tactics, instead of looking into the future are offering the people a passport into the past." He said they are peddling hatred that will "cripple us for the future."

He touched on the bills passed by the Georgia Legislature and added that legally, they were unsound and would not stand up constitutionally. He also said, everything being said and enacted is being closely watched by higher legal means and that whenever the test comes for constitutionality, such bills will be without merit.

Mr. Duke attacked the Press in the South for being 'one-sided'in intepretating the news. He said the "real story" is not being told the 'people of Georgia." When this is done, he said, the "good people of the state will rise and demand better government."

The attorney praised the United States Supreme Court and said it was being attackked by "lawyers who never won a worthwhile case."

Also honored along with the attorney was the one man from Randolph County, Benjamin Shorter who led the voter registration fight there.

Mr. Shorter told what "voting is worth to Negroes in Randolph County.

He said the population of his county is about 19,000 with 11,000 being Negroes, but that only a few of these people ever got the opportunity to vote in state or even county elections. In the more recent, statewide election, Mr. Shorter said all cards by Negroes were pulled out of and challenged by registrars.

The president of the Non-partisan Voters League praised Attorney Duke for his work on the case in Randolph County. He told in detail, the picture of the struggle or voters to secure the right of franchise. He told of the "courage, faith and personal convictions on the part of leaders in Randolph County.

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He was cited along with Attorney Duke. The presentation was made by Dean Edward J. Odom of Morris Brown College.

Attorney and Mr. Shorter were praised by other leaders.

Dr. D. H. Stanton said, "Among the things we hope to find a solution to the many problems of today while "multiplying our friends."

Bishop S. L. Greene who was not present due to the illness of his wife wrote:

"This program is a sounding blow against intollerence everywhere

It is good to know that so many seek democracy through the great and vital use of the ballot."

"Government is supposed to serve the needs of the people at the point of justice," said Dr. William Holmes Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Church.

"The church must do two things: Get an idea in action for justice and get into the midst of the idea. It should actually put the idea into practice," he distinguished minister added.

Dr. Guy Wells of the Georgia Council for Interracial Cooperation told the group to "go softly, but go." He said, Negroes should also register —He called for more talk with "Christian men and women of other races, and to support the groups who are fighting for you."

The program ran as follows:

Presiding, Jesse O. Thomas—President of Frontiers.
America
Invocation—Rev. W. S. Mercer
Welcome—Rev Milton L. Upton
Purpose of Meeting—Dr. D. H. Stanton
Musical Selection—Clark College
Responsibility of the church for good government—Bishop Sherman L. Greene and Dr. William H. Borders
Musical Selection—Morris Brown College
The minister's responsbility for citizenship participation of his parishioners—Bishop J. W. E. Bowen and Rev. R. B. Shorts
Musical Selection—David T. Howard High School
A Voice of Sanity—Dr. Guy H. Wells
What voting is worth to Negroes in Randolph County—Benjamin Shorter
Citation—Dean Edward J. Odom
National Anthem
Introduction of Speaker—Attorney Osgood Williams
Address—Attorney Daniel Duke
Presentation of Plaque—Robert R. Moton, Jr.
Benediction—Father Samuel C. Ware

Negro Vote Is Headed Republican This Time

News Tues. 2-28-56 Daily World

I AM NOT suggesting that President Eisenhower does not have a formidable lead in the coming campaign. He has strong assets. The Negro vote is certainly headed Republican. There will very likely be a substantial increase in voting support from the rank and file of workers who have never experienced such solid, take-home prosperity as during the past three years. It is entirely possible that it could be an increase in labor support which will put a Republican president into the White House this Fall.—©

League Of Women Voters Gets New Set Of Officers

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 4-26-56

The Atlanta League of Women Voters, Wednesday unanimously approved election of seven new officers and eleven new directors to replace leadership which resigned in a dispute over segregation.

Most of the League's officers quit last month, announcing the League's refusal to declare segregation the group's policy would mean integration, and render the organization ineffective.

Mrs. Harry Dunstan, new president, said the group would continue its "good work." The group supplies political information to voters.

VOTERS IN CITY DROP, SUBURB TOTALS CLIMB

County Figure Lower than in 1952

BY GEORGE TAGGE

Official registration figures for next Tuesday's election yesterday showed a drop of 177,104 in "Democratic" Chicago and an increase of 95,491 in the "Republican" suburbs.

Cook county had a net decrease of 81,613 as compared with the 1952 Presidential election. The new totals: Chicago, 1,993,691; suburbs, 669,467; county, 2,663,158.

See Move to Suburbs

Chairman Sidney T. Holzman of the Chicago election board and County Clerk Edward J. Barrett, Democrats, said the changes result from Chicago residents moving to the suburbs.

Ald. Hoellen [47th], a Republican who has long fought vote frauds, said that as a result of action by United States Atty. Tieken "lots of 'ghost' voters have moved back to their graves."

The suburbs now have 25.14 per cent of the total Cook county registration, compared with 20.91 per cent in 1952. In 1936 the suburbs had only 15.89 per cent of the county figure.

19th Gain Largest

Of Chicago wards, the heavily G. O. P. 19th [Beverly Hills neighborhood] has the highest registration—74,164. Next is the northwest side 41st, with 69,209, another banner ward for Republicans. The 18th ward, now somewhat Republican, is third with 60,840.

Lowest registration is in the west side 25th ward, with 23,920. Another Democratic ward, the 24th, which normally votes about 9 to 1 against Republicans, has 32,586 registrants.

Largest decreases below the 1952 figures were in south side Negro wards, where the 2d showed a drop of 14,083 and the 3d a decrease of 9,486. Another Democratic ward, the 13th on the far southwest side, had the biggest increase — 8,442.

Give Ward Totals

Registration by wards for 1952 and 1956, showing increase or decrease, follows:

Ward—	1956	1952	Change
1	30,818	38,642	— 7,824
2	37,877	51,960	—14,083
3	40,935	50,421	— 9,486
4	44,524	46,875	— 2,351
5	34,914	40,443	— 5,529
6	40,818	43,996	— 3,178
7	50,422	54,577	— 4,155
8	47,393	51,661	— 4,268
9	53,429	55,298	— 1,869
10	46,698	46,099	+ 599
11	32,637	35,919	— 3,282
12	29,272	32,659	— 3,387
13	59,274	50,832	+ 8,442
14	27,649	30,281	— 2,632
15	36,351	40,792	— 4,441
16	35,798	39,815	— 4,017
17	38,586	43,399	— 4,813
18	60,840	56,110	+ 4,730
19	74,164	69,590	+ 4,574
20	39,233	46,831	— 7,598
21	25,092	29,636	— 4,544
22	28,455	31,483	— 3,028
23	42,947	42,338	+ 609
24	30,667	32,586	— 1,919
25	23,920	27,060	— 3,140
26	25,730	32,185	— 6,455
27	26,980	32,615	— 5,635
28	33,756	40,799	— 7,043
29	29,341	37,333	— 7,992
30	36,532	41,465	— 4,933
31	29,571	32,321	— 2,750
32	26,948	32,820	— 5,872
33	32,457	37,309	— 4,852
34	33,881	38,516	— 4,635
35	41,571	44,930	— 3,359
36	41,195	43,801	— 2,606
37	42,310	46,217	— 3,907
38	57,104	57,031	+ 73
39	42,689	46,970	— 4,281
40	38,824	40,350	— 1,526
41	69,209	63,233	+ 5,976
42	30,902	39,720	— 8,818
43	33,208	38,657	— 5,449
44	35,365	38,538	— 3,173
45	41,497	46,674	— 5,177
46	36,838	43,171	— 6,333
47	47,478	52,397	— 4,919
48	41,597	49,118	— 7,521
49	46,001	50,007	— 4,006
50	59,994	55,315	+ 4,679
TOTAL	1,993,691	2,170,795	

Net decrease in 1956 from 1952—177,104.

A similar table for most of the suburbs, which are under the county clerk's supervision, was published in THE TRIBUNE yesterday.

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Martin Sees Shift In Nov. Vote

Dr. J. B. Martin, trustee of the Metropolitan Sanitary District of Greater Chicago, predicted Thursday that "a change may take place in Negro voting habits" in the upcoming presidential election. He spoke at a Southside mass meeting.

Conceding that recent primary victories indicate that the Negro is still tied strongly to the Democratic party, Dr. Martin, a GOP leader, said the record of the Eisenhower administration is almost certain to lure Negro votes to the Republicans.

"President Eisenhower has done what other presidents occasionally talked about but left undone," Dr. Martin said.

Dr. Martin rapped Attorney General Brownell for lacking courage in the area of civil rights. He said we have the laws to break down segregation in all phases of life. What we need, he said, are some good, strong officials to enforce the laws that are already on the books.

"Thaddeus Stevens, Charles Sumner, Roscoe Conklin and President Grant have enacted nearly all the legislation we may ever need to maintain equality for Negroes in America," he said.

"We need to stop kidding the Negroes," he said. "They have become of age. Let the GOP stop gum-shoeing and pussyfooting. Get a backbone where it has too long had a wishbone and the Republican party will once again maintain control of the nation for a quarter of a century with the vigorous help of America's biggest minority.

POLLS INDICATE SHIFT TO G. O. P. IN NEGRO VOTE

Democrats Worried by Potential Result

BY WALTER TROHAN

(Chicago Tribune Press Service)

Washington, May 13—Secret party polls indicate the Negro vote is swinging back to the Republican party. Republicans are hopeful and Democrats are concerned because a substantial shift in the Negro vote could upset party alignments.

Negroes now hold the balance of power in enough congressional districts to help the G. O. P. recapture the house if the swing toward the Republican party should grow. A substantial shift could have effect on the local as well as the national picture.

Until the 1929 depression, the Negro vote was solidly Republican. Republicans counted upon the Negro vote because the party, under Abraham Lincoln, ended slavery.

Shift During Depression

Negroes swung away from the Republican party in great numbers after the depression in the 1930s. They looked upon the Democratic party as giving doles and making jobs. This swing continued for 20 years.

Under the first Republican administration in 20 years Negroes have shared in continued prosperity and they have found the Republican party ending segregation. Under the Democrats there was more promise than action on the race problem.

Democrats have charged that the Republicans are playing politics with the race issue in order to win votes. Democrats acknowledge that there has been some shift in the Negro vote but they believe most Negroes will remain true to the Democratic party.

Whichever way the Negro votes, political observers believe that the vote is hanging in the balance at the moment. Should southerners block action on civil rights legislation by a filibuster, Negroes could swing to the Republican party almost overnight. If the legislation is not blocked Negroes might be slow to make the change.

Survey of Population

Congressional Quarterly, a nonpartisan survey of Congress, made a study of the Negro population in each of the nation's 435 congressional districts. The study showed that Negroes number 10 per cent of the population in 86 of 120 congressional districts in the south, but in only 35 of the 315 districts outside the south.

Of these 35 districts, 29 elected Democrats in 1954. A switch in these districts could change the complexion of the house which now has 231 Democrats, 203 Republicans, and one vacancy.

Already some of these Democrats are in trouble in districts with large Negro populations. In Detroit's 1st district, where Negroes numbered 37.5 per cent of the 1950 population, Polish-born Rep. Machrowicz [D.] will be opposed in the Aug. 7 primary by Mrs. Cora M. Brown, a Republican and Michigan's first Negro woman state senator. Last week, Negro delegates walked out of the Democratic convention in the 1st district because Negroes "had been pushed around long enough." Republicans are certain to profit by such intraparty incidents.

Trouble in Pennsylvania

Rep. Chudoff [D.], also is in trouble in Philadelphia's 4th district—44.8 per cent Negro in 1950. Altho he won renomination easily with 13,470 votes in last week's primary, one of his two opponents—Earl F. Dales, a Negro—got 5,072 votes, while the unopposed Republican candidate—Horace Scott, also a Negro—got 8,255 votes. All told, Chudoff received only 48 per cent of the total vote cast in the primary.

These are two of only 14 districts outside the south in which Negroes numbered 20 per cent or more of the 1950 population, giving them a preponderant political influence. Except for the rural 1st district of Maryland, which has reëlected Republican Rep. Edward T. Miller since 1946, all are big city districts which regularly roll up heavy Democratic majorities.

Balance of Power

But there are many more districts in which Negroes, even tho relatively less numerous, could exercise the balance of power in close elections. The study identified 61 districts outside the south where the percentage of Negroes in the 1950 population exceeded the winning candidate's margin of victory in the 1954 congressional election.

Thirty-two of the 61 districts elected Democrats, 29 Republicans, many by narrow margins. Other things being equal, a substantial shift of Negro votes would tend to strengthen Republicans in their districts and weaken the Democrats in theirs — especially in 10 districts in which Democrats ousted Republicans in 1954 by narrow margins.

One of these is the Illinois 25th, a rural district composed of 15 counties at the southern end of the state. In 1950, there were 20,000 Negroes in the district, making up 6 per cent of the total population. In 1954, Democrat Kenneth B. Gray defeated the veteran G. O. P. incumbent, seven-termer C. W. [Runt] Bishop, by 6,903 votes. Gray's share of the total vote was 52.6 per cent, and by all accounts, he had the votes of a majority of the Negroes in the district.

As elsewhere, many factors are at work in this district—including unemployment and falling farm prices—in addition to the civil rights issue. In the April 10 primary, a four way contest for the Republican nomination probably accounted for the fact that Gray, who was unopposed for renomination, got only 44 per cent of the total vote cast for all candidates. But the figures show that Gray could be hurt, and possibly defeated, by a heavy loss of Negro votes in November.

The G. O. P. must score a net gain of 15 seats to win control of the house.

Stratton Sees GOP Snagging Negro Vote

SPRINGFIELD, Ill. — (INS) — Gov. William G. Stratton of Illinois predicted Friday that the Republican party will make a clean sweep in the November election.

Calling his first news conference since his victory in Tuesday's state primary, Stratton pointed out that he won "without campaigning actively, setting up a headquarters or making an organized effort to gain the nomination."

The Illinois governor based his views of what he calls discontent at the national level, strong labor support of the Republican party generally and the civil rights issue.

Stratton also said Negro voters will prefer the Republican party in increasing numbers this fall, despite the high Democratic margin scored Tuesday in some Chicago wards.

Stratton explained he felt that, considering the southern wing of the Democratic party, Negroes "cannot vote with full conscience" for Democratic candidates.

[TRIBUNE Photo]

Crowd in election commissioner office in city hall to register for November election on last day of downtown registry. Voters still can register today in their precincts.

We Are Only Getting Started

Last week the most recent figures on vote registration in the state were released by Douglas Fowler, state board of registration director indicating that there are now 1,056,546 registered voters, an increase of 3,664 over the 1952 total of 1,052,882.

Despite the overall increase on a statewide basis, the number of Negroes registered as voters declined sharply due to "vote purging" efforts of the white citizens councils mainly in North Louisiana Parishes. The 1952 mark showed a 161,410 Negroes as compared with the 1956 mark of 152,578. This 8823 decrease among Negro registration is now the subject of several lawsuits and a possible Federal public hearing into the "systematic vote purge" now being perpetrated by un-American white supremacy outfits.

The only apparent bright spot in the whole registration picture was in Orleans parish where Negroes increased their registration total from 31,880 to 32,578, a scant increase of 698.

When compared with other Southern states in this land of alleged "democracy", the registration total of Negro voters in Louisiana stands out. However, when compared to the potential of 600,000 Negro voters this state has, it means we are only getting started. Until we reach that potential of 600,000 we have got to dig in, grit our teeth, put our shoulders to the wheel and get the unregistered brother registered.

Make no mistake democracy is going to rise or fall with the Negro and the way he is accorded his rights as an American citizen. We want the United States and democracy to rise to the occasion and be able to assume sincerely with integrity its rightful moral leadership in world affairs. Therefore we must and shall press forward relentlessly to become registered voters in order that democracy means what it says, and says what it means. We cannot let a few bigoted, prejudiced, self centered individuals catering to the ideals of white supremacy thwart the democratic principals upon which this country was founded. These poor pathetic misfits have no comprehension of the fact that 65 percent of the world population, which is colored, is struggling for **freedom** just as the Negro in this country is fighting to be a "free" American citizen without the stigma of segregation. This **freedom** cannot long be denied. It would be the better part of wisdom to promote understanding, harmony, respect, dignity, honor and integrity among the colored peoples of the world than to engender the hatred, suspicion, and fear the white citizens councils seem recklessly bent on poisoning the world with in their abortive attempts to crush the Negro in the South, in America.

We have the grave responsibility of making democracy work as our politicians tell the world it does. We cannot let the ravings of the Perezes, Rainachs, Irwins and a few assorted politicians from Georgia stifle our faith in the forward progress of democracy in this great state. Their defiant words should fill us with greater determination. Intelligent, sobermended Negroes and whites of goodwill and integrity will ultimately join hands and find a way at the ballot box to rid this state forever of the corrupt, disruptive "race hate" specialists.

Over 1,000,000 Louisiana Citizens Qualified to Vote

Cool But Rainless Weather Forecast Tuesday

By B. L. KREBS

With more than a million Louisiana citizens qualified to cast a ballot, Louisiana voters will go to the polls Tuesday to choose between three sets of presidential electors, Democratic, Republican and States' Rights; approve or reject a proposal to hold a convention to rewrite the state's constitution and pass on 48 propositions to amend the present constitution.

Other contested races in addition to that for President and for election of the delegates to the constitutional convention in case it is authorized, are two congressional races, a judgeship and a non-partisan school board election in New Orleans and a number of local contests between Democrats and Republicans for school board memberships throughout the rest of the state.

The long-range week end weather forecast was for temperatures slightly below normal, with showers and thundershowers Saturday and "about Wednesday" but no rain predicted as yet for Tuesday.

Boggs Is Opposed

In the Second Congressional District, which includes uptown New Orleans and Jefferson, St. Charles, St. James and St. John parishes, incumbent Hale Boggs is being opposed by Republican George R. Blue, former US district attorney.

In the Fourth Congressional District, which includes the parishes of Bienville, Bossier, Caddo, Claiborne, De Soto, Red River and Webster, incumbent Congressman Overton Brooks is opposed by Republican Calhoun Allen Jr.

Two school board members are to be elected in New Orleans, out of six candidates, all running under a "non-partisan" designation as required by the law controlling the Orleans parish school board.

Democratic candidate Edward A. Haggerty Jr., running for the vacancy on the criminal court bench created by the retirement of Judge Fred Oser (who subsequently died) is opposed by Republican candidate George W. Reed Jr.

Contests in Jefferson

In Jefferson parish there are party contests for two school board seats. Candidates in Ward Four are Bert C. LeBlanc, Democrat and David J. Burnett, Republican; in Ward Nine, Thomas J. Collins Sr., Democrat and William J. Morton III, Republican.

There are 10 school board contests in other scattered parishes.

US Sen. Russell B. Long is unopposed for re-election, as are Rep. F. Edward Hebert, first district; Edmund E. Willis, third district; Otto C. Passman, fifth district; James H. Morrison, sixth district; T. A. Thompson, seventh district and Dr. George S. Long, eighth district.

With a total registration of 1,056,546, compared with 1,057,218 four years ago, the total vote could go over the 651,952 cast in the presidential contest four years ago. The current registration in fact represents a considerable net gain over 1952, for the reason that a new registration starting in January 1953 eliminated many "dead" registrations.

39,000 Dropped in City

This is sharply reflected in Orleans parish where registration of 232,115 in 1952 has dropped to 212,895 this year. Adoption of a permanent registration system resulted in a thorough purge of the registration rolls, so that the net vote this year, with 20,000 fewer names on the rolls, could be of the same order as the 175,571 votes cast in 1952.

High interest in the presidential race in 1952 brought out a record vote up to that time for any but a gubernatorial election, the total being 238,000 higher than in 1948 when Strom Thurmond, running as States' Rights or "Dixiecrat" candidate, captured the electoral vote of Louisiana.

The presidential contest in Louisiana this year has been overshadowed by the battle over Gov. Earl K. Long's proposal to hold a convention in 1957 to rewrite the state constitution. Public interest in this fight probably equals the interest shown in 1952 over the presidential contest between Stevenson and Eisenhower and should bring out as large a vote.

In the presidential election this year voters will have three tickets to choose from.

The Democratic ticket is headed by Stevenson and Kefauver.

The Republican ticket is headed by Eisenhower and Nixon.

States' Righters Not Bound

The States' Rights ticket, with the statue of liberty as a symbol, does not carry the names of a presidential and vice-presidential candidate at the top.

This does not affect the counting of the ballots, however. There are 10 electors on each ticket and it is the electors the voters cast their ballot for, not the candidates, whose names are carried at the top only as further identification of the particular ticket.

If the Democratic electors receive a majority they will meet in December to cast the state's 10 electoral votes for Stevenson and Kefauver. If the Republican electors have a majority they will vote for Eisenhower and Nixon. The States' Rights electors, if they receive a majority, are free to cast their vote for anyone they prefer for president and vice-president.

Democratic leaders have been claiming that they will carry the state for Stevenson by 100,000 majority, compared with the 39,000 lead Stevenson had four years ago. They base the claim on a number of factors.

Demo Rift in 1952

Stevenson and Eisenhower both spoke in Louisiana in 1952 and took opposite sides on the controversial tidelands issue, Eisenhower favoring return of the tidelands to the states "up to their historic boundaries" and Stevenson advocating government ownership from the shoreline on out.

Gov. Robert F. Kennon supported Eisenhower, spoke for him and appeared at his New Orleans and Shreveport meetings. There was a rift in the Democratic party over Truman and the civil rights proposals of Sen. Humphrey and other extreme civil rights advocates.

This time, the Democratic leaders argue, the state machinery is

in the hands of Gov. Earl K Long, Truman is out of the picture, the tidelands controversy has been settled and all is harmony within the ranks of the party in Louisiana.

There are some flaws in this rosy picture, however. Stevenson on a "stop-over" visit in New Orleans, flying from Texas to Florida, spoke briefly in front of City Hall, to a not too enthusiastic crowd of less than 2000. It was not considered advisable for Gov. Long, titular head of the Louisiana Democrats, to appear either at this meeting, or at a subsequent Democratic "fund-raising" dinner addressed by Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts.

There is considerable bickering under the surface of asserted Democratic harmony, Eisenhower's personal popularity appears little diminished in the state and the States' Rights movement poses an unmeasured but growing threat to both parties.

Outside Chance Given Ike

A more sober appraisal of the presidential race indicates that while the political arithmetic still favors the Democratic ticket, the margin of victory could be less than in 1952, with an outside chance that Eisenhower might carry the state, if the "States' Rights" vote attains major proportions in areas where Stevenson was strong four years ago.

Because the Legislature passed 18 proposed amendments to the constitution, which will be on the ballot, some confusion has arisen among voters as to whether or not they will have time to vote their choices.

The law limiting voters to three minutes in the voting-machine booth, it is announced, will be enforced where lines begin to form, so as to give every one a chance to cast their ballot. Some misinformation in regard to the law, however, has been circulated, in an apparent scheme to frighten voters, particularly women, away from the polls on the misrepresentation that if they remain in the booth longer than three minutes they will be subject to prosecution. The facts as to the situation are:

a)—It is not the responsibility of the voter to determine when the three minutes are up. It is the duty of the election commissioners to advise the voter, and presumably they won't do this, as long as no one is waiting for a chance to vote. Only in case a voter, having been advised the time is up, refuses to leave the booth, is the law violated.

All X's Counted

b)—When the voter throws the master switch in the upper left-hand corner of the machine, every selection he has made up to that time is recorded.

c)—Within a three-minute period the Orleans voter will have ample time to vote on the presidential electors; to vote against the constitutional convention (or for it); to vote on congressman if he lives in the Second District; on judge of the criminal district court; on two candidates for the school board, and on convention delegates, and to indicate his preference on at least a substantial number, if not all, of the constitutional amendments.

d)—If he has voted against a number of the amendments, and for some he favors, but is not through when his time is up, his votes for and against will be duly recorded. As to those amendments he has not been able to reach, the machine will show a blank in both the yes and no columns.

The fact that voting machines will be in use throughout the state will not necessarily limit the number of amendments voted on, despite the three-minute rule, because this same law was in force in 1952, when there were 34 amendments voted on, and voting machines were in use only in the parishes of Caddo, Calcasieu, East Baton Rouge, Jefferson and Orleans.

First Amendments Voted on

Total vote cast in the presidential contest in these parishes in 1952 was 324,144, total vote on amendment No. One was 225,916, or 70 per cent of the presidential vote, and on amendment 34 was 194,471 or 60 per cent.

In the rest of the parishes, where paper ballots were in use, the total vote for president was 327,808, the vote on amendment One was 170,285, or 51 per cent of the vote for president, and on amendment 34 was 143,896 or 44 per cent.

Despite the necessity in 1952 in voting machine parishes of invoking the three-minute rule on occasion, the vote on the amendments in these parishes was relatively much higher than in the parishes where paper ballots were used, and the voter had practically unlimited time to mark them.

Voters this year who enter the booth with a sample ballot they have prepared and studied in advance, and who take things in order, will be agreeably surprised to find they have been able to vote most, if not all, of their choices, regardless of the length of the ballot.

589 NEGRO VOTER NAMES DROPPED

Times Picayune

Rapides Citizens' Council Challenges Rolls

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

ALEXANDRIA, La., Oct. 25 — Registrar of voters C. L. Bushnell reported Thursday that the names of 589 Negro voters had been removed from Rapides parish rolls as a result of challenges issued by members of the citizens' council.

He said a total of 1373 names were challenged, but more than half have filed affidavits attesting to legal reregistration.

Of those removed from the list, Bushnell said, 268 were from Alexandria and the remainder from rural wards.

He released the figures on the heels of an announcement by the US department of justice that persons who illegally disenfranchised Negro voters face prosecution after the Nov. 6 election.

The threat elicited from Otis Edgerton Jr., president of the Rapides citizens' council, a statement that all challenges were carried out according to law for the sole purpose of "clearing all illegally registered voters from the rolls and giving the people of Louisiana an informed and intelligent electorate."

Edgerton has maintained steadfastly that the challenging of Negro registrations has not been an official practice of the citizens' council.

8,823 NEGROES LOSE LOUISIANA VOTE RIGHT

Commercial Appeal

Final Count Shows 152,587 Now Registered

Thurs. 11-1-56

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 31. —An official Louisiana vote tabulation Wednesday showed 8,823 Negroes have lost their right to vote mainly in parishes where pro-segregation Citizens' Councils have been actively challenging qualifications since March.

Memphis Tenn.

Douglas Fowler, state Board of Registration director, said his final tabulation showed Negro registration since March dropped from an all-time high of 161,410 to 152,587.

P. 32

Federal Bureau of Investigation agents in recent weeks investigated several parishes for possible cases of civil rights violations.

Last week in Washington, Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III said the Federal Government planned criminal prosecution against "white supremacists" in Louisiana and four other Southern states for "wholesale purges" of qualified Negroes.

Although white registration climbed since March from 896,498 to 903,953 the total state registration fell from 1,057,908 to 1,056,546, due mainly to challenges of Negro voters, Mr. Fowler said.

In Ouachita Parish alone 4,893 Negroes were stricken from the rolls. Negro registration fell since March from 5,782 to 889. White registration fell from 24,184 to 23,485.

DEMOCRATS SPLIT ON LOUISIANA LOSS

Times Picayune

New York

Many Blame Party for Lack of Work—Leader Cites Shift in Negro Vote

Sun. 11-11-56

Special to The New York Times.

BATON ROUGE, La., Nov. 10 —Louisiana Democrats are still trying to decide why President Eisenhower carried this predominantly Democratic state against Adlai E. Stevenson by a margin of 75,000 votes.

Numerous explanations have been advanced for the Republicans' first victory in the state in eighty years. All Democrats are agreed, however, that the victory did not mean the start of a two-party system in the state despite Republican contentions that such was the case.

Numerous Democrats admit privately that the major factor was the lack of work for Mr. Stevenson by the party. The Democrats did no precinct organization and only in the last days of the campaign engaged in some half-hearted fund-raising.

Senator Russell B. Long, who was re-elected without opposition, attributes the election result to the failure of state officials to work for Mr. Stevenson. However, the Senator's support of the ticket was generally conceded to have been half-hearted. He arrived in the closing two weeks of the campaign and made a few talks for Mr. Stevenson.

Governor Long Silent

Gov. Earl K. Long, the Senator's uncle, was busy with his own fight to put over a constitutional convention. He did not speak for Mr. Stevenson, but he said he was backing him. The voters defeated the Governor's proposal for a convention and ten amendments to the Constitution that he also had supported.

Rufus Hayes, Democratic Central Committee chairman, attributed the swing to General Eisenhower to the war crisis. On the other hand, Camile Gavel, National Committeeman, says that the main factors were the President's personal popularity, the Democratic schism over the proposed convention and defection of the Negro votes.

Negro leaders say that Negroes who supported Mr. Stevenson strongly in 1952 voted for President Eisenhower this year because of the strong fight waged by white legislators for segregation in the state. In that fight no Democratic leader came to the aid of the Negroes.

Segregation leaders, on the other hand, voted for General Eisenhower because of what they called his moderate stand on segregation and because they represent the conservative Southern viewpoint that is more nearly Republican than Democratic.

For the Republicans, their National Committeeman, John Minor Wisdom, has hailed the Eisenhower victory as a tribute to the great good sense of Louisiana voters and the start of a two-party system in the state.

The strong Roman Catholic vote in Louisiana also was conceded to have hurt Mr. Stevenson, a divorced man. This was augmented by the vote of many women, who also disapproved of Mr. Stevenson's divorced status.

On the matter of a two-party system, the consensus in the state seems to be that the Republican leaders are more interested in keeping a tight grip on patronage than on spreading their party philosophy. Opponents of Mr. Wisdom contend that he has discouraged a two-party system because he is fearful of losing his grip on party members.

Only two Republican candidates entered Congressional races. Representative Hale Boggs of the Second District was opposed by George Blue. Mr. Boggs won by 56,828 to 30,049. In the upstate Fourth District, Representative Overton Brooks won over Calhoun Allen by 38,257 votes to 18,141.

Republicans made inroads four years ago when Mr. Stevenson carried Louisiana by only 40,000 votes. This time the state was believed to have been safe for the Democrats. As a result the national party more or less ignored Louisiana. Mr. Stevenson paid one flying visit to New Orleans but was in Louisiana less than three hours.

LOUISIANA FBI EYES NEGRO VOTE ERASING

Parish Quiz On Where Many Lost Rights

BROWNELL SEEKS DATA

By The United Press

BATON ROUGE, La., Oct. 23. —The FBI confirmed Tuesday it is checking Louisiana parishes where thousands of Negroes have lost their voting rights in recent months.

Inquiries are being made at the request of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell, the FBI said.

Agents have interviewed numerous parish voter registrars and other officials after receiving complaints from registrants. Findings are being sent to Washington.

4,893 Negroes Removed

In Ouachita Parish alone 4,893 Negroes have been removed from the voting lists since March 1956, state voting tables showed.

The FBI said in a statement from its New Orleans office:

"We have been making some inquiries at the request of Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell in a few places in North Central Louisiana where we have been requested to do so. The requests originated from some complaints from some registrants."

Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney III reported to a United States Senate Elections Committee two weeks ago that thousands of Negro voters were being disenfranchised in Louisiana and Georgia "purely because of their race."

He cited Ouachita and Rapides Parishes as chief offenders. Rapides figures are not available, but about 2,000 Negroes reportedly have been stricken from the rolls there.

Suits Are Filed

A Negro dentist and a doctor from Monroe (Ouachita Parish) have filed suit in Federal District Court claiming members of their race had endured a violation of civil rights when they lost the right to vote.

A drive to prune the voting lists is being led by the White Citizens' Councils whose announced intention is to "purge all voters, white or Negro, from the voting lists who do not meet the registration requirements."

Most challenges are made on the basis of illiteracy and improper filling out of forms.

Some Negroes claimed (and one white registrar of voters) that the law is strictly adhered to for Negroes and loosely interpreted when applied to white voters.

160,000 Last March

Louisiana had 160,000 registered Negroes last March, but the figure, due to purges, is expected to drop about 10,000 or more for the Nov. 6 election.

Drops in Negro registration since March are heaviest in North Central Louisiana, stronghold of the Citizens' Councils. LaSalle dropped from 742 to 364; Red River, 1,512 to 1,362. In Jackson Parish 966 persons have been challenged.

In nearly all parishes counted so far, state voting records showed, white registration continued to climb. White registration is nearing the one million mark in Louisiana.

Leaders Accept Challenge

BATON ROUGE, La. (ANP) — In another move to halt Negro progress, a group of racists here were bearing down hard last week in order to stymie the trend of Negro voting in this state.

Centering their efforts on two major fronts, the anti-integration white citizens councils first announced plans to challenge Negro voters in an effort to take their names off of registration rolls.

Their other move centers on a constitutional amendment designed to stop a federal suit trying to restore challenged voters to the rolls.

State Sen. W. M. Rainach, outspoken foe of integration and a Democrat ranted that "from the long-range standpoint, our only hope in the segregation fight is to clear our rolls of all illegally qualified voters."

Rainach is chairman of the state legislative committee on segregation. He is also head of the Louisiana Association of Citizens Councils, an organization bent on stopping the Negro from voting.

In the last ten years, Negro voters have swelled from less than 8,000 to more than 160,000.

New Orleans leaders expressed the opinion this week that a segregationist's movement to purge Negro voters in a statewide push can be combated when they begin challenging white voters.

Queried on Sen. Rainach's latest effort, Attorney Earl J. Amedee told The Louisiana Weekly that Negroes in these particular parishes concerned are entitled to challenge the unqualified white voters and the members of the White Citizens' Council.

Commenting further, he said that any voter who is illegally or wrongfully removed from the registration rolls of a particular parish can go into court State or Federal to redress his rights.

Explaining that Rainach s statement is the initial call for political warfare against Negroes in this State, Amedee declared: "I and many of my political associates accept the challenge and are ready to cross legal bayonets anytime, any place, anywhere."

Attorney Revius O. Ortique, Jr. told a Louisiana Weekly staffer that well-organized political groups in the large cities like New Orleans and Baton Rouge should come to the aid of those in the rural or be lost for it is their responsibility. These groups, he felt, can act as a damper on the Rainach-inspired movement.

He noted that the few Negro voters in the parishes where purges are being contemplated are in such minority that the white citizens group feels they can be easily removed. Negroes must not remain complacent, Ortique pointed out, and begin operations to challenge the challengers.

Meanwhile ANP's correspondent reported the United States Department of Justice has recently been charged with buck-passing on the problem of Negro voting in the coming election. The charge was made by the American Veterans Committee in a message to President Eisenhower Friday.

Voters Sick Of 'Abuse' By Democrats

New Orleans

There was a strong indication this week the Negro vote (Estimated at 155,000) in Louisiana which kept the state pro-Democratic during the last National election might be the deciding factor in a Republican victory next month.

That was the prediction of a panel on the Forum of Public Opinion heard over radio station WNOE last Sunday under the direction of Attorney Earl J. Amedee, state-wide campaign director of the "Volunteers for Eisenhower."

Mr. Amedee stated that communications from throughout New Orleans and several state parishes indicated that the Negro vote is going to the Eisenhower ticket better than three-to-one. He stated further that the change in political thinking of Louisiana Negroes points out that they can no longer be fooled with promises of hand outs, free gifts which are only given or promised so they can sell out their rights for a mess of pottage.

Featured on the weekly braodcast, the third in a series, were Attorneys A. M. Trudeau, Jr., Ernest Morial and Amedee, Rev. Samuel J. McNeil, Sr. of the 12th Ward Republican Party executive committee; and Mrs. Willie Douglass, a 9th ward member of the group.

Excerpts of the speakers' text follow:

Attorney Trudeau said: "We need civil rights for the same reason that we needed the Bill of Rights or the First Ten Amendments to our Constitution, for just as by the Bill of Rights we are prtected from oppression and tyranny on the part of the Federal Government, by Civil Rights we will be protected from oppression and tyranny on the part of the State Government. I think the opposition to Civil Rights is predicated upon two arguments: 1. The Civil Rights legislation violates the doctrine of States Rights and 2. That it is special legislation for Negroes. Neither argument is good. So there is no violation of the doctrine of States Rights by Civil Rights, as Civil Rights only prevents the States from doing wrong,

Negroes File $50,000 Damage Suit In Louisiana Vote Purge

3,000 Voters Want Names Back On Rolls

Monroe, Oct. 8 — Two suits seeking $50,000 in damages were filed against the registrar of voters of Quachita Parish last week by the Guiding Voice, Inc., one of several recently-organized Negro groups dedicated to fight the legal battle for the rights of Negro citizens.

The suits were filed last Tuesday by Attorney James Sharp, Jr., legal counsel for the organization and a plaintiff in the first suit. Plaintiff in the second was Dr. John I. Reddix, president of the Guiding Voice, Inc. Both suits are class action brought against Mae Lucky, registrar of voters.

Each suit asked for $25,000 in damages against the defendant.

The petition filed in the first suit seeks a permanent injunction against segregating and discriminating against Negroes in the office of the registrar of this parish.

The cause of action, according to the document, arose on or about Aug. 25, 1956 when Attorney Sharp, special counsel for the Guiding Voice, Inc. visited the office of the registrar for the purpose of representing registrants whose right to remain on the roll had been challenged.

The plaintiff maintained that the registrar refused to entertain his question in her office, stating that all Negroes would have to go into the Police Jury room and that all of the cards and other information relative to their status was located there. The attorney contends that the action was filed on behalf of himself and all oher Negroes similarly affected.

In the second suit, the petition showed that the class action was brought on behalf of Dr. Reddix and three thousand other Negroes challenged by the white citizens council during the months of April through May 12, 1956.

The action seeks to declare the whole process by which three thousand Negroes were erased from the vote registration roll unlawful and illegal and asks the Court to order that the registrar and her successors in office restore their names to the roll.

Expose White Citizen Registration 'Errors'

Alexandria (Special)- The old adage about people living in glass houses should be careful where they toss stones appeared to have a great deal of truism here this week when a newly-formed organization uncovered errors in application cards for white voters who recently brought about the mass purge of Negro votes in this parish.

That was the numb disclosure of two local Negro leaders of the Rapides Parish Interdenominational Federation of Churches for Human Rights following an investigation of the registration rolls.

The Rev. P. M. Hall and the Rev. Roosevelt Shorter, spokesman for the organization, indicated that the group does not intend to challenge the registration of members of the white citizens council which started the vote purge movement against Negroes several months ago.

It was reported that some of the Citizens Council members had as many as four mistakes.

The Rev. Mr. Hall indicated that photostatic copies were being taken of the cards.

"Since the Citizens' Council has unlawfully challenged a great many of our folks," the minister explained, "about 90 percent of whom were registered correctly, we have discovered that the cards of the challengers themselves are incorrect."

The federation was formed shortly after 1,000 Negroes were challenged. And the organization retained Attorneys Louis Berry and J. E. Hines abolish the platoon system, which is accounting for "part-time and make-shift" education for more than four thousand Negro children of this community.

Other points of the platform include: provision to provide curriculum's in our schools that will meet the highest National Standards; to provide adequate training for students who are either mentally retarded, physically handicapped or of superior ability; to place a greater emphasis on Vocational Guidance. He further stated that when elected he would advocate greater cooperation with the Juvenile Department and the Municipal Government; and, would encourage greater community interest and participation in the operation of school affairs.

Emile LaBranche, Jr., president of the Studs Club which is a civic organization announced that the club had pledged to support Augustine's candidacy and presented a donation of Two Hundred Dollars to the Committee. Attorney Augustine had addressed the club's meeting on Saturday night.

Other officers elected were Mrs. Merian Wolfe, vice chairman; Miss Dorothea V. Johnson, secretary; and, Ernest Curry, Campaign Chairman.

The meeting was held in the private dinning room of Hayes Restaurant on [illegible]

SUPPORT SOUGHT ON SEGREGATION

Leaders Fashion Legal Obstacles, Ask Votes

By JAMES M'LEAN

BATON ROUGE, Oct. 6 (AP) — Louisiana segregationists, fashioning legal obstacles instead of violent haymakers, Saturday opened a campaign to gain support for two new proposals at the polls Nov. 6.

Both are constiutional revisions the 1956 Legislature submitted to popular voice, and both are near the bottom in the list of 48 amendments.

One would erect barriers against immediate court appeals by persons denied the right to register as voters. Sponsors want to keep down what they term "unqualified" Negro vote registration.

The other would construct a roadblock against school integration lawsuits by withdrawing the state's consent for suits against school boards and public recreational agencies.

To Acquaint Voters

Sen. W. M. Rainach, chairman of the joint legislative committee on segregation, said his group is opening a campaign to acquaint voters with the two issues.

"Both measures," he said, "would put powerful weapons in our hands to win our fight for separate schools and our other rights.

"The first, No. 47 on the ballot, would delay federal courts in harassing our registrars of voters with class action injunctions."

Rainach said the proposal is aimed at Negro registrations not filed in accordance with state law "because in many instances the applicants do not meet the requirements for morality, character, literacy and understanding of our government."

He said nearly 90 per cent of Louisiana Negro registrations were filed without meeting constitutional and statutory requirements. He insisted only about 10 per cent of white voters could be placed in the same cateogory.

Appeal Route Outlined

Under the segregation committee proposal, changes would be made in the present law under which a person denied the right to register can appeal direct to the district court.

The new version would establish an appeal first to the parish board of election supervisors, with a decision required within 30 days, then to the parish police jury, requires to rule within 60 days, and finally to the district court.

No. 48 on the ballot, Rainach continued, would stall school integration or playground lawsuits by forcing those supporting such suits to seek legislative permission as the first step.

"These two amendments are vital to our cause," Rainach said. "We can't afford to lose them in any move to dump the constitutional convention.

"I'm afraid unless we conduct a public education campaign, there will be a public tendency to vote against all the constitutional amendments."

The Legislature this year showed its firm segregation intent.

This year, it voted an interposition resolution, making Louisiana the sixth Southern state to act. The resolution contends the supreme court segregation ruling violated federal and state constitutions.

Orleans Struggle Pending

And, under prodding of Sen. Rainach's persuasive group, several other laws blocking the path of racial integration were adopted with little if any opposition.

The one that stirred a ruckus—but only after it was adopted—forbids interracial sports, effective Oct. 15. Gov. Earl Long signed it after some hesitation.

He allowed opponents a chance in the recent special session to knock out the law, backed by a Sugar Bowl complaint. But the Legislature stopped the repeal effort quickly.

Rainach's group was responsible for 1954 legislation attempting to bypass the supreme court ruling on school segregation. The public supported the initial moves by a vote of nearly five to one.

But the National Association for Advancement of Colored People, before Louisiana outlawed the prointegration group, tackled the 1954 laws in federal court with a lawsuit attempting to force mixed classrooms in New Orleans public schools. The struggle is pending before the United States supreme court.

'No Hope In Democratic Party Caused Negro Shift'-Amedee

The shift of Negro votes to President Eisenhower last week indicated that Negroes recognize that the Republican Party originally gave them their basic freedoms and is in a position to further accelerate the enjoyment of these freedoms, according to a statement issued Thursday by Attorney Earl J. Amedee, statewide campaign director of the "Volunteers for Eisenhower."

"I predicted," Amedee reminded, "on my final broadcast on the WNOE Forum of public Opinion Nov. 4 that 'Ike' would carry the State of La. by more than 75,000, because the Negro vote was going to shift because it had no further hope in the Democrat Party."

Commenting on the election results, Amedee asserted: "We of the Volunteers for Eisenhower want to take this time to express our appreciation, our gratitude and extreme joy for the manner which the Negro voters and the liberal-minded, good-thinking white voters of Louisiana responding to the call for the re-election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as President of the United States.

"I have heard that Hale Boggs, Mayor Morrison, and other Democrats officials of the State in attempting to give reasons for the resounding defeat Eisenhower gave Stevenson in this State, claiming that the Eisenhower victory is only part of a National trend and not a Republican victory in the fullest sense. I want to say here and now that they are wrong beyond a shadow of doubt. In 1952, there was a national trend in favor of Eisenhower and still the Democrats carried the State, but on that occasion the Negro vote was in the Democrat corner.

"In this election the Negro vote made one of the greatest shifts in the history of this State, or any other State for that matter. The Negro vote shifted because of the attitudes and ingratitudes shown them by men like Boggs, Ellender, Russel Long, Earl Long and numerous members of our State Legislature, who gladly accepted and solicited the support of the Negro voters in every election from November, 1952 and including the present national campaign. The attitude of these men, all members of the Democrat Party, and the antics exhibited by the recent State Legislature, along with the submission of Gov. Long to the bidding of State Sen. Rainach and the White Citizens Council and Southern Gentlemen's movement in Louisiana were contributing factors to the position taken by the Negro voters of this State.

"After six weeks of intensive campaigning by the Volunteers for Eisenhower, a volunteer group composed of Republicans, Democrats and Independents headed by Jesse W. Cook and myself, the Negro voters of Louisiana realized that they had been betrayed by the Democrat Party in La.; that they had been foresaken by the National Democrat Party which stood idly by and permitted the Negro to suffer the onslaught of the White Citizens Council and their patron Saint, Sen. Eastland of Mississippi; and that all roads leading to Baton Rouge were closed to the Negro. This was a Republician victory. And the Negro voters and the liberal-minded white voters see the need of a two party system in Louisiana and all over the South."

It is a significant thing that the Volunteers waged one of the greatest Statewide campaings in the history of the State. It is equally significant that the intensive political speech-making of Mr Amedee, Rev. Avery C. Alexander an Percy Murphy Griffin was an important contributing factor in the big shift. This was accomplished inspite of the predictions by Camille Gravel, Democratic National committeeman of Louisiana, who stated that Stevenson would carry the state by 75,000.

Asked to summarize further on the factors involving the shift of Negro voters, the energetic young attorney declared: "The Negro vote shifted out of resentment because of the attitude of the elected officials of the State of Louisiana including especially Gov. Long; the abolition of Freedom's Greatest weapon (the NAACP); the attitude of the ten Louisiana Congressional Representatives, all Democrats, who joined 89 other Southern Democrats Congressmen and Senators in signing the so-called Southern Manifesto; the Negro realizes that all roads are closed to Baton Rouge except to Negro court favorites of the present administration whose leadership has been repudiated by Negro voters, and the Negro vote unified itself in a new look, young and vigorous political approach."

Vote 'Challenge' Of Negro Voters Hits North La.

New Orleans (Special)—The Louisiana Weekly has received evidence that Negroes have been scratched from the rolls in two North Louisiana parishes and that the ill-practice will spread into other areas. Our informant said that it can even spread to large cities of south Louisiana where Negro registration is relatively heavy.

More than 150 Negroes have been stricken from the registration rolls of Red River Parish, with more than 1,000 in Coushatta. The books of Caddo Parish are now being examined and the plague which had its origin in Monroe is expected to take its toll there soon.

The question has been raised as to what means or methods Negroes in the areas stricken with this evil will use to re-register and participate in the government of their state, their nation.

Ex-Gov. James A. Noe was the lone warrior to the rescue in Monroe when the leaders of the Citizens' Council struck there, and it is admitted that regardless of purpose former governor Noe made a courageous stand and his position particularly among Negroes was elevated to an all-time high.

While mentioning what steps Negroes should take it has been pointed-out that there is no law or rule that doesn't work in both directions. It has been suggested that Negroes take to the offensive and challenge registration among whites, which is to fight fire with fire and let the sparks fall where they may.

There is no immunity in this attack being launched in Louisiana cities. It seems to be just a matter of time before this handful of troublemakers and law-violators through their underhand methods strike in other areas. The answer is up to you citizens—REGISTER AND VOTE! AND, KEEP REGISTERING UNTIL THIS EVIL IS CONQUERED!

Would Eliminate Literacy Test In Louisiana

BATON ROUGE, La.— (ANP)—In a move aimed at easing voting restrictions in Louisiana, Gov. Earl K. Long's senate leaders last week introduced legislation which would strike out literacy test for vote registration and would require a court order to remove a challenged voter from registration rolls.

This would knock out the requirement that a registrant be able to read or interpret the constitution of the United States or Louisiana, first adopted in 1888 to disenfranchise the Negro.

The "understanding" section was originally designed to permit registrars to approve white votes while disqualifying Negro illiterates.

Negro Voters Being Scratched From Rolls In Louisiana

More Than 1,000 Scratched In One Parish

NEW ORLEANS, La., June 11.—(Special)—A concerted effort to again disfranchise the Negro citizens of the state of Louisiana appears to be well underway following the recent ouster of the NAACP and the rise of Klan activities in the state.

According to reports backed by convincing evidence received here this week Negro voters are being scratched from the rolls without ceremony.

The reports reaching here this week concerned two north Louisiana parishes but the practice is being viewed as spreading rapidly to other sections of the state.

According to the reports more than 1,000 Negro voters have been scratched from the rolls in Coushatta Parish with more than 150 in Red River Parish. The books are now being examined in Caddo Parish and the Negro voters are expected to be removed from the rolls there soon.

The question as to what Negro citizens of the state can do to halt the spreading of this practice remains yet to be answered.

So far only one important voice has been raised against the spreading practice that former James A. Noe who made a vigorous attack on the practice which had its beginning in Monroe under the reported leadership of the white Citizens Council.

The practice has not yet been eported in South Louisiana where the Negro registration is relatively heavy, but there is no reason to expect that the Negro voters of South Louisiana will not also become victims of the practice under conditions now developing in the state.

Raps Denial Of Vote To Negroes As Evil Practice

"Patience must give way to righteous discontent if Negroes are to achieve full citizenship in Louisiana."

This view was expressed at Lake Charles Tuesday night by Clarence A. Laws, field secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Addressing the 11th Annual Convention of the Louisiana Pharmaceutical Society, Laws said,

"Discontent, courage, and faith are, today as in the past, essential ingredients of full citizenship."

He stated that segregation bills that have been introduced in the current Louisiana Legislature are "proof enough that docile patience is getting Negroes no place."

Characterizing the disqualifying of Negro voters prompted by White Citizens Councils in North Louisiana as "a flagrant violation of constitutional rights," he declared.

"Whether it be in Moscow or Monroe, if citizens are illegally denied their right to vote, I say they are under an evil dictatorship, call it what you will."

Commenting on the effect which race relations in America have on other countries, Laws said,

"When Negroes improve their status as citizens, they likewise improve the quality of democracy which America presents to the rest of the world."

Bill proposed to drop La. literacy test

BATON ROUGE, La. — Legislation was introduced in Louisiana last week which would strike out literacy test for vote registration and would require a court order to remove a challenged voter from the rolls.

The literacy test was adopted in the state in 1899 to disfranchise colored voters. Louisiana requires that a registrant be able to read and understand the state or U.S. Constitution.

NEGRO REFUSES TO RE-REGISTER

Court Action Looms in Ouachita Controversy

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

MONROE, La., May 1—Groundwork for court action in the voter disqualification controversy in Ouachita parish was laid Tuesday when McGlother Thompson, 35, Monroe Negro office worker, declined to fill out a new registration card after three witnesses had signed an official blank identifying him, as required by law.

Thompson was advised by Negro attorney that the effect of signing a new registration card would be a re-register and to register less than 30 days prior to an election would make him ineligible to vote.

Mrs. Mae Lucky, registrar, told former governor James A. Noe, who met Thompson in the clerk's office, "I don't see anything wrong with his card."

She said there were no errors on the card, when questioned by Noe as to "what's wrong with h's registration?"

Thompson said he was a high school graduate and had three and a half years as a business college student.

Thompson said that he had gone to the registrar's office last week and was told by Mrs. Lucky that he had to "fill out a new card and recite the constitution."

Ruling Is Asked

Noe asked Mrs. Lucky if he could be a witness again after having witnessed twice for two people Monday.

Mrs. Lucky said she had been turning people away who had witnessed for more than two persons. She said she was asking the attorney general for a ruling.

Mrs. Lucky said she could not prove the exact law and Noe said, "You are the registrar of voters and should know I want to know the law and for you to give me an opinion."

"I went to the register of voter's office in an effort to help white and Negro voters of this community whose qualifications have been improperly challenged in the manner which I have been advised by attorneys was in many cases illegal."

Influence City Election

Registrations of more than 3000 voters in Ouachita parish are said to have been challenged in recent weeks and it was pointed out that this could influence the city election May 22, in which the offices of mayor, commissioner of finance and utilities and commissioner of streets and parks are at issue.

M. M. Carroll, principal of Carroll High school, said at noon Tuesday that his registration had been challenged. Carroll said that he held a bachelor of science degree from Southern university and an MA degree from Bishop college in Marshall, Tex. He has been principal of Carroll High school for the past 11 years, and coach at the school 10 years prior to assuming the principalship.

D. H. Johnson, principal of Tarver Elementary school, also has been challenged, it was reported.

Restores Woman Registrar Who Barred Whites

BATON ROUGE, La., (ANP) - The new state board of registration, headed by Gov. Earl K. Long has restored Mrs. Winnice Clement to her job as registrar in Webster Parrish (county) over protests from Louisiana's White Citizens Councils.

Mrs. Clement was fired two weeks ago by the outgoing administration of Gov. Robert Kennon because she flunked several white voters by enforcing state laws aimed at limiting the Negro vote.

La. governor blocks firing of registrar

Afro-American P. 1
Sat. 6-2-56

BATON ROUGE, La.—The firing of a woman registrar of voters who was the target of criticism of pro-segregation groups in Louisiana was halted last week by Gov. Earl K. Long.

The registrar, Mrs. Winnice Clements, of Webster Parish (County) had been fired, effective last Monday, by the former board of registration under Gov. Robert Kennon. Governor Long took over last Tuesday.

When the new board of registration, composed of Mr. Long, Lt. Gov. Lether Frazier and Lorris Wimberly, speaker of the house, met, it stayed the dismissal, keeping Mrs. Clements in office.

Baltimore, Md.

LAST JANUARY, the White Citizens Councils complained that Mrs. Clements failed to require registrants to read and interpret either the state or Federal constitution.

This requirement, originally adopted to curb colored citizens registrations, generally has been ignored over most of the state.

Contending "what's fair for one race is fair for another," Mrs. Clements then applied the requirement and disqualified two dozen white applicants.

Shortly after that, the Webster Parish police jury parish governing body, asked the board of registration to fire her. Police juries hire, but cannot fire registrars.

Mrs. Clements resigned effective last Tuesday, the day Governor Long took office. At the present time the case is involved in a court battle, with the impartial registrar still retaining her job.

Segregation Foe Is Fired In Louisiana

Evening Star
Washington D.C.
Tues. 2-13-56

BATON ROUGE, La., May 15 (AP).—Gov. Robert Kennon said yesterday the woman registrar of voters of Webster Parish, under fire from pro-segregation groups, had been fired.

P. 1-19

The Webster Parish police jury unanimously requested the State Board of Registration to fire Mrs. Winnice Clement of Minden.

She has resigned, effective today.

However, Gov. Kennon and Lt. Gov. C. E. Barham, two of the three members of the board, signed an order dismissing her yesterday.

The White Citizens Councils complained last January that Mrs. Clement had failed to enforce voter qualification restrictions requiring registrants to read and interpret portions of either the State or Federal Constitution.

The requirement has been ignored over the most of the State. It was originally designed to curb Negro voting.

After criticism, Mrs. Clement applied the law uniformly to both races and disqualified 24 white persons. She contended "what's fair for one race is fair for the other."

The Board of Registration is composed of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and House Speaker.

White defender

SOUTHERN bitterness over segregation has reached such intensity that few white Southerners with political influence have dared buck that bitterness.

News P. 7

One exception is the former governor of Louisiana, James A. Noe, who almost got into a fist fight in his home town, Monroe, when White Citizens Councils began disenfranchising between 4000 and 4500 Negroes.

Wed. 5-9-56

They did this by claiming Negro voters had received help in making out their registration cards, especially in interpreting portions of the Constitution.

Times Herald

This aroused the dander of ex-Gov. Noe. Going down to the parish registrar of voters, Mrs. May Lucky, he challenged the right of the vote challengers to take Negro voters off the registration rolls.

"Let me see my card," he said. "I didn't have my glasses the day I filled out my card, and I'm not sure I did it unassisted."

Noe claimed that any citizen who challenged a Negro's right to vote had to show evidence of a thorough investigation before the Negro could be disenfranchised. He demanded that the Louisiana attorney general send a representative to Monroe to protect the rights of all citizens.

Arriving in Monroe, as a result, came special Assistant Atty. Gen. William M. Shaw.

"Are you a member of the White Citizens Council?" asked Noe.

"Yes," replied Shaw.

"Are you," Shaw countered, "a member of the NAACP?"

At this, the big, bulky ex-governor of Louisiana hauled his 230 pounds around the table and almost let fly at Shaw. After some tense moments, calm was restored. However, when several hundred Negroes tried to get back their voting rights, they were kicked out of the courthouse by the sheriff and told that only 20 Negroes per day could examine their registration cards.

Since the elections are only two weeks off, this will permit only about 240 Negroes to attempt reinstatement. In the interim, Negroes are holding prayer meetings praying that their right to vote may be restored.

Ask $50,000 Damages

Louisiana Voters File 2 Lawsuits

Defender P. 3

MONROE, La. — Two lawsuits, seeking a total of $50,000 in damages, have been filed against the registrar of voters of Ouachita Parish, La., charging abridgement of the voting rights of Negro residents of the parish.

The suits were brought by attorneys for the "Guiding Voice", a civic organization, headed by Dr. John I. Reddix.

Mae Lucky, Ouachita Parish registrar, was named defendant in both suits, which also seek a permanent injunction against segregating and discriminating Negroes by the registrar's office.

One suit seeks to have Dr. Reddix and 3,000 other Negroes restored to the voting lists. The complaint alleges that the "whole process by which 3,000 Negroes were erased from the roll" is unlawful and illegal.

Atty. James Sharp, jr., attorney for the plaintiffs, is also the complainant in one suit.

According to Sharp, he visited the registrar's office on Aug. 25, for the purpose of representing registrants whose right to remain on the roll had been challenged after protests from the White Citizens council.

Sharp said Miss Lucky refused to accept his complaint, and stated that all Negroes would have to go into the police jury room where all information concerning their voting status was filed.

Ousted Voters Sue Monroe, La., Official

Courier P 4
Pittsburgh Pa.

MONROE, La.—Two separate $25,000 suits supported by the recently formed Guiding Voice organization, have been filed in Federal Court against Mae Lucky, registrar of voters for Ouachita Parish, charging segregation and discrimination of Negroes in the registrar's office and the "illegal and unlawful erasing of 3,000 Negro names from registration rolls."

The first suit was filed in the name of James Sharp Jr., attorney for the Guiding Voice, John I. Reddix, president. It seeks a permanent injunction against segregating and discriminating against Negroes in the office of the registrar of Ouachita Parish. On Aug. 25, Attorney Sharp visited the office of the registrar for the purpose of representing registrants whose right to remain on the roll had been challenged.

The registrar refused to entertain the attorney's question in her office stating that all Negroes would have to go into the police jury room and that all of the cards and other information relative to their status was in that room, according to Attorney Sharp. The attorney filed this action on behalf of himself and all other Negroes simularly affected.

The second, Dr. John I. Reddix vs Mae Lucky, is a class action brought on in behalf of Dr. Reddix and 3,000 other Negroes challenged by the White Citizens Council during months of April through May, 1956. The action seeks to declare the whole process by which 3,000 Negroes were erased from the roll as unlawful and illegal.

34e 1956

FBI to investigate La. vote situation

Afro-American P. 3

Sat. 5-19-56

WASHINGTON (ANP) — The United States Department of Justice has authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct a preliminary inquiry into the voting situation in Oauchita Parish, La., to determine whether any Federal law has been violated.

Reports had reached Washington that the White Citizens Council in Ouachita (county), La., were conducting a mass effort to remove colored voters from the city's voter registration lists.

It was reported that more than 3500 of the 4500 colored voters in Monroe, La. have had their voting rights challenged. Monroe is a city with a population of about 45,000 about 45 per cent of whom are colored.

It is an industrial and agricultural center where race relations have been excellent.

* * *

THE ALLEGED vote denial effort was first discovered by former Gov. James A. Nos, who immediately leaped into the fight. The League of Women Voters next joined in the fight.

Ministers, churchwomen and organized labor then got into the furor.

The protest was then brought to the Justice Department. The results of the FBI's investigation will be turned over to the Criminal Division of the Justice Department if it is determined that the Federal law is being violated.

Ousts fair registrar

Afro-American P. 3

Sat. 5-26-56

BATON ROUGE, La. — Swept into office with the help of colored voters, Gov. Earl K. Long took his seat last week facing a battle with the White Citiizens Council which is seeking to bar colored voters.

He took office in the midst of a storm over the firing of a woman registrar after she refused to use one set of questions for colored applicants and another for whites — designed to let the whites qualify and bar the colored.

The battle centers around Mrs. Winnice Clement of Mindon, registrar of Webster Parish (county), who was fired by outgoing Gov. Kennon May 14, one day before her voluntary resignation was to have taken effect.

* * *

SINCE January, Mrs. Clement has been the target of the White Citizens Council for her failure to enforce State Laws requiring voters to "interpret" the Constitution.

The laws were enacted during the Reconstruction period — post Civil War days to bar colored voters from the polls. They were recently resurrected by pro-segregationists for the same purpose.

After she was criticized by the White Citizens Council, Mrs. Clement put all would-be voters-both colored and white to the test, following the letter of the law. She disqualified 24 voters, outraging the segregationists.

* * *

LONG, THEN A CANDIDATE for governor, defended Mrs. Clement with an attack on the Citizens Council for its attempts to prevent colored and white registration by rigid enforcement of the election laws.

Through it all, Mrs. Clement is sticking to her guns and may wage a fight for reinstatement. She declared:

* * *

"I CAN TELL YOU I did only what was right. My neighbors know that. My friends have almost all stayed with me through this.

"I decided when the council (white citizens) asked me to stop registering colored people that what's fair for one race is fair for the other."

She said she was not sure what action she would take about her dismissal by Kennon. Her attorney was out of the city at the time. But she is unshaken in her basic position.

LEAGUE DIRECTOR

NEW YORK — Mrs. Ernestine Hairston Guess has been appointed director of the newly created membership department of the Urban League of Greater New York, it was announced this week by Mrs. Sophia Yarnall Jacobs, president.

Vote Registrar Fired As Climax To Racial Fight

Afro-American P. 3

BATON ROUGE, La., May 14. —(UP)—A woman vote registrar, accused by pro-segregation Citizens Councils of showing partiality toward Negro registrants, was fired Monday by the state Board of Voter Registration.

Sat. 5-15-56

The firing of Mrs. Winnice Clement, registrar of Webster Parish, was announced by outgoing Gov. Robert Kennon and Lt. Gov. C. E. Barham, both members of the board.

The action tossed a knotty racial problem into the lap of Gov.-elect Earl K. Long, who takes office Tuesday. Mr. Long, whose campaign manager in Webster was a close in-law to Mrs. Clement, has criticized the councils in blocking registration of Negro and white voters.

The issue reached boiling point when the parish police jury called on the state board to investigate Mrs. Clement after Citizens Councils complained she showed favoritism to Negro vote registrants.

After the jury action, Mrs. Clement flunked 24 white voters, who she claimed could not read or interpret the Constitution.

State voting laws, passed shortly after the Civil War and aimed at halting Negro voting, requires voters to interpret the Constitution. These had been largely ignored until recently when the councils began using them to block Negro registration.

After investigating Mrs. Clement's record, the state board privately asked her to resign. She resigned last month effective May 15, but immediately obtained a court order to prevent the police jury from naming her successor.

Had Mrs. Clement remained in office one more day, she have appealed her case to Governor Long.

The incoming governor, who has urged the Legislature to use "caution and reasonableness" in dealing with the racial issue, has said it was "far fetched" to ask a man to interpret the Constitution. And Mrs. Clement said the persons who ask questions about the Constitution can't answer their own questions.

In most of Louisiana, Negroes register and vote without interference. Some 155,000 Negroes are registered. They voted in large numbers in the aJnuary primary..

In Minden, Mrs. Clement said she didn't know if she would fight her ouster.

Vote Denial Of Negroes Disturbs Race Relations

New Orleans, La.

Sat. 5-19-56

Washington (ANP).—The United States Department of Justice has authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct a preliminary inquiry into the voting situation in Quachita Parish, La., to determine whether any federal law has been violated.

Reports had reached Washington that the White Citizens Council in Ouachita Parish, La., were conducting a mass effort to remove Negro voters from the city's voter registration lists.

It was learned that more than 3500 of the 4500 Negro voters in Monroe, La., have had their voting rights challenged. Monroe is a city with a population of about 45,000 about 45 percent of whom are Negroes.

It is an industrial and agricultural center where race relations have been excellent.

The movement started by the White Citizens Council, however, will perhaps deprive hundreds of them from their right to vote in the May 22 municipal election.

The vote denial effort was first discovered by former Gov. James A. Noe, who immediately leaped into the fight. The League of Women Voters next joined in the fight. Ministers, churchwomen and organized labor then got into the furor.

The protest was then brought to the Justice Department. The results of the FBI's investigation will be turned over to the Criminal Division of the Justice Department if it is determined that the Federal law is being violated.

Approximately 1,000 Negroes were assembled in the corridors and about the grounds of the parish courthouse Thursday morning, May 10, in an attempt to re-register after being challenged by the Ouchita Parish Citizens' council. Those not seeking re-registration were there to give moral support to those who had been challenged by two-council members or registered voters.

A top figure in the affair is Mrs. Mae Lucky, parish register of voters. An on the scene witness said that Mrs. Lucky tried every way possible to either slow down or prohibit the re-registering of Negroes present. She announced early in the morning shortly after the office was open that all available affidavits were exhausted. Former Governor James A. Noe came to the register's office and secured a copy of the form and had 500 printed immediately. Mr. Noe informed the registrar that 1000 more forms would be in her office before afternoon.

State troopers and parish deputy sheriffs were on hand to see that only the registrar and her assistant, two challenged voters and their witnesses were in the office at one time.

A heated argument occurred on Tuesday between Mr. Noe and special assistant attorney general William M. Shaw. Former Gov. Noe and Shaw engaged in a controversy after Noe asked Shaw if he was a member of the Citizens' Council and the latter replied, "Yes." Shaw then asked Noe if he was a member of the NAACP, to which Noe angrily replied that he was not a member of the NAACP.

Noe informed the Negroes present that he wanted no fight with the Citizens' Council or any other organization and that his fight was with whoever was causing what he called improper challenging of voter registration.

Mrs. Lucky announced that she had been advised by the attorney general's office that there was no limit on the number of times an individual could be a witness for a person who had been challenged. However, prior to that she had permitted an individual to only witness for several challenged persons who desired to re-register.

According to the law a person who has been challenged has to have three witnesses in order to re-register and must appear at the register's office in ten days after receiving the notice.

FBI To Probe Louisiana Vote Problem

World P. 6 The Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 5-19-56

WASHINGTON—(ANP) The United States Department of Justice has authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to conduct a preliminary inquiry into the voting situation in Ouachita Parish, Pa., to determine whether any federal law has been violated.

Reports had reached Washington that the White Citizens Council in Ouachita (county), La., were conducting a mass effort to remove Negro voters from the city's voter registration lists

It was learned that more than 3500 of the 4500 Negro voters in Monroe, La., have had their voting rights challenged. Monroe is a city with a population of about 45,000 about 45 per cent of whom are Negroes.

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The movement started by the White Citizens Council, however, will perhaps deprive hundreds of them from their right to vote in the May 22 municipal election.

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Registrar strikes off Negro voters in Monroe, La.

News P. 12 Birmingham, Ala.

Sat. 5-19-56

MONROE, La., May 19—(AP)—The registrar has disqualified 80 per cent of the Negroes on Monroe's voting list.

Although most lost their votes because of challenges by the Ouachita Parish Citizens Council, Mrs. Mae Lucky, the registrar, said yesterday disqualification began "before I ever heard of a Citizens Council here."

Before Mrs. Lucky started disqualifying, there were 3603 registered Negroes. Only 921 Negroes will be eligible to vote in

Tuesday's city election.

The white registration has increased in the meantime from 10,842 to 11,124.

The Citizens Council recently urged Mrs. Lucky to invoke a Louisiana law that requires registrants to interpret the U. S. state Constitutions. The intent of the law, now little used was to hold down the Negro vote

Foe of Segregation Fired As Louisiana Registar

BATON ROUGE, La., May 14 (AP)—Gov. Robert Kennon said today the woman registrar of voters of Webster Parish, under fire from prosegregation groups, had been fired.

The Webster Parish police unanimously requested the State Board of Registration to fire Mrs. Winnice Clement of Minden.

She has resigned, effective Tuesday, the same day Gov.-elect Earl K. Long takes office.

But Kennon and Lt. Gov. C. E. Barham, two of the three members of the board, signed an order dismissing her today.

The White Citizens Councils complained last January Mrs. Clement had failed to enforce voter qualification restrictions requiring registrants to read and interpret portions of either the state or Federal Constitution.

This requirement has been largely ignored. It was originally designed to curb Negro voting.

After criticism, Mrs. Clement applied the law uniformly to both races and disqualified 24 white persons. She contended "What's fair for one race is fair for the other."

The Board of Registration is composed of the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and House Speaker. A two-thirds vote is required for action and the board need give no reason for the dismissal.

In Minden, Mrs. Clement said she could remember no particular questions asked of citizens trying to qualify as voters.

"I just opened the book and asked questions at random," she said.

Mrs. Clement said she didn't know if she would fight her ouster. "My attorney is out of town," she explained.

Ex-Gov. Noe To Aid All Scratched To Re-Register

Monroe (Special).—Three thousand Negroes for no reason other than that they were Negroes, have been stricken from the registration rolls here and were unable to vote in election here this week. One thousand more had been removed but were able to re-register on the rolls and hence able to vote. This one thousand are thanking James A. Noe for making it possible for them to be registered voters again.

The four thousand Negroes were considered a menace to white supremacy and a barrier to election of a certain group. These Negroes had once voted and caused the election of a mayor. "This must not happen again," said the Citizens Council, and so every Negro in the parish was stricken from the rolls. This included the high school principal with a degree, the local attorney with a master's degree, many teachers and business men and women with various and sundry degrees, ministers of the gospel with years of intellectual training behind them. All these were scared rabbits when integration and the councils are mentioned.

Such is the case of Juvenile Court Judge Leo B. Blessing who said Friday that he had resigned six weeks ago from the Urban League because "I was opposed to integration" of the races. The position of Judge Blessing was made acute on Thursday night when Dr. Emmett Lee Irwin, chairman of the Citizens Council of New Orleans, in a "whoop and howl, hate rally at Pelican Stadium," announced him as one of the league's board members. According to the statement of Blessing he belonged to the league for several years, "so long as their principal purpose appeared to me to be the improvement of conditions among Negroes."

Evidently this "improvement among Negroes" did not include the integration of Negroes in tax supported schools, universities, public transportation and recreational facilities, and detention homes for those juveniles brought before his "segregated" bench of justice. Judge Blessing to assist in the securing of a detention home for all delinquents—recently appointed "The Juvenile Affairs Committee." Several Negroes of the community who are dedicated to the premise of complete integration serve on the committee. They are Rev. Robert D. Hill, pastor, Mount Zion Methodist Church; J. Westbrook McPherson, executive director, Urban League; Alvin S. Bynum, of Dillard University; Dr. Leonard L. Burns, and Marcus Neustadter, Jr., both of the Frontiers of America.

Judge Blessing's denial is seemingly one prompted by the fact that this is an election year and in an effort to seek votes for re-election he declared "political asylum," in the mere utterance of "I do not belong." For Blessing like all others who are afraid find it more comfortable to ride on "the bandwagon of racial-hatred" to selfish, ambitious goals, than to stand up for the principles upon which our great Democracy was founded and for the true Christian-way of life.

With less than two thousand at the Rally in Pelican Stadium, Georgia's governor, Marvin Griffin, blew "hot" to the effect that Southern men had fought before against the U. S. and they would fight again. This was indeed an open statement of defiance and a treasonable one—but Griffin in less than twenty-four hours time blew "cold" with—"I was misinterpreted . . . I meant that we would use all legal means to fight the ruling of the Supreme Court."

While all of the noise was being raised at Pelican Stadium just across town at one of the city's largest Baptist Churches the climax of a Day of Prayer and Thanksgiving was in progress at Mount Zion Baptist Church. The Reverend Morris Burrell, pastor, emphatically told the crowd which filled the church to its capacity (very much unlike the report over WDSU-TV that night, which was evidently photographed before the meeting actually got underway) that "it is necessary for Negroes to get the ballot in their hands and after getting the ballot to use it with caution and wisely."

"Negroes of all faiths—Catholics, Lutherans, Episcopaleans, Presbyterians, Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, A. M. E. Zions, the Methodist and all religions—need to come together under a common bond and purpose to enter into this fight for freedom which effects us all. Let's get together children for there are still more bridges to cross before entering into the promised land."

The meeting was sponsored by the New Orleans Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of which the Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., is president. A comment from one of those attending was "Where are the ministers and laymen from the other churches. This seems like a Baptist meeting?"

And it was, judging from the representation of those present. The ministers and laymen of ALL OTHER DENOMINATIONS were conspicuous in their absence. Is it that they do not want to be counted in this fight for full citizenship and freedom? Are they afraid to assert themselves? Or, do they think that politics is dirty?

BULLETIN!

Monroe, La.—Jack Howard, the White Citizens Council candidate, narrowly won over Mayor John Coon, incumbent candidate in Tuesday's election. Howard garnered 5269 votes and Coon 4230 votes, in the Democratic nomination for mayor. Now, it is quite obvious why the Council 'challenged' and had disqualified 3,000 Negro voters.

Coon had strong support among the Negro voters of the city and would have won easily had not 3,000 Negro voters been scratched from the registration rolls in a maneuver by the Citizens Councils.

Meanwhile in Baton Rouge, Gov. Earl K. Long halted the firing of Mrs. Winnie Clement, Webster parish registrar which was effective last Monday. The governor has opposed the hampering of Negro registrating.

The new board met Monday on registration composed of Long, Lt. Gov. Lether Frazar and House Speaker Lorris Wimberly and stayed the dismissal.

Keeps Job in La. Registration Fight

MINDEN, La., May 26 (AP).—Mrs. Winnice Clement, who flunked twenty-four prospective white voters taking a civics test designed to keep the Negro vote down, apparently has won her fight to remain in office.

District Judge James E. Bolin has sustained a court order filed by her attorneys which would keep her in the post of Webster Parish registrar. The order invalidated an earlier one filed by the parish police jury on request of the White Citizens' Council.

Mrs. Clement was fired by the State Board of Voter Registration May 14, just one day before the date of her resignation, effective with the outgoing administration of former Gov. Robert Kennon. However, Mrs. Clement never left office. She obtained a court order restraining the parish police jury from naming her successor.

Gov. Earl Long, whose Webster Parish campaign manager was related to Mrs. Clement by marriage, took steps to keep Mrs. Clement on by saying he would investigate the matter personally.

Big Negro Vote Factor In Louisiana Today

PM + Times Herald
Tues 1-17-56

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 16 (U.P.)—Five pro-segregation candidates seek the Democratic nomination for Governor Tuesday in a test of the significance of vast new Negro voting power in the state.

Washington
Tues. 2-19-56

The question was how the varying intensity with which the campaigners exploited the segregation issue would be reflected at the polls with 135,000 Negroes ready to vote, a 63 per cent increase since 1952.

Heretofore, the deep-South political formula favored the candidate who waved the segregation banner the most.

P. 19

The Negro registration, still a small minority among the total registration of more than one million voters, could become decisive if the white turnout is small and dispersed among the five contenders.

A turnout of 750,000 has been predicted, but political observers saw no uniform concern over the segregation question among Louisiana whites during a thundering campaign.

Almost daily since October the five men have hammered on the segregation question, each pledging to maintain separate but equal public facilities for Negroes.

Former Gov. Earl Long, breaking modern precedent in seeking a second term, was the only candidate to modify his pro-segregation stand. He proposed "liberalizing" segregation in athletics.

Other candidates, all apparently in league against Long, are New Orleans Mayor De Lesseps Morrison, former State Police Supt. Francis Grevemberg, former Highway Chairman Fred Preaus, and cattleman James McLemore.

McLemore, who finished seventh among eight contenders in 1952, apparently had the backing of pro-segregation organizations while Preaus was endorsed by Gov. Robert F. Kennon, who by law cannot succeed himself.

A runoff appeared a certainty since a winner must get more than 50 per cent of the total vote. A runoff would be held Feb. 21. The winner automatically becomes governor on May 15 since there is no Republican opposition.

Racial Voting in Louisiana

Times Herald
Dec. 2-19-56

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

An analysis of the recent primary elections in Louisiana, one of the five plantation states whose legislatures are defying the United States Supreme Court, reveals some interesting facts in the field of politics and race.

While all five candidates for Governor supported the continuation of segregated schools, they did so with varying degrees of emphasis. Earl K. Long and De Lesseps Morrison, two candidates who played down the race issue and openly welcomed the votes of Negroes, led the field, receiving respectively 421,681 and 191,576 votes. Together they polled 75 per cent of the votes cast.

New York
N. Y.

James M. McLemore, who ran almost exclusively on the race issue and boasted that his ticket was the "white man's ticket," received a mere 6 per cent of the total vote and ran a poor fifth.

A New Orleans Negro, Earl J. Amadee, running for Attorney General, placed third in a field of five. His total vote was 60,543—which compares with McLemore's total vote for Governor of 48,188.

Most impressive was the increase in the Negro registration—155,460 in 1956 compared to 99,265 in 1952. In New Orleans the figures were 31,547 in 1956 and 25,000 in 1952.

Voting law backfiring

Afro-American
Baltimore Md.
2-25-56

MINDEN, La. — Louisiana's new voting law is apparently a two-edged sword.

Designed to knife the growing voting strength of colored persons, it is cutting down on the ballot potential of the whites, too.

The new statute requires each prospective voter to be able to read any clause of the U.S. Constitution and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

* * *

"THEY WANT colored persons to interpret the Constitution," said Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, Webster Parish (County) registrar of voters.

"That's all right and it's the law. But if colored persons have to do it, so do the white people. That's only fair."

Mrs. Clement revealed that since she received a mandate to enforce the law, about two dozen prospective white voters have flunked their tests, while only two colored persons have failed.

THE WHITE Citizens Council of Webster Parish has accused her of showing favoritism to colored voters.

Since the accusation, Mrs. Clement reported that she had "followed the letter of the law without favoritism to anyone."

"Nobody ever told me to stop registering colored voters," she said, "but that wasn't hard to figure out."

HER STAND, she revealed, hasn't made her popular. But she insists that she has no intention of quitting.

Mrs. Clement has been a registrar for 16 years.

She reveals that more colored persons have registered this year than ever before.

"So did more white people," she quickly added.

Vote Law For Negroes Backfires Against Whites

Call P. 1 Thu. 3-16-56
Kansas City, Mo.

MINDEN, La. — (ANP) — A Louisiana registrar of voters disclosed last week that a state law designed to curtain Negro voters is working against whites.

Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, registrar of Webster Parish, said a law which requires all prospective voters to read any clause of the U. S. Constitution and give a reasonable interpretation of it is backfiring.

Mrs. Clement said that since she received an order to enforce the law, 24 whites have flunked the test, compared to only two Negro voters who failed.

Perhaps the factor which has had most to do with the situation is that Mrs. Clement has insisted on applying the law equally to whites and Negroes.

She admits knowing that the law was passed to prevent Negro voter registration, but declares that she has followed the letter of the law without favoritism.

The favoritism charge — and the subsequent troubles of Mrs. Clement — was hurled by the white citizens councils of Louisiana, who declared that she was favoring Negro voters.

"They want Negroes to intepret the Constitution. That's all right and that's the law. But if the Negroes have to do it, so do the white people. That's only being fair," she said.

Mrs. Clement has become very unpopular among whites in Webster Parish, which has about 2,000 Negro voters, compared to 12,000 whites.

Despite pressure for her resignation after 16 years in the post, she declares that she has no intentions of resigning, and insisted that she is only carrying out orders.

She said: "No one ever told me they wanted to stop Negro registration. But that wasn't hard to figure out."

La. GOP Urges Potential Voters To Register Now

Weekly People
New Orleans La.
Sat. 3-31-56

The Peoples Republican Clubs of Louisiana affiliated with John Minor Wisdom, Louisiana National Committeeman, held a meeting recently and unanimously adopted a plan presented by Jesse W. Cook, Executive Vice President-Director and Henry W. Citizens, Vice President, to sponsor throughout the City and State an extensive campaign encouraging Negroes not now registed to **REGISTER NOW** in order to exercise their right to vote in all future elections.

They recently purchased twenty thousand sample forms similar to ones used by the Orleans Parish Registrar and will furnish to any person or persons or organizations these forms if they will see Mr. Cook at 1809 Dryades Street or phone him at CA 5144.

"Our attitude is not a selfish one, if you do not choose to Register Republican and fully support us in the re-election of President Eisenhower, then you can register Democrat and vote for IKE anyway in the General Election for President in November," commented Mr. Cook.

Vote For Freedom Committee To Be Named Here-Daliet

Weekly People
New Orleans La.
Sat. 4-7-56

The ILA-sponsored vote registration school indicated that it will join forces with the National Non-Partisan Registration Committee, it was learned here this week.

Clarence "Chink" Henry president of Local 1419, one of four ILA locals sponsoring the registration school at 501 S. Rampart, said that "we are extremely interested in this program which has the interest of the community and citizens at heart. We are also interested in the commitee's mammoth essay contest among college students, offering cash prizes and a free trip to Detroit.

Recently in a statement endorsing the national committee's program, Gov. G. Mennen Williams of Michigan declared the obligation to vote to be the best evidence of devotion to the great principles of Democracy.

"While I realize the magnitude of the problem in the South," the Governor continued, "I believe that the need is national. As we get more of true representatives of the majority of the people in local and national government, we will be in a better position to cope with the serious problems which face us."

In a letter to Louisiana Weekly Editor C. C. Dejoie, Jr., a member of the national Committee, Charles J. Wartman, executive director, urged the formation and direction of a "Vote For Freedom Committee" in specific localities to enlighten and service the people.

Attorney Earl J. Amedee, who garnered over 60,000 votes during his candidacy for state attorney general, has agreed to serve in an advisory capacity with the ILA vote registration school and help in the selection of a "Vote For Freedom Committee" from among the newly registered voters and sponsors of the school to spread the gospel of registration in New Orleans.

Sat. 4-7-56

Wilfred Daliet director of the school said the committee would be named within a week or two.

Law to Curb Negro Vote Backfiring in Louisiana

Star P. 4-A Thurs. 3-8-56

MINDEN, La., Mar. 8 (AP).—A carefully planned Louisiana law, designed to restrict Negro voting, is backfiring on pro-white forces in this segregation stronghold. Washington, D.C.

The statute requires that all prospective voters be able to read any clause of the United States Constitution and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Mrs. Winnice J. Clement, Webster Parish (County) registrar of voters, said since she received a mandate to enforce the law, about two dozen prospective white voters have flunked their tests, while only two Negroes failed to make the grade on technicalities.

Mrs. Clement, who has held the registrar's post for 16 years, said last night she considered the law made for all—whites and Negroes alike.

"They want Negroes to interpret the Constitution," she said. "That's all right and it's the law. But if the Negroes have to do it, so do the white people. That's only being fair."

She said the problem arose when the pro-segregation citizens' councils and the parish police jury accused Mrs. Clement of being lax in enforcing voter registration laws and showing favoritism to Negro voters.

Since the blast, Mrs. Clement said, she has followed "the letter of the law without showing favoritism to anyone. She said no one ever told her they wanted to stop Negro registration, "but that wasn't hard to figure out."

Mrs. Clement admitted her stand has not helped her popularity in the parish, but she reiterated she's only following the orders of the police jury. She said that despite the pressure on her at the moment, she has no intention of quitting and "haven't even thought about it."

She said more Negroes have registered this year than ever before.

But, she quickly added, "so did more white people. Some of them have voted here all their lives, but some say they won't ever try to vote again."

The voters don't like it, she added, but retorted, "It's the law."

These registration figures for Negro voters: 1940—886; 1948—28,177; 1952—99,265; 1956—155,460.

The dramatic rise in the Negro vote has been felt by candidates for all offices. Bids for the so-called Negro "bloc" vote now exist in state, parish and local races. V. 23

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has fought to get the state's Negro residents on the registration books. And some politicians, working through Negro preachers and lawyers, have initiated drives to get the Negro to register and vote.

The survey showed the heaviest concentration of Negro registration and voting has been in Orleans and St. Landry parishes, both of which have a high percentage of Negro residents.

Several parishes have no Negroes registered.

NEGRO VOTE POWERFUL

Commercial Appeal

White Candidates Eye Rise In Louisiana

Sun. 5-6-56

BATON ROUGE, May 5. — (UP)—The Negro vote in Louisiana has become a political power worthy of the white candidate's wooing since increasing more than five times in eight years.

A United Press survey shows

STATE READY TO OUST REGISTRAR OF VOTERS

Times-Picayune Sept. P. 48

Louisiana Official 'Favored' Negroes, Is Charge

Morning Dem.

BATON ROUGE, May 9. — (UP)—The Webster Parish vote registrar, accused of showing favoritism to Negro registrants, will be ousted if she fails to resign, the executive counsel to Gov. Robert Kennon said Wednesday. Sun. 3-10-56

The Parish Police Jury and several citizens' councils charged Mrs. Winnice Clement with showing favoritism several months ago.

Governor Kennon's executive counsel, Col. Wilburn Lunn, said he understood she will submit a new resignation effective Saturday.

She resigned last week effective May 15, but through court injunction stopped the jury from naming her successor.

After the Police Jury called for her removal the state Board of Registration let it be known they would not fire her if she would resign.

The board is composed of Gov. Robert Kennon, Lt. Gov. C. E. 'Cap' Barham and Speaker of the House C. C. Ayclock.

Delay in naming her successor would give her an opportunity to appeal her case to a new board which will take over when Gov.elect Earl Long is inaugurated May 15.

After the jury and councils called for a stateinvestigation of her office, Mrs. Clement flunked 24 white vote registration applicants who could not interpret the state or Federal Constitution, as required by state voting law.

She denied showing favoritism to Negroes and said "what's fair for one race is fair for another."

Louisiana Herald Race Law Fri. 3-9-56 Backfires P. 7-B

Whites Flunk Test for Voters

Miami, Fla.

MINDEN, La. —(AP)— A carefully-planned Louisiana law, designed to restrict Negro voting is backfiring on pro-white forces in this segregation stronghold.

The statute requires that all prospective voters be able to read any clause of the U.S. Constitution and "give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

Mrs. Winnice P. Clement, Webster Parish (County) registrar of voters, said since she received a mandate to enforce the law, about two dozen prospective white voters have flunked their tests, while only two Negroes failed to make the grade on technicalities.

Mrs. Clement, who has held the registrar's post for 16 years, said she considered the law made for all — whites and Negroes alike.

"They want Negroes to interpret the Constitution," she said. "That's all right and it's the law. But if the Negroes have to do it, so do the white people. That's only being fair."

She said the problem arose when the pro-segregation Citizen Councils and the parish police jury accused Mrs. Clement of being lax in enforcing voter registration laws and showing favoritism to Negro voters.

Since the blast, Mrs. Clement said, she has followed "the letter of the law without showing favoritism to anyone. She said no one ever told her they wanted to stop Negro registration, "but that wasn't hard to figure out."

Mrs. Clement admitted her stand has not helped her popularity in the parish; but she reiterated she's only following the orders of the police jury. She said despite the pressure on her at the moment, she has no intention of quitting and "haven't even thought about it."

She said more Negroes have registered this year than ever before.

But, she quickly added, "so did more white people. Some of them have voted here all their lives, but some say they won't ever try to vote again."

The voters don't like it, she added, but retorted, "it's the law."

She Disqualified White Voters, Too

Herald-Tribune P. 12

Louisiana Ousts Registrar Opposed by White Councils

Tues. 5-15-56

New York N.Y.

BATON ROUGE, La., May 14 (AP).—Gov. Robert Kennon said today the woman registrar of voters of Webster Parish, under fire from pro-segregation groups, has been dismissed.

The Webster Parish police jury had unanimously requested the State Board of Registration o oust Mrs. Winnice Clement of Minden. She had resigned effective tomorrow, the same day Gov.-elect Earl K. Long takes office. But Gov. Kennon and Lt. Gov. C. E. Barham, two of the three members of the board, signed an order dismissing her today.

The White Citizens Councils complained in January that Mrs. Clement had failed to enforce voter qualification restrictions requiring registrants to read and interpret portions of eitheir the state or Federal Constitution. The requirement has been ignored over most of the state. It was originally designed to curb Negro voting.

After criticism, Mrs. Clement applied the law uniformly to both races and disqualified twenty-four white persons. She contended "what's fair for one race is fair for the other."

In Minden, Mrs. Clement said she could remember no particular questions asked of citizens trying to qualify as voters.

"I just opened the book and asked questions at random," she said.

Mrs. Clement said she didn't know if she would fight her ouster. "My attorney is out of town," she explained.

Illiterate Help Bill Introduced

Times-Picayune Thurs. 5-31-56

BATON ROUGE, (AP). — Sen. A. O. Rappelet of Houma today introduced a bill providing for assistance of illiterate voters "and those who lack sufficient education to complete their vote within a reasonable period of time."

Item-Tribune

The 1952 Legislature repealed a law providing for assistance to illiterate voters.

In 1952, some legislators contended it aided vote buying and corruption at the polls.

Rappelet's bill provides the voter may be assisted by a "close relative."

But it adds, "in case of the absence from the polling place of an eligible relative the voter may name a commissioner of his own choosing to assist him."

Seek to Remove Woman Registrar For Being Fair

Register Des Moines Iowa Thurs. 5-31-56

Baton Rouge, Ia.—Gov. Earl K. Long has halted the firing of a woman registrar of voters under fire from pro-segregation groups.

Mrs. Winnice Clement, Webster, had been fired, effective May 21, by the former board of registration under Gov. Robert Kennon.

Long took over last Tuesday. Long has opposed hampering Negro registration.

Last January, the white citizens Councils complained Mrs. Clement failed to require registrants to read an dinterpret either state or federal constitution.

Ignored

This requirement, originally adopted to curb Negro voting, generally has been ignored over most of the state.

Contending "what's fair for one race is fair for the other," Mrs. Clement then applied the requirement and disqualified two dozen white registrants.

Shortly after that, the parish police jury, parish governing body, asked the board of registration to fire her. Police juries hire, but cannot fire, registrars.

The whole case is involved in a court battle.

Mrs. Clement's attorney seeks an injunction permanently restraining the police jury from naming a successor.

FILE 2 SUITS SEEKING $50,000 IN VOTE PURGE

3,000 Voters Want Names Back On Rolls

Monroe (Special)-Two suits seeking $50,000 in damages were filed against the registrar of voters of Ouachita parish last week by the Guiding Voice, Inc., one of several recently-organized Negro groups dedicated to fight the legal battle for the rights of Negro citizens.

The suits were filed last Tuesday by Attorney James Sharp, Jr., legal counsel for the organization and a plaintiff in the first suit. Plaintiff in the second was Dr. John I. Reddix, president of the Guiding Voice, Inc. Both suits are class action brought against Mae Lucky, registrar of voters.

Each suit asked for $25,000 in damages against the defendant.

The petition filed in the first suit seeks a permanent injunction against segregating and discriminating against Negroes in the office of the registrar of this parish.

The cause of action, according to the document, arose on or about Aug. 25, 1956 when Attorney Sharp, special counsel for the Guiding Voice, Inc. visited the office of the registrar for the purpose of representing registrants whose right to remain on the roll had been challenged.

The plaintiff maintained that the registrar refused to entertain his question in her office stating that all Negroes would have to go into the Police Jury room and that all of the cards and other information relative to their status was located there. The attorney contends that the action was filed on behalf of himself and all other Negroes similarly affected.

In the second suit, the petition showed that the class action was brought on behalf of Dr. Reddix and three thousand other Negroes challenged by the white citizens council during the months of April through May 12 1956.

The action seeks to declare the whole process by which three thousand Negroes were erased from the vote registration roll unlawful and illegal and asks the Court to order that the registrar and her successors in office restore their names to the roll.

The legal action came on the heels on an announcement made two weeks ago by the organization, indicating further that Negro groups are serious about "making democracy work the same way for all citizens and not just for those who happened to be born white."

Similar action is expected to be taken shortly in Rapides parish where over 200 Negro voters were challenged by white citizens council bigots. Legal counsels for the Negro citizens of that parish are Attorneys Louis Berry and J. E. Hines, both of Alexandria.

Last week, Berry told The Louisiana Weekly that a study of the situation is being thoroughly investigated. He explained that all legal angles are being studied from the view point of filing suit to protect the civil rights of Negro citizens in this parish.

90 Challenged

Rapides Parish Purging Vote List of Negroes

ALEXANDRIA, La.—Ninety Negro voters were challenged in a check of Rapides Parish registration rolls, according to an announcement by Rapides White Citizens' Council President Otis Edgerton Jr. He maintained that the project is not sponsored by WCC but admitted that only Negro voters have been challenged. The parish has 26,293 white voters and 3,150 Negroes.

There is a possibility that the registration of white voters will be checked later, he said.

Registrar of Voters C. L. Bushnell, asked if he has requested a ruling from the Attorney General on legality of the voters' challenges, had no comment.

This is the third parish where WCC members have scrutinized registration rolls and have challenged Negro voters. In Ouachita Parish nearly 3,000 Negro voters were scratched from the rolls, and in Webster Parish, the vote registrar, Mrs. Winnice Clement, was ousted early this year because she applied the law impartially to Negroes and whites alike. She was reinstated when Governor Earl K. Long took office, May 17.

Louisiana Voters File 2 Lawsuits

MONROE, La. — Two lawsuits, seeking a total of $50,000 in damages, have been filed against the registrar of voters of Ouachita Parish, La., charging abridgement of the voting rights of Negro residents of the parish.

The suits were brought by attorneys for the "Guiding Voice", a civic organization, headed by Dr. John I. Reddix.

Mae Lucky, Ouachita Parish registrar, was named defendant in both suits, which also seek a permanent injunction against segregating and discriminating Negroes by the registrar's office.

One suit seeks to have Dr. Reddix and 3,000 other Negroes restored to the voting lists. The complaint alleges that the "whole process by which 3,000 Negroes were erased from the roll" is unlawful and illegal.

Atty. James Sharp, jr., attorney for the plaintiffs, is also the complainant in one suit.

According to Sharp, he visited the registrar's office on Aug. 25, for the purpose of representing registrants whose right to remain on the roll had been challenged after protests from the White Citizens council.

Sharp said Miss Lucky refused to accept his complaint, and stated that all Negroes would have to go into the police jury room where all information concerning their voting status was filed.

LOUISIANA REGISTRAR SUED BY NEGRO PAIR

Removal From Voting Rolls Challenged In Court

MONROE, La., Oct. 3.—(AP)—Two Monroe Negroes Wednesday filed Federal suit against the Ouachita Parish registrar of voters, charging her with discrimination against their race.

In addition, one of the Negroes, attorney James Sharp, asked $25,000 damages because he said the registrar's action hurt him in his profession.

Mrs. ae Luckey, the registrar, cleared about 3,000 Negroes off the voting rolls last spring at the insistence of the parish white citizens council.

According to the suit, Dr. John I. Reddix, a dentist, was among those taken off the rolls, and Sharp was not permitted to give proper advice to a client who was challenged.

But their suit does not ask reinstatement only. It calls for a permanent injunction against Mrs. Luckey or her successors, enjoining them from what the suit calls discrimination against the Negro race.

Sharp and Dr. Reddix described their suit as a "class action." It was filed in behalf of themselves and their entire class, or the Negro race.

Sharp, in his suit, said he came to Mrs. Luckey's office on Aug. 25 to advise a client on whether his registration card had been filled out correctly.

Sharp said Mrs. Luckey advised him that only white persons could be served in her office. He said he was forced to wait in another room.

In their suit, filed here in the Western District Court of Louisiana, Sharp and Dr. Reddix said the actions of Mrs. Luckey violated their constitutional rights.

COURT ACTION IN CASE HINTED

Voter Re-Registration Is Disputed by Leaders

(Special to The Times-Picayune)

ALEXANDRIA, La., Sept. 21—The argument over re-registration of more than 200 Negro voters in Rapides parish appeared headed for the courts Thursday.

Asst. Attny. Gen. Harry Fuller hinted court action by saying, "We're trying to let Registrar of Voters C. L. Bushnell do his job. If there is any dispute, the courts are open to both sides."

Another assistant attorney general, John R. Hunter Jr., of Alexandria, said re-registration forms for challenged voters will continue to be used despite protests of the Citizens Council.

A member of the pro-segregation council, Bill Shaw of Homer, said here Wednesday re-registration affidavits being used by challenged voters were illegal.

But Hunter disagreed. He said they are the forms provided for in statutes governing registration.

"Mr. Bushnell is obliged to fol-

low the law as set forth in the statues," Hunter said. "If that is not satisfactory, the council may apply to the courts to straighten out the matter."

President Otis Edgerton Jr. of the Rapides parish Citizens Council, commented, "I can't say whether we will go to court since I am only one member of the committee challenging voters, but that phase of it will be discussed shortly."

'Fight to finish' over vote denials

MONROE, La. — "We're not going to stand by and let the Senate fight any battles for us. We will pursue the lawsuits that we have filed to the finish."

That statement was made last week by James Sharp, attorney who has filed two suits against Mrs. Mae Luckey, Ouachita Parish (County) registrar, charging that names of more than 3,000 colored voters were removed from the rolls illegally.

Mr. Sharp made his statement after a Justice Department spokesman called upon the Senate privileges and elections subcommittee to investigate mass disfranchisement of colored voters in Louisiana and Georgia.

* * *

HE ADMITTED THAT a Senate investigation "would do a lot of good," but insisted that his clients would go on with their own fight.

Also in Monroe, Mrs. Luckey, the registrar, told newsmen:

"More than 3,000 colored registrations were challenged under a move by the parish Citizens Council.

"They were removed from the rolls and in further investigations about 1,000 have been placed back on the rolls because they were found legally qualified."

If public hearings were held in some of the places from which complaints of disfranchisement are coming, "these abuses might well be stopped," assistant Attorney General Warren Olney 3rd, the Justice Department spokesman, told the subcommittee.

The committee announced later that no action had been taken on Mr. Olney's suggestion. Chairman Gore pointed out there are laws under which the Justice Department could proceed if it wants to do so.

Mr. Olney appeared before the subcommittee which is investigating political practices and campaign contributions and expenditures in the 1956 presidential and senatorial campaigns.

* * *

AFTER HE had read a statement concerning Justice Department investigations and prosecutions under the section of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, which prohibits campaign contributions by national banks, corporations and labor organizations, Mr. Olney made his suggestion that the subcommittee investigate the disfranchisement in Louisiana and Georgia.

"No study of the political practices followed during the course of the 1956 presidential and senatorial elections could possibly be adequate or complete without including the mass disfranchisement in certain communities by unconstitutional means of thousands of legally registered voters," Mr. Olney told the committee, adding:

"It presents a problem of major concern to the whole nation and would appear to lie within the investigative jurisdiction of the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections."

Mr. Olney, who is in charge of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, said 3,397 of 3,912 permanently registered colored residents in two wards in Ouachita Parish (County), Louisiana, were stricken from the voting rolls last April and May as a result of efforts of the Ouachita Citizens Council.

* * *

HE ALSO reported that the Justice Department is investigating complaints that over 200 qualified voters in Rapides Parish, La., and from 25 to 30 per cent of the colored voters in Pierce County, Ga., have been disfranchised.

Sen. Albert Gore (Dem., Tenn.), subcommittee chairman, said the subcommittee is looking into similar complaints in Orleans Parish (New Orleans, La.).

"I should like to illustrate what is going on as well as to suggest how the subcommittee might be of public service by giving the facts on just one small parish," Mr. Olney told the subcommittee.

He took Ouachita Parish as an illustration.

LAST JAN. 17 there were about 4,000 colored persons whose names appeared on the list of registered voters in wards 3 and 10 in Ouachita Parish, Mr. Olney said.

"It would appear that these persons were United States citizens, possessing all of the necessary qualifications of voters under the Louisiana laws and the Federal Constitution," Mr. Olney said.

He pointed out that Louisiana had a permanent voter registration law, which was in effect in Ouachita Parish, and all of these persons had registered and qualified for permanent registration and had been allowed to vote in previous elections.

* * *

AS OF OCT. 4, he said, the names of 694 colored voters remained on the rolls of registered voters for Wards 3 and 10 in the parish. The names of more than 3,300 colored voters had been removed from the rolls in violation of both Louisiana and Federal laws, he charged.

"This mass disfranchisement was accomplished by a scheme and device to which a number of white citizens and certain local officials were parties," Mr. Olney charged.

The scheme, he said, appears to have taken form as early as last January and its principal purpose was to eliminate from the list of registered voters of Ouachita Parish the names of all colored persons residing in Wards 3 and 10 and deprive them of their right to vote.

* * *

MR. OLNEY NOTED that the Citizens Council of Ouachita Parish was incorporated last Mar. 2. Its professed objects, as stated in the articles of incorporation, were:

"1. To protect and preserve by all legal means, our historical southern social institutions in all their aspects;

"2. To marshal the economic resources of the good citizens of this community and surrounding areas in combating any attack upon these social institutions."

Despite these stated objects, Mr. Olney said, later developments have shown that one of the principal objectives and purposes of the Ouachita Citizens Council is to "prevent and discourage" colored persons from participating in elections in Ouachita Parish.

* * *

MR. OLNEY OFFERED to make available to the subcommittee the names of the officers, directors and members of the Ouachita Citizens Council.

In March, he said, the officers and members of the Citizens Council began to carry out their plan to eliminate the names of colored persons from the roll of registered voters.

Their scheme consisted of filing purported affidavits with the registrar of voters challenging the qualifications of all colored voters in wards 3 and 10, Mr. Olney said, and inducing the registrar to send notices to the colored voters requiring them within 10 days to appear and prove their qualifications by affidavit of three witnesses.

* * *

"THE SCHEME FURTHER consisted of inducing the registrar to refuse to accept as witnesses bona fide registered voters of the parish who resided in a precinct other than the precinct of the challenged voters, or who had themselves been challenged or who had already acted as witnesses for any other challenged voter," Mr. Olney said.

"Of course," he added, "it was a part of this scheme that none of the registered colored voters would be able to meet these illegal requirements and upon the basis of such pretext, that the registrar would strike their names from the roll of registered voters.

"These people in the Ouachiia Citizens Council appear to have succeeded either by persuasion or intimidation in procuring the help and cooperation of the election officials of Ouachita Parish."

* * *

"FOR THIS SERIOUS CONDITION there is no adequate remedy present available to the Department of Justice. A criminal prosecution begun after the election would not restore to the roll of registered voters of Ouchita Parish the names that have been unlawfully removed.

"It would not protect the integrity of the election of officers of the United States in the November election.

"The Department of Justice has not been blind to the possibility that this kind of unconstitutional disfranchisement of citizens of the United States might occur and that more effective legal remedies are needed.

"The attorney general in April 1956 presented proposals to both houses of Congress for legislation which would authorize him to apply to the Federal courts for preventive relief by the way of injunction in cases such as these.

"THESE DEVELOPMENTS should demonstrate to everyone who believes in the basic principles of the U.S. Constitution that it is indeed regrettable that the legislative proposals of the attorney general seeking civil remedies to protect the constitutional right to vote should have been bottled up in the Senate Judiciary Committee after having passed the House.

"The failure of the Congress to act in this particular has left the Department of Justice and the courts without the remedies and means necessary to secure the honesty and integrity of elections for federal officers.

"Under these circumstances, I respectfully suggest that a special responsibility rests upon the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections. This subcommittee is that agency of the Congress most directly concerned with elections. It is now engaged in the study of political practices during the presently pending elections.

* * *

"IF THIS SUBCOMMITTEE would hold public hearings concerning this unconstitutional disfranchisement of citizens of the United States, it would indeed be, to quote the chairman's (Senator Gore's) letter of inviation, 'in the interest of public enlightment.'

"It would also be of aid in the consideration of legislation in the next session of Congress.

"Such a decision on the part of the subcommittee would be most helpful in contributing to a free and fair election."

Louisiana Out To Get Negroes Names Off Voting Lists

BATON ROUGE, La. — A drive to reverse the upward trend of Negro voting in Louisiana was launched here Friday by the White Citizens Councils.

Negro voters have climbed from less than 8,000 to more than 160,000 in the past ten years.

The efforts by the White Citizens Councils are centered on two fronts:

1. Challenging Negro voters over the state in an effort to trim their names from registration rolls.

2. A constitutional amendment designed to throw a roadblock in front of a federal court suit trying to restore challenged voters to the rolls.

"From the long range standpoint, our only hope in the segregation fight is to clear our rolls of all illegally qualified voters," said State Senator W. M. Rainach. "I think this will spread all over the South."

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Vote Registration Takes "Healthy" Jump To 31,547

Negro vote registration showed a healthy increase locally following the closing of the registration office for the January state-wide elections, according to figures released by the registrar's office last week.

The official total was 31,547. This figure shows a near 5,000 to 6,000 gain during the past year.

A great deal of the success of the recent upsurge in registration can be laid to the ILA locals of the city. ILA, Local 1419, headed by Clarence "Chink" Henry, beamed a special 13-week radio broadcast geared for increased vote registration. And the ILA vote registration school assisted all persons on how to fill out the forms properly. This school was sponsored by ILA Locals headed by Henry, Walter Augustine, Zack Banks and Henry Williams.

At press time statewide reports on the total number of Negro voters were incomplete. However, reliable sources feel that there has been a substantial gain, estimating the total around 150,000.

ILA Registration School Does Fine Job

ON the eve of the gubernatorial election the Registrar of Voters office here announced that there are close to 34,000 Negro registered voters. This figure represents a round number increase of about 8,000. This highly praiseworthy job was largely done by the ILA Registration School organized several months ago by four ILA locals headed by Clarence "Chink" Henry, Henry Williams, Walter Augustine and Zack Banks.

Orleanians can well be proud and grateful of the tremendous job done by the ILA Registration School. There was a time when we liked to do a lot of talking about what we didn't like. But not a lot of voting against what we didn't like. That picture is changing now, thanks to the ILA school. We have a potential voting strength in this community of 100,000. Though we still have a long way to go, **we are moving.** The task is not an impossible one, especially if we want to open a lot of doors that are closed now. The day is not too far when we can make our votes talk for us and be heard where we are now getting the vicious "race baiting" treatment from the politicians and gubernatorial candidates.

For the information of all the gubernatorial candidates there can be no real happiness, no real opportunity, no real peace if we are not treated like any other American citizen. We are not interested in any special schools, any special (porter) jobs, any special parks, etc. We are Americans and want to be treated as such. We aim to use our vote and intelligence to assist us in being recognized simply as American citizens and law abiding human beings.

We can all be thankful that these leaders have become fully aware that political potency can only be demonstrated in terms of voting strength. It is true that similar projects have been undertaken before, but seldom with the life and enthusiasm that is quite apparent at the ILA school. It has been these men's observation that there has been more talk than action about securing the ballot, that precious piece of paper which puts us in a position to do something tangible relative to the things we constantly complain about.

Without becoming a registered voter, a citizen finds himself without the effective means of making his feelings and desires known in any elective matter. Democracy operates only in response to the demands of the voter, and according to Louisiana laws a citizen is not a voter until he has registered. There is no room for excuses inasmuch as Louisiana does not require poll tax fees which may have been used as an excuse for not relieving the politicians' foot from their shoulders.

We repeat the ILA Registration School deserves a resounding vote of commendation. It is time we get busier after the election to help ourselves secure the rights which are guaranteed us and others by the U. S. Constitution. For the sake of a brighter tomorrow, see that your name and your neighbors get on the registration rolls. If you need help go to the ILA school which re-opens after the election. Again we remind you a voteless people is a hopeless people.

Big Race Vote Seen For La. Election Tues.

BATON ROUGE, La. —(INS)— Disclosure Tuesday that 150,000 Negroes will be eligible to vote in next Tuesday's gubernatorial primary led many Louisiana political observers to believe that Negro voting could swing the election.

David Renaud, state director of registration, reported that 1,040,134 persons of both races will be eligible to participate in the election. This figure compares with 912,530 registered last October.

The Negro registration was estimated at well over 150,000, compared with 99,000 in 1952 and 127,231 last October.

On the basis of past elections the January 17 vote could be estimated at around 740,000, but Renaud pointed out Tuesday that the latest figures, under a new registration law, represents "a cleared" roll of "proven voters," so the vote likely will run higher.

Three of the five gubernatorial candidates, James McLemore, Fred Preaus and Earl Long, have said they would close any public schools integrated by federal order.

Candidate Francis Grevemberg, answering the same set of questions by a prosegregation organization, said he did not believe such a "drastic step" would be necessary. Candidates DeLesseps S. Morrison answered only that state law "presently" requires such action

Exercise Your Precious Right To Vote

NEXT week on Tuesday, January 17, voters of the State will go to the polls to elect a governor and a new administration to run the affairs of the state for the next four years.

Who to vote for in the governor's race is the big question facing the 150,000 Negro voters. Inasmuch as all the candidates have come out for segregation and defiance of the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools, we cannot in good conscience publicly recommend to the 150,000 voters any gubernatorial candidate for election. We believe in law and order and have the utmost respect for the rulings of the Supreme Court. We believe in the democratic principles this country was founded upon, therefore we cannot support publicly even the lesser of the "five evils" because they are all committed to violate the law of the land.

On the other hand, we think every one of the 150,000 should vote in the election. First as a matter of keeping your permanent registration certificate alive and active. Secondly, it is your solemn duty to participate in all elections as a law abiding citizen. Your choice for governor is your own personal decision. Because of the vicious race baiting, dirty mud-slinging character of the race and no doubt because of the smear tactics used by one particular candidate, the "lesser of the evils" will be narrowed down to two men. It is

quite clear now that a choice is being forced between these two candidates. We think Negroes over the state know what the score is in the governor's race and will vote accordingly.

We are publicly supporting the candidacy of Earl Amedee for Attorney General. He is the only man in the January 17 primary publicly committed for "law and order", the only candidate who favors compliance with the high court's ruling on segregation.

We are proud to support Amedee because we are not ashamed of his views on segregation. His position is crystal clear. Negroes can do themselves a big favor by voting for Amedee. A vote for Amedee will indicate you have not lost your self respect or respect for the U. S. Supreme Court. Further, it will show that Negroes believe in themselves. Let no one tell you Amedee hasn't got a chance. He has an excellent chance and the hard core politicians know it.

Insofar as other candidates are concerned, we have no particular recommendations. However, on the local scene, there are some legislative candidates deserving of your support. A gubernatorial candidate, via TV the other night, very conveniently advertised who they are. Find out who they are and support them at the Ballot Box.

Don't fail to exercise your precious right to vote.

State Voters Rise to 1,040,134

Negro Registration Near 151,000, Reynaud Says

BATON ROUGE, Jan. 10 (AP) — The Louisiana Board of Registration Tuesday announced the state has 1,040,134 registered voters, higher than the 1,020,977 total in 1952.

Director David Reynaud said as of Dec. 17 the Negro vote registration totaled 138,446 with figures for East Baton Rouge, Jefferson and Sabine parishes not yet broken down into Negro and White registrants.

He estimated the total Negro registration at 151,000.

On Jan. 17, Louisiana ballots for a governor, Legislature and many other state and local officials.

And he predicted that "with good weather" the voting next week could exceed the 1952 Democratic primaries when more than 760,000 voted for governor in the first primary and over 785,000 in the runoff.

Reynaud noted that under permanent registration the rolls are cleared periodically of all registrants who haven't voted in the past two years.

He said the present registration figures picture "a more accurate and stronger voting potential of the people of this state."

Here is a breakdown by parishes, with registration figures for September, 1952, given first, followed by December, 1955:

Acadia 22,920—21,654. Allen 9704—9319; Ascension 9529—9274; Assumption 6544 — 6158; Avoyelles 16,195—14,946; Beauregard 8343—8445; Bienville 5653—5837; Bossier 9871—8864; Caddo 57,500—55,165; Calcasieu 42,607—40,542; Caldwell 4560—4260; Cameron 3136—3029; Cathoula 4156—4153; Claiborne 6546—5807; Concordia 3823—4086; De Soto 5966—6287; East Bator Rouge 54,226—58,917; East Carroll 2917—2940; East Feliciana 2820—4154; Evangeline 14,605—15,743; Franklin 8993—8638; Grant 7329—6608; Iberia 16,807—18,224; Iberville 7843—8955; Jackson 7421—6546; Jefferson 51,694—56,586; Jefferson Davis 12,224—11,090; Lafayette 23,000 — 24,620; Lafourche 16,736—21,453; La Salle 7404—7563; Lincoln 7922—8498; Livingston 9652—10,881; Madison 3440—3026; Morehouse 9556—9810; Natchitoches 14,169—12,221; Orleans 220,339—214,602; Ouachita 29,924—25,792; Pointe Coupee 5235—5986; Rapides 37,872—29,254; Red River 4165—4965; Richland 7977—7810; Sabine 9596—8687; St. Bernard 4774—11,300; St. Charles 6801—7421; St. Helena 2833—4110; St. James 5314—6006; St. John The Baptist 6813—5973; St. Landry 22,957—34,653; St. Martin 8959—10,967; St. Mary 12,503—12,751; St. Tammany 12,920—12,479; Tangipahoa 19,520 — 21,900; Tensas 2474—1980; Terrebonne 12,598—14,550; Union 8933—8351; Vermilion 18,932—19,106; Vernon 9873—10,463; Washington 15,934—16,898; Webster 13,624—14,203; West Baton Rouge 2764—3988; West Carroll 7331—5945; West Feliciana 1260—1280, and Winn 7931—7790.

SEGREGATION ISSUE DOMINATES ELECTION

Louisiana Voters To Vote For Governor Tomorrow

FIVE SEEKING POST

By CHARLES OHL
United Press Staff Writer

NEW ORLEANS, Jan. 15. — Voters in this segregation-conscious state, their five gubernatorial candidates safely pledged to separate but equal facilities for Negroes and whites, go to the polls Tuesday in the democratic primary after a fiery campaign reminiscent of the days of the late Senator Huey P. Long.

Former Gov. Earl K. Long, a vitriolic crossroads campaigner in the tradition of his late brother, Huey, carries the Long banner in an unprecedented bid in modern Louisiana history for two terms as governor.

Opposition is Strong

Impressive competition is arrayed against him.

It includes Chep Morrison, the "boy wonder" of Louisiana politics who has been mayor of New Orleans for 10 years; Francis Grevemberg, former superintendent of State Police who gained nationwide notice by leading a relentless assault on gambling in Louisiana; Fred Preaus, former chairman of the State Highway Board and the endorsed candidate of Gov. Robert F. Kennon; and James McLemore, a cattleman who finished seventh in a field of eight in the 1952 elections.

Ironically, the anti-Longs lashed at each other more than they did against Long, apparently because most conceded the former Governor would be the leader in the voting.

The size and quality of the field made a runoff primary appear fairly certain in this traditionally democratic state where the general election is only a formality. A candidate must obtain more than 50 per cent of the combined votes of his opponents to win in the first primary.

There are more than a million voters eligible to vote in the primary, with a predicted vote of about 750,00. The polls open at 6 a.m. and close at 8 p.m. voting machines are being used state-wide for the first time in a gubernatorial primary.

All five candidates have vowed to preserve segregation, although they have differed somewhat in the intensity of their pledges. Mr. McLemore, seemingly the choice of The Citizen Councils, has hammered steadily on segregation. He has accused Mr. Long of receiving the support of Negro organizations and charged flatly that Mayor Morrison, a catholic, favors integration of the races.

Issue Hotly Debated

The wrangle over who is most strongly in favor of segregation takes on significance because of the big upsurge in the number of registered Negro voters. There are about 150,000 Negroes registered to vote, an increase of 63 per cent over 1952. The white voting population stands at 929,000, an increase of only six per cent from 1952.

Mr. Long, a Baptist, has been the only candidate to slightly qualify his stand on maintaining segregation. On boxing and other athletic events, he has said it might be best to "liberalize our way of thinking to a certain extent."

Mayor Morrison, who won an underdog battle against a machine government to become mayor of New Orleans in 1945, has himself been attacked as a representative of machine politics.

Mr. Long, in characteristic sarcasm, has termed his big city opponent that "cute little slicer from New Orleans" and also duly noted in the rural parishes that Mayor Morrison made a best-dressed list selected by a Hollywood actor.

Mayor Morrison has replied in kind that there is a lot of noise coming from the Long camp but "if you look closely there is just one bullfrog making all that noise." The New Orleans mayor, aware of the traditional split between the Baptist North and the Catholic South, has appealed for unity in the state.

Mr. Long, who has singled out Mayor Morrison as his chief opponent, accused Mayor Morrison of making $25,000 in a deal with ousted Dictator Juan Peron of Argentina, a charge that the New Orleans mayor referred to as a "new low for a man who already has a very low and rotten record."

Dark Horses Listed

Both Colonel Grevemberg and Mr. Preaus could be regarded as dark horses in the race. Grevemberg quit as state police chief to run for governor because he claimed no other candidate was sincere about maintaining rigid law enforcement. He broke sharply with Governor Kennon over who ordered the massive state police raids that left a trail of smashed slot machines across the state. Colonel Grevemberg claims gambling is flourishing again in Louisiana since he resigned.

Mr. Preaus has hung his appeal on a "clean government" pledge, attacked Morrison for machine politics in New Orleans where police department graft was recently uncovered, and charged that progress in Louisiana would be set back 20 years if the Long forces return to power.

Mr. Long was lieutenant governor when the so-called Louisiana scandals broke in 1938. He became governor when Gov. Richard Leche resigned. Long ran as an independent in 1940, but was badly beaten by reformer Sam Jones. In 1948, he ran again and won by one of the largest majorities ever recorded.

The Long candidate was beaten in 1952 by Kennon. Since Long could not run to succeed himself, he waited four years to try again.

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MARYLAND

Vote Count Nearly Ended, Tydings' Margin Grows

205 AFRO precincts gave Eisenhower 52.2, Sen. Butler 48.4 of their votes

By GENE GOODWIN

The official canvass of votes was virtually completed today in the three key Maryland counties in which the results were closest. Millard E. Tydings is still the apparent winner of Monday's Democratic senatorial primary in Maryland.

The three closest counties in Monday's balloting were Frederic, in which Mr. Tydings was the apparent winner, and Howard and St. Mary's, where George P. Mahoney had a slight edge in the unofficial count.

A reversal of the unofficial outcome in any of the 13 counties or two Baltimore city legislative districts won by Mr. Tydings could swing the nomination to Mr. Mahoney, even though he trailed in popular votes by about 8,000.

Tied in Unit Votes

The unit votes are what count in a State-wide primary in the Free State. The unofficial tabulation left the two contenders tide at 76-76 in this respect. It's never happened before, but the law provides that in case of a tie, the nomination goes to the candidate with the most popular votes.

In Frederick County, an official check of the tally sheets from all 68 polling places showed Mr. Tydings had won that county's seven unit votes by a popular-vote margin of 201, instead of the 174 which the unofficial tabulation had given him. The new Frederick totals are 2,174 for Mr. Tydings and 1,973 for Mr. Mahoney.

Completion of the official canvass there, however, still requires a check of the voting machines, which was to begin this morning.

Mr. Tydings trimmed his opponent's margin in the official count in St. Marys County, but not enough to change the outcome. The official canvass there gives Mr. Mahoney the edge by 2,265 to 2,142 votes. Unofficially, he had 2,294 to 2,128.

Didn't Use Voting Machines

St. Marys and Garrett Counties were the only two in Maryland which did not use voting machines Monday. They plan to have them in operation before the general election in November.

Each candidate picked up a vote in Howard County's official canvass, which unofficially had gone to Mr. Mahoney by a vote of 2,050 to 1,956.

After Frederick County, Mr. Mahoney's best chance of upsetting the unofficial outcome seems to lie in Baltimore City's 5th legislative district, where the official canvass was to begin late today. Mr. Mahoney lost that district by only 405 votes out of more than 32,000 cast.

Meanwhile, Tydings supporters claimed a recheck of the unofficial tallies has increased their man's margin in the 5th by 200 votes.

Prince Georges Count Complete

If the official canvass confirms Mr. Tydings' victory in the 5th, it will mark the first time that anybody has won two districts in the city against Mr. Mahoney in a primary. In Mr. Mahoney's three previous primaries, he carried all the city districts except the 4th, where Jack Pollack is the Democratic leader.

Among the nine counties which virtually completed their official canvass yesterday was Prince Georges, where Mr. Tydings picked up 106 votes and Mr. Mahoney 4. The official result there was Mr. Tydings 15,613, Mr. Mahoney 8,118.

The other counties in which the official canvass failed to alter any unit votes were Carroll, Dorchester and Garrett, which stayed in Mr. Mahoney's column, and Queen Anne, Talbot and Wicomico, whose unit votes still belong to Mr. Tydings.

BALTIMORE

Two-hundred and five precincts in 23 wards where colored voter are a major factor, voted 47,527 for Ike and 45,511 for Adlai, in last Tuesday's election.

Eisenhower's percentage 52.2 —Adlai's 47.8. The rest of the city outside the AFRO precincts voted 53.2 for Ike and 46.8 for Adlai.

* * *

SENATOR BUTLER lost these 205 AFRO precincts to Mahoney 40,215 to 42,840. Butler's percentage 48.4 — Mahoney's 51.6

In the rest of the city, Butler polled 49.8% of the vote. Mr. Butler, therefore, polled 1.4 per cent fewer votes in AFRO precincts than elsewhere in the city.

Mahoney won in Batlimore City by 5,000 votes, but lost the state to Butler by 50,000.

* * *

IN THE 7th Congressional District fewer than 1,000 votes separated Friedel and Halley, candidates for Congress. Friedel won.

In the 3rd Congressional District, Garmatz carried the AFRO precincts, in this area over Kemper 13,490 to 7,651.

In the 4th Congressional District, Fallon polled 16,878 in the AFRO's 92 precincts, in this district and Hubbard, 13,600.

Mr. Fallon therefore polled 55.3 per cent of the vote in AFRO precincts in his district as compared to 47.1 per cent in other precincts.

* * *

THE 25TH precinct of the 16th Ward has 642 registered voters all colored, 338 Republicans; 297 Democrats and 7 Independents. Ike got 339 votes; Adlai 213.

The 24th precinct is also all colored. It has 577 voters registered: 295 Republicans; 265 Democrats, and 17 Independents. Ike got 323; Stevenson, 166.

THE 11TH PRECINCT of the 16th Ward has 532 colored and 86 white registered voters. There are 345 colored registered Democrats and 174 colored Republicans. Ike received 311 in this precinct; Adlai, 269.

Eighty-eight per cent of those registered in this precinct voted Tuesday.

Ninety per cent of voters registered in the 6th precinct, 16th Ward actually voted. This precinct has 716 colored and 86 white persons registered.

Ninety-three per cent of the voters registered in the 7th precinct of the 16th Ward actually voted. This precinct has 466 colored and 101 white persons registered.

* * *

THE 5TH PRECINCT of the 5th Ward gave Stevenson 127; Eisenhower 71 votes.

This precinct has 168 colored; 34 white voters registered.

Of the colored voters, 106 are registered as Democrats and 58 as Republicans. Ninety-six per cent of the persons registered in this precinct actually voted.

The first precinct of the 10th Ward gave Stevenson 168; Eisenhower 230. This precinct has 533 colored; 14 white voters registered. Of the colored voters, 227 are registered Republicans; 290 Democrats

Eighty-eight per cent of all the persons registered in this precinct voted.

These tables show the vote by Congressional Districts, Wards and AFRO Princincts:

THIRD CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

Wards	Precincts	IKE	ADLAI	BUTLER	MAHONEY	KEMPER	GARMATZ
3	1 - 5	842	1,545	774	1,481	496	1,599
4	1 - 6	528	841	474	839	374	822
5	1 - 6	583	847	528	731	417	708
6	5 - 8	550	795	470	750	377	765
7	4 - 12	2,030	1,854	1,635	1,954	1,271	1,985
8	5 - 21	3,797	3,562	3,056	3,632	2,138	3,983
18	1 - 9	1,708	1,633	1,403	1,635	1,186	1,469
22	1 - 4	761	707	576	699	522	717
23	1 - 7	1,486	1,416	1,217	1,568	870	1,442
Sub Totals	58	12,285	13,250	10,143	13,289	7,651	13,490

3rd Ward—S. E. Baltimore
4th Ward—S. W. Baltimore
5th, 6th, 7th, 8th Wards—E. Baltimore
18th Ward—N. W. Baltimore
22nd, 23rd Wards—S. Baltimore

FOURTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

						HUBBARD	FALLON
9	10 - 16	1,207	1,171	943	1,206	743	1,167
10	1 - 8	1,369	1,530	1,115	1,541	908	1,499
11	1 - 7	1,924	1,260	1,709	1,256	1,300	1,408
12	7 - 18	1,853	1,415	1,517	1,529	1,217	1,514
13	4 - 17	3,553	3,341	2,990	3,325	2,240	3,242
14	1 - 12	3,193	2,373	2,791	2,220	2,327	2,092
17	1 - 7	1,665	1,222	1,423	1,161	1,259	971
18	1 - 2	510	247	466	219	404	190
19	1 - 11	2,234	2,394	1,880	2,480	1,469	2,385
20	1 - 6	2,588	2,566	2,151	2,552	1,733	2,410
Sub Totals	20 - 25 92	20,096	17,519	16,985	17,489	13,600	16,878

9th Ward—N. E. Baltimore
10th Ward—E. Baltimore
11th Ward—N. W. Baltimore
12th Ward—N. E. Baltimore
13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th Wards—N. W. Baltimore

SEVENTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT

						HALLEY	FRIEDEL
15	15 - 27 29 - 34	5,278	4,284	4,479	4,065	3,604	3,652
16	1 - 11 15 - 25	6,081	4,915	5,528	4,347	4,416	4,125
21	1 - 9	1,950	1,917	1,517	2,109	1,221	1,938
25	6 - 11	1,839	1,626	1,563	1,541	1,162	1,593
Sub Totals	55	15,146	12,742	13,087	12,062	10,403	11,308

15th 16th Wards—N. W. Baltimore
21st ard—South Baltimore
25th Ward—Cherry Hill and Mt. Winans

	Afro Precincts	Ike	Adlai	Butler	Mahoney
Grand Total	205	47,527	43,511	40,215	42,840

Tuesday's Results

Here are the results of Tuesday's election in Maryland for major political offices. The name of the winning candidate appears in bold face. In all congressional races, the incumbent was returned to office, leaving Maryland's congressional delegation unchanged.

PRESIDENT

EISENHOWER-NIXON (R)—552,128; Stevenson-Kefauver (D)—368,717.

SENATOR

SENATOR JOHN M. BUTLER (R)—465,269; George Mahoney (D)—415,292.

CONGRESSIONAL RACE

FIRST DISTRICT—**REP. EDWARD T. MILLER** (R)—42,185; Hamilton P. Fox Jr. (D)—33,744.

SECOND DISTRICT—**REP. JAMES P. S. DEVERAUX** (R)—80,015; A. Gordon Boone (D)—60,855.

THIRD DISTRICT—**REP. EDWARD A. GARMATZ** (D)—47,927; Harry Kemper (R)—20,715.

FOURTH DISTRICT—**REP. GEORGE FALLON** (D)—42,304; George D. Hubbard (R)—37,421.

FIFTH DISTRICT—**REP. RICHARD E. LANKFORD** (D)—87,988; William B. Prendergast (R)—66,354.

SIXTH DISTRICT—**REP. DEWITT S. HYDE** (R)—97,687; John R. Foley (D)—84,278.

SEVENTH DISTRICT—**REP. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL** (D)—69,382; David A. Halley (R)—47,850.

SUPREME BENCH JUDGES

JUDGE REUBEN OPPENHEIMER, JUDGE DEELEY K. NICE, EDWIN HARLAN, and **Judge Nellie Marshall.**

Democrats Strive To Keep Negro Vote In Michigan

Courier-Journal
Nov. 6-1956
Louisville Ky.
P. 10

Detroit, June 10 (AP)—Michigan Democrats, opening a campaign to win the state's 200,000 Negro voters, charged today that Republicans are "seeking to drive a wedge between the Negro voter and the Democratic Party."

State Democratic headquarters issued a "fact sheet" listing arguments it said should convince Negroes not to bolt to the Republican Party, but rather to vote Democratic down the line.

The pamphlet centered most of its fire on Mayor Albert E. Cobo of Detroit, considered the strongest contender for the Republican gubernatorial nomination at the August 7 primary.

It said Cobo would be attacked on charges that he segregated public housing.

Jury Probing Vote Charge Against Union

World-Telegram + Sun P. 13
Pub. 12-4-56

By the Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 4.—Congressional sources said today a federal grand jury is investigating charges that Flint, Mich., labor groups unlawfully used dues funds in the 1956 election campaign.

The investigation involves allegations, aired publicly by Sen. Carl T. Curtis (R., Nebr.), that the Greater Flint Industrial Council-CIO last September caused some $25,000 of United Auto Workers union members' dues to be diverted into a fund for "partisan political purposes" in violation of election laws.

The law forbids labor unions or corporations to continue directly to political campaigns.

Senate sources, declining to be quoted by name, said the grand jury has been convened in Bay City, Mich., to consider evidence gathered by the FBI. The case already is under study by the staff of the Senate elections subcommittee, headed by Sen. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.).

Mississippi Roundup

Negroes Must Get Vote, Minister Tells Meeting

JACKSON, Miss., April 27 (U.P.)—A Negro minister today told a civil rights group here in a fiery address that Negroes "must get the ballot at all costs" and use economic boycotts if they are to win total victory over the forces of segregation in the South.

B. D. Lambert, one of the Montgomery, Ala., Negro ministers indicated for their roles in the bus boycott incident, spoke to some 200 Mississippi Negro leaders at a meeting of the regional Council of Negro Leadership.

Lambert told the group, "our future depends on the ballot. We've got to break down political walls. We must become registered voters at all costs."

Lambert shouted defiantly, "The people of Montgomery will never again ride Jim Crow buses. They said Negroes would never unite, but the Negro ministers (in Montgomery) are united like bricks in a cement wall."

Earlier, two Mississippi ministers called for calmness and organization. J. F. Redmon and G. R. Haughton, both of Greenville, told the crowd it was a minister's duty to use his pulpit to look out for the welfare of their people.

VIEW OF PARTIES

Wilkins said that where the Republicans in 1952 promised "delivery on the executive level as well as the legislative" the Democrats "put all their eggs in one basket on the legislative level."

The NAACP secretary said in the present campaign all of the statements of the leading candidates for nomination in the Democratic party about the segregation question were about the same. He referred to Sen. Estes Kefauver (D-Tenn), Gov. Averell Harriman of New York and Adlai Stevenson of Illinois, by name.

"But we want the platform planks this time that are more than a telegram it had sent to President Eisenhower strongly urging that the Russian group which the State Department invited here to observe an American election be sent to Mississippi to observe how Negroes are being denied the right to register and vote.

The NAACP telegram said the foreign observers should be sent to Hattiesburg, Miss., in Forrest county, "where there are less than 25 Negroes registered out of a total Negro county population of 12,000," and to Jefferson Davis county "where more than 1,000 persons who have been registered voters for from three to ten years were disfranchised because they were Negroes."

Circuit Clerk J. W. Daniels of Jefferson Davis county is quoted as saying: "No one has been refused the right to vote because of race or color. They have been refused because they have failed to qualify under the laws of Mississippi."

The catch is that the 1956 legislature amended the constitution by establishing more severe qualifications for voter registration. These include an interpretation of a section of the state constitution to the satisfaction of the circuit clerk. Citizens who had been on the rolls under the old law were required to re-register and thousands of Negroes were wiped off the books by registrars. Others were frightened off by threats of bodily harm or loss of employment.

The statement of Mr. Olney in Washingon tied the White Citizens Councils to the state election officials in the denial of the vote to Negroes and this was confirmed by the prompt and angry statements of State Senator W. M. Rainach in Louisiana who is also state president of the White Citizens Councils and of State Senator Sam Englehardt of Alabama, who is also state president of the White Citizens Councils. Both men have been leaders in the moves in their states to bar Negroes from voting. In Mississippi, one of the printed objectives of the White Citizens Councils is the cutting down of Negro voting strength.

Olney pointed out in his statement that the Department of Justice is now handicapped in moving into these cases because it cannot act until after a voter has been denied his rights, that is, after election day. The civil rights bill which was passed by the House last July, but which was buried by the Senate in the closing days of the session, would have given the Department of Justice new power to act in these cases.

NAACP Says Fewer Negroes To Vote Democratic in 1956

JACKSON, Miss., June 3 (AP)—Fewer Negroes will mark ballots for the Democrats this election year than in 1952, the executive secretary of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People declared here today.

"There will be smaller percentages of Negroes voting for the Democrats than last time," said Roy Wilkins, New York City. "I won't say the Negro will come than mere declarations that the Supreme Court ruling is the law of the land. That won't be enough. There must be an affirmative step put forward."

Wilkins said the NAACP attorneys are to meet in New York tomorrow to begin preparations for answering the Alabama injunction granted Friday against the organization doing business in that state.

He said this action like that in Louisiana are confessions "they fear they are losing the battle of ideas."

away in droves but instead of voting 70 to 80 per cent Democratic it will slice off this year."

LAST CHANCE

Wilkins, after his address before a meeting of Mississippi NAACP branches, said:

"We are still hoping that the Democrats will put through some of their campaign promises of 1952 during this session of Congress. It is their last chance to deliver."

The Negro leader said, "Of course, the big city machines won't lose the Negro vote where they have had gains afforded them. The Negroes in Michigan, for example, are not going to kick Gov. Mennen

Gov. J. P. Coleman And Others Defy U. S. Atty. General

Government Interested In Situation At Hattiesburg, Where Less Than 25 Negroes Out Of 12,000 Are Registered And Where 1,000 Who Were on Books Have Been Disfranchised; Justice Department's Warren Olney Asks Embarrassing Questions

Jackson, Miss., Nov. 1.—A threat by the Department of Justice to prosecute in cases where Negroes have been denied the right to vote in Mississippi drew angry replies from Mississippi officials, including Governor J. P. Coleman.

Gov. Coleman called the statement of Asst. Attorney General Warren Olney III a "cheap political bluff," according to the Jackson DAILY NEWS, and wired him that "Mississippi stands ready to defend any of its public officials who are sought to be made the victims of unjustified federal coercion." Coleman asked Olney to name any county registrars in Mississippi who had denied Negroes the vote and added, "if you have any cases we will meet you at the courthouse."

Another scream of anger came from the DAILY NEWS which in a front page editorial calls Olney "a plain, unvarnished, unmitigated and conscienceless liar" for trying "to tell the people of this nation that Negro voters in the South are being kept away from the polls."

State Atty. Gen. Joe Patterson ordered Mississippi election officials to keep their records secret. Patterson is reported to have admitted to daily newspaper reporters that voter registration records are public documents, but said he did not believe the records should be available to "just anyone," including FBI agents. Patterson said his instructions to election officials would be that they did not have to permit their records to be inspected except on a direct court order.

At about the same time the Olney statement was released, the NAACP state office here made pub-

How Mississippi Kills Negro Vote

Vicious means by which Negro voters are deprived of the ballot in Mississippi were revealed by Attorney General Herbert Brownell in testimony before both houses of Congress early this year. Said Mr. Brownell:

"Although Mississippi statutes (in 1952) required only that an applicant for registration be able to read and write the constitution, affidavits alleged that the registrar demanded that Negro citizens answer such questions as "What is due process of law?" or "How many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

"Those submitting affidavits included college graduates, teachers, and businessmen, yet none of them, according to the registrar, could meet voting requirements." So Negroes' votes in Mississippi are sharply cur-

Mississippi Screams At Vote Ban Charge

Afro-American Lat. 11-10-56 Baltimore, Md.

P. 5

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The NAACP telegram said the foreign observers should be sent to Hattiesburg, Miss., in Forrest County, "where there are less than 25 colored citizens registered out of a total colored county population of 12,000," and to Jefferson Davis County "where more than 1,000 persons wh[illegible] been registered vote[illegible]rom three to ten years [illegible] disfranchised because th[illegible]e colored."

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Russian Group

Bystander 1-6

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Severe Qualications

Thurs. 11-8-56

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Threat to Prosecute Vote Denial of Negro Cases in Mississippi Called 'Bluff'

Bystander Dec. 6 Des Moines Iowa

Thurs 11-8-56

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Scream of Anger

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Wants Southerners Prosecuted For Denying Ballot To Negroes

WASHINGTON. — (INS) — A top Justice department official has threatened to penalize Southerners heavily if he can prove that qualified Negroes are being "purged" from voting lists in Southern states.

Call

Assistant Attorney General Warren Olney III said he will seek indictments after Nov. 6 "in every instance where we can show that a qualified person is denied the right to vote simply because of his color."

Phila 11-2-56

He pointed out also that the constitution provides for a cut in the number of Representatives to Congress from states that deny voting rights.

Kansas City Call

Olney said Wednesday that an intensive FBI investigation in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina has established that "thousands" of registered Negroes "are being taken right off the lists wholesale, just because they are black."

He told a news conference he has reason to believe there is a full blown conspiracy among pro-segregationists to disqualify Negro voters.

He said leaders of the anti-integration White Citizens Council and others have been challenging the registration of qualified Negroes on fraudulent grounds.

He added that in the past Southern Negroes have often been denied the right to register but that, as far as he knew, there has never been an organized campaign to prevent registered voters from exercising their franchise.

The Assistant Attorney General warned that the Criminal Code provides fines up to $10,000 and imprisonment of 10 years for denial of civil rights, and added:

"In every instance where we can show that a qualified person is denied the right to vote simply because of his color, we intend to prosecute."

Olney said this would be done after the Nov. 6 election if the Negroes are denied th right to vote.

He said indictments would be sought as soon as Grand Juries meet in the affected areas.

See Negro Voters Cooperating With Responsible White Citizens To Restore Good Name Of State

Advocate

The eyes of Mississippi's Negro Citizens, as perhaps never before in its entire history, with unconcealed anxiety, were turned toward Jackson this week for the opening of the 1956 session of the state legislature, and the January 17th inauguration of Governor-Elect J. P. Coleman.

Sat. 1-7-56

The anxious look upon the face of any Negro citizen of the state can be easily seen as resulting from just plain fear of the action of the state legislature and the program reportedly designed by the newly elected Governor, all of which every Negro see as aimed at further reducing the rights of Negro citizens of the state. At the same time however most intelligent and responsible Negro citizens see all of the plans outlined in the various press reports to be submitted for enactment into law by the state legislature as the result of an exaggerated view of the attitude of Negro citizens regarding the school issue in all stemming from the psycological effects of the sometime bitter pro and con arguments over the school segregation and integration question.

In spite of the arguments and assertion of both white and Negro spokesmen and organizations, with the exception of an infintesmal minority, the intelligent and responsible Negro citizens of the state are ready to place their public grade schools above the question of segregation and immediate integration.

Advocate

Viewing the Supreme Court decision as primarily aimed at giving to Negroes the right to equality of educational opportunity, and having come a long way in their understanding of the history and traditions of the nation in the months since the decision was made, in placing their schools above the question of segregation and integration, the intelligent and responsible Negro citizens of the state see their position supported by the high American Democratic idea and ideal which gives to all racial, ethnic, and religious groups the right to have their own separate institutions with the guarantee of equal protection of the law. Moreover, this view is apparently recognized by the NAACP, which a few days ago, in refraining from criticizing a group of Kentucky Negroes who filed a petition for a separate consolidated school, said that integration was an individual, and not a group right.

P. 8

With the possible exception of the same infintesmal minority, the intelligent and responsible Negro citizens of the state are anxious to see the Legislature strengthen and continue the school building and equalization program already enacted into law. Since Negro neighborhoods and communities are markedly separated from white neighborhoods and communities the idea that there must be at least one white, and or Negro child in every public school in order to achieve equality of educational opportunity for Negroes is regarded as illogical, and it is pointed out that a sincere building program and equalization of schools in Negro Communities would in time bring to an end the demand for mixed public schools.

There is one thing about which all intelligent and responsible Negro citizens are united in opinion and that it that only the right to vote, and political participation on the part of Negroes of the state can bring an end to the type of recent incidents that have brought into national, and international disgrace the good name of the state. Negroes it is pointed out will always cooperate with the best white people in the community and state if given the full right to vote, and relieved of the present fears that is now seen stalking Negroes virtually all over the state. In this view there is a unnanimous opinion among Negroes that any action on the part of the legislature making it more difficult if not impossible for Negroes to obtain the right to vote in an atmosphere of inter-racial good will can serve only to prolong the conditions now reducing its forward progress, and subjecting the state to criticism from throughout the nation and world.

SENATE BILL TIGHTENS VOTER REGISTRATION

Commercial Appeal

Measure Limits Mississippi Test To One A Year

Thurs. 3-1-56

P. 59

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Miss., Bureau

Jackson, Miss., Feb. 29.— Mississippi's voter registration law, which requires an applicant to pass a written and oral test on the State Constitution, Wednesday was tightened in a bill passed by the Senate and sent to the House.

Memphis, Tenn.

It provides that no person shall be allowed to take an examination for registration to vote more than once a calendar year. It prevents a person failing on his first try, to "bone up" and return later for re-examination.

The bill also eliminates a provision in the statute requiring county registrars to keep a record of questions propounded and answers given by the applicants.

Authors of the bill are Senators William Burgin Jr. of Columbus, Flavous Lambert of Belmont and Charles Field of Eupora.

A similar measure is pending in the House under authorship of Representative Cline Gilliam of Lowndes County.

Senator John Clark Love of Kosciusko, steered to passage a bill shortening the qualifying period in elections to fill legislative vacancies.

Representative John Guyton of Attala County, has offered a bill requiring voters to register by party affiliation.

EX-CONVICT DENIED BID TO REGAIN VOTE

Commercial Appeal

Measure Is One Of Six Vetoed By Coleman

Wed. 3-28-56

HAD LEGISLATURE'S OK

Memphis, Tenn.

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., March 27.— Six bills, one to restore citizenship to a man convicted of assaulting a state highway patrolman, Tuesday were vetoed by Gov. J. P. Coleman. The measures had been passed at the current Mississippi legislative session.

The citizenship bill affected Sergeant D. Bolin of Chickasaw County, who had completed a sentence for an assault and battery committed, with intent to kill and murder, a highway patrolman. Bolin lost his suffrage as a result of the conviction and its restoration was sought from the Legislature.

"Assault Was Planned"

In rejecting the measure, Governor Coleman said, "The proof showed that the assault was planned before its execution."

Also rejected was a bill authorizing the Sharkey County Supervisors to spend $5,000 for construction of a residence for the county road foreman.

Asserting that the bill would set a precedent, the governor's veto message said, "I do not believe we should embark upon a program by which counties would furnish homes for county employes."

Other bills vetoed included—

Deduct from a court sentence the time spent in jail prior to the trial. A former circuit judge, Governor Coleman, in rejecting the measure, said, "From that experience, I know that when sentencing convicts the judge always takes into consideration the amount of time already served pending trial."

Vendors Affected

Permit transient vendors and traveling photographers to make house - to - house solicitations, which the Governor said would "drprive municipalities of the power, heretofore enjoyed, of protecting their citizenship, where desired, from certain transient vendors and door-to-door canvassers."

Authorize Webster County Supervisors to levy a four mill tax for buying gravel, which the Governor said was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court last year.

Authorize Harrison County Supervisors to pay the sheriff $1,500 for indexing the poll books which the Governor said is contrary to section 90 (C) of the state constitution which prohibits the enactment of local and private legislation "creating, increasing or decreasing fees, salaries or emoluments of any public official."

Brownell Says Miss. Negro Voter Disqualified By Soap Bubble Quiz

Section of the Advocate

Sat. 4-14-56

Washington, D. C., April 11 — U. S. Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr., testified that some Negro voters were disqualified in a Mississippi election because they failed to answer such questions as "how many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

Putting a stop to that kind of poll test, he told the House Judiciary Committee, is one of the objectives of the administration's four-point civil rights legislative program submitted to Congress yesterday.

One administration bill would permit civil suits against individuals or groups that seek to bar a citizen's voting rights. It would permit the attorney general to file civil actions in such cases without an individual complaint. Brownell said this would be "more flexible and often more effective" than criminal prosecution which is already authorized.

"Criminal prosecution can never begin until after the harm is done and it can never be invoked to forestall a violation of civil rights no matter how obvious the threat of violation may be," Brownell said.

He also urged creation of a six-member, bipartisan commission to study the civil rights field.

He said a need for greater knowledge on the subject of civil rights is "manifest."

Brownell said present statutes guaranteeing the right to vote at all state or federal elections without regard for race or color are inadequate.

"The most obvious defect in the law is that it does not protect the voters in federal election from unlawful interference with their voting rights by private persons," he said. "The statute fails, therefore, to afford voters the full protection from discrimination contemplated and guaranteed by the Constitution."

Brownell said in 1952 a number of Negro citizens in Mississippi, many of them well-educated, were disqualified under a statute that required an applicant to be able to read and write the Constitution. Brownell said Negroes were "tested with such questions as "what is due process of law?" and "how many bubbles in a bar of soap?"

If the attorney general had possessed injunction powers in these cases, Brownell said, the voting registrar could have been ordered to "stop these discriminatory practices."

Mississippi's Vote Total Is Expected To Fall Below 1952 Presidential Election

Unhappy Democrats, Fewer Registered Negroes And Repeal Of Civilian Absentee Ballot Law Form Basis For Predictions

By KENNETH TOLER

JACKSON, Miss., Nov. 3.—Three factors are expected to play a major role in an anticipated smaller vote in Tuesday's presidential election than was registered four years ago.

They are:

Repeal of the civilian absentee voter law at the 1956 legislative session.

A reduction in the number of qualified Negro voters since 1952.

Plans of many Democrats, dissatisfied with the candidates and platform and unwilling to bolt the party, to go fishing on election day.

Those factors are expected to offset six other issues on the ballot which under normal circumstances would bring out a larger turnout at the 1,820 precincts in the 82 counties. All but one being localized, little effect is expected on the overall tally.

Mr. Toler

On the basis of those factors, officials look for a drop of about 10,000 votes in Tuesday's balloting, but will not be surprised if it goes down 15,000. They expect between 270,000 and 275,000, compared to the 285,532 cast in 1952.

Even with the smaller vote anticipated, officials still expect the Democrats to get between 60 and 66 per cent of the total. However, with a strong States' Rights sentiment in several of the large voting areas, a closer vote could be registered.

All this could mean that Mississippi is approaching nearer to a two-party system than this once rock-ribbed Democratic state realizes. At least, the foundation for such building seems to have been laid.

Major interest on the local level will likely be in elections for county school board members. That stems from the new school equalization program under which some districts must be reorganized into smaller units before next year.

Jack Tubb, state superintendent of education, feels the school board elections will bring out some voters who otherwise would not take the trouble to go to the polls. However, being in only two of the five districts, they are not expected to have a great impact on the overall state total.

Previous special elections for legislative vacancies have failed to stir up much local interest, and the contests in Lauderdale and Grenada Counties are not expected to break precedent.

Bond Issues Stir Interest

Possibly the biggest vote-attraction in several of the localities will be Balance Agriculture With Industry bond issues for sites for new plants and added pay rolls. Three of those issues are to be voted on for a total bond obligation of $1,850,000.

In addition, Jasper County will vote on two bond issues, $292,000 for a 34-bed county hospital, and $130,000 for a county agricultural building, for an overall bond issue involvement of $2,272,000.

Clay County decides whether to continue the legalization of beer, with the rural areas strongly opposed. The opposition stems from no zoning regulations outside West Point and the large number of "juke joints" outside the city.

Clay Countians also decide whether to re-establish a ferry.

The BAWI bond issues are: $750,000 in District Three of Jackson County, $750,000 in District Three of Washington County, and $350,000 in Districts One, Two, Three and Four in Carroll County.

Grenada County will fill the vacancy created when Representative William Winter resigned to accept Gov. J. P. Coleman's appointment as state tax collector on the death earlier this year of Mrs. Thomas L. Bailey. Seeking that post are Orman Kimbrough, Grenada merchant; E. G. McCormick, former legislator and Grenada farmer, and E. L. Boteler Jr., Grenada farmer.

The Lauderdale vacancy occurred when State Senator William Gunn of Meridian quit that post to accept the Governor's appointment as circuit judge on the death of Judge Jesse Graham. The candidates are Harold M. Bailey, son of the late Gov. Thomas L. Bailey and a Meridian attorney; G. B. Montgomery, insurance man; A. C. Watkins, attorney, and Donald W. Williamson, attorney.

Many Negroes Have Moved

Statewide, in addition to a selection from four slates of presidential electors, the voters will decide the date of a constitutional amendment designed to plug an ad valorem tax loss of $1,900,000 annually on motor vehicles. It has been endorsed by Governor Coleman, the State Farm Bureau, the Mississippi Municipal Association and the Mississippi Chancery Clerks Association.

The amendment would authorize the Legislature to require the payment of ad valorem taxes on the same date motor vehicle owners purchase their tags. At present, ad valorem taxes are paid in January, and the licenses in October.

The Negro vote is expected to be smaller due to the asserted removal of many of them from the voting lists since 1952, either through non-payment of the required taxes or from asserted "pressure" from certain avenues.

The last count on the number of qualified Negro voters was in 1954 when Governor Coleman, then attorney general, reported 22,104 out of the state's estimated voting strength of 500,000.

Since then, many Negroes have charged they have been forced to remove their names from the rolls, a matter which the Federal Government has been investigating.

Negroes in Jeff Davis County say that under a new registration their strength has dropped from 1,221 to around 60. They contend in other areas they have been denied the right to register.

Increased registrations, however, have been reported in Hinds, Tunica and Marion Counties, and possibly others.

Mississippi has no state registrar and efforts to check the total Negro voting strength have been unsuccessful. Those records are kept in each of the 82 counties by the county registrar, who is also circuit clerk.

No effort is expected to keep those Negroes who are qualified from voting, and no trouble is anticipated. Federal agents are expected to be watching the voting in certain areas.

What may develop later if the Federal Department of Justice checks why the Negro registration is so small is another thing. However, Governor Coleman and Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson have branded the investigation as "politically inspired" and have notified the registrars they will defend them if Federal prosecution is sought.

Says Negroes Are Not Kept Away From Polls

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Registration Of Negroes Increases

Negro voting registrations were reported today to have jumped from 2,500 to 4,305 in Hinds County and from 100 to 500 in Marion County since 1952.

Hinds Circuit Clerk H. T. Ashford Jr., said the Negro total is roughly 10 per cent of the overall 44,000 registered in the county.

Of the Negro registrants, 3,946 list Jackson residences, Ashford said. He added that 28,751 white workers are registered in Jackson, giving Negroes more than 10 per cent of the total.

County officials are being contacted by the State Times to determine size of the Negro vote registration for the November 6 presidential election.

Circuit Clerk A. L. Ramsey of Clarke County disclosed no Negro registrants in his county for either 1952 or 1956.

Throughout the state Negro vote registrations were expected to be up over 1952, even though total Negro population is down.

Possibly 500,000 Mississippians are eligible to vote in November, although Secretary of State Heber Ladner has predicted fewer than 300,000 will bother to ballot.

Negroes In Miss. Town Vote For Ike

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — The All-Negro community of Mound Bayou in Northeastern Mississippi voted overwhelmingly yesterday in favor of President Eisenhower.

Of some 300 registered voters in the Precinct, 118 voted for the President while Adlai Stevenson gathered a mere 38 votes.

The town of 1,325 Citizens is expected to be the only precinct in the GOP fold in the predominantly Democratic state.

McGehee to Fight for Voting Rights

(The Times-Picayune Capital Bureau)

JACKSON, Miss., Feb. 10—State Sen. Mayes McGehee, Meadville, said Friday he will continue his battle to give railroad and other transportation workers the right to cast absentee ballots despite Senate approval of a bill repealing the absentee voter law.

The senator from Pike and Franklin counties said he hopes to get Senate action on a minority report which has been filed on a bill reportedly unfavorably by the Senate elections committee which gave the absentee voter right to transportation workers.

A bill repealing all provisions of the state absentee voter law except for servicemen on out of state or foreign stations was passed Thursday by the Senate and now goes to the House. In approving the bill, the Senate voted down an amendment proposed by Sen. Stanton Hall, Hattiesburg, and McGehee to also include transportation workers.

But McGehee said the exemption for transportation workers could be accomplished under the separate bill which he authored, and disapproved by the Senate elections committee.

"From discussing the bill with other senators, I feel that the bill has a good chance of passage even though it was unfavorably reported by a majority of the election committee," the senator said.

Mississippi Tightens Vote Requirements

JACKSON, Miss. — (ANP) — Mississippi Democrats dropped to a new low last week when they tightened the requirements for the Negro voter in the Democratic primaries here.

The state Democratic convention has adopted a "declaration of party principles" which primary election participants can be required to subscribe to under oath.

One of these principles, aimed at Negro voters, is the requirement of Negroes "to express themselves as opposed to integration and the erasure of the color bar."

The convention voted to enable primary election officials to require prospective primary voters to subscribe to this declaration.

The new bill also includes opposition to "federal encroachment" on states rights; a strong, centralized federal government; anti-poll tax legislation and anti-FEPC (Federal Employment Practices commission).

Although Negroes comprise 45 per cent of the state's two million people, they cast less than 20,000 of Mississippi's total 400,000 vote in last summer's primary.

PATTERSON WILL AID COUNTY REGISTRARS

To Defend Any Accused Of Negro Vote Purge

LAW WILL BE EXPLAINED

From The Commercial Appeal Corinth, Miss., Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., Oct. 25.—Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson of Mississippi said Thursday he will defend any county registrar prosecuted by the Federal Government for assertedly purging Negroes from voting lists.

Mr. Patterson said he is drafting a letter to the 82 county registrars advising them of their rights in connection with the Federal investigation in the matter.

Told Of Right To Refuse

"I am not trying to tell them what to do, but advising them what they do not have to do," Mr. Patterson said.

"For one thing, they don't have to answer questions FBI agents may ask relative to the administration of theif office," he said. "Neither do they have to turn over any records unless directed by a court order."

Atty. Gen. Patterson said the law gives the county registrars "wide discretion" in the operation of their offices and their authority.

Meanwhile, a Negro group suggested in a telegram to President Eisenhower that Russians in this country to observe he election campaign be sent to Mississippi "where no Negroes are permitted to register and vote."

The Mississippi State Conference of NAACP branches said "a more accurate and objective view will be derived" if the Soviet group visits Mississippi.

Humphreys County Cited

"We call upon you . . . to send the Russian observers to Humphreys County, Miss.," where the NAACP charges two Negroes were shot for trying to vote, the telegram said.

"Send them to Jefferson Davis County where more than 1,000 persons, who have been qualified voters from 3-10 years, were disfranchised because they were Negroes.

"Send them also to Hattiesburg, in Forrest County, where there are less than 25 Negroes registered while there are 12,000 Negroes in the county."

L. M. Cox, Forrest County Circuit Clerk at Hattiesburg, was unavailable for comment.

James W. Daniels, Jefferson Davis County Circuit Clerk at Prentiss, said:

"No one here has been refused the right to vote because of race or color. They have been refused because they have failed to qualify under the laws of Mississippi."

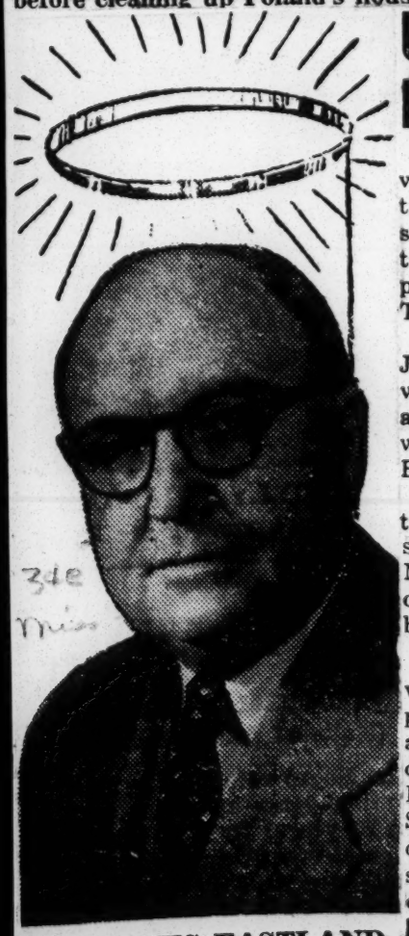
Eastland Asks Free Elections In Poland While Negroes in His Own Mississippi Cannot Vote

While many thousands of Negroes in Mississippi cannot vote and unconstitutional means are used to keep them from voting, Mississippi's own Senator James O. Eastland, chairman of the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee, proposed last week that the United Nations press for free elections for Poland.

Spouted Senator Eastland: "The United States should take the lead and rally all genuinely freedom-loving nations to press for early elections.

"The United Nations at this juncture in the struggle for freedom should now urge free elections for Poland. I plan to take this up with other Senators and ask Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge to institute an appropriate resolution."

Back home, Senator Eastland's Senate Judiciary Committee has bottled up legislation to investigate voting practices in the United States and Mississippi. The House has passed the measure. The Senator should sweep the dirt from beneath his own rug before cleaning up Poland's house.—GFB.



SEN. JAMES EASTLAND
. . . wants votes for Poland, but ignores Negro rights

Urge Negroes To Register, Vote

"It is the duty of every Negro to vote in local and national elections," Medgar Evers, field representative, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a group at the Masonic Temple here Sunday afternoon.

Evers spoke briefly in place of John B. Culbertson, white Greenville, S. C., attorney, who failed to arrive on schedule. The program was sponsored by the Jackson Branch of the NAACP.

The audience was reminded that the only way that they could get some of the things they desired—Negro policemen, and more courteous treatment—would be by the ballot.

Also appearing on the program was the Reverends L. C. Wilcher, president of the Jackson Branch, and John D. Mangram of Tougaloo college. Little Shirley Deloris Bailey, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Sam Bailey, 1502 Florence avenue, drew a hearty applause from the small crowd when she recited an original poem.

Negroes In Miss. Town Vote For Ike

MOUND BAYOU, Miss. — The All-Negro community of Mound Bayou in Northeastern Mississippi voted overwhelmingly yesterday in favor of President Eisenhower.

Of some 300 registered voters in the Precinct 44 voted for the President while Adlai Stevenson gathered a mere 38 votes.

The town of 1,325 citizens is expected to be the only precinct in the GOP fold in the predominantly Democratic state.

Drive to Raise Number of Negro Voters Set by St. Louis NAACP

Fri, 6-22-56

St. Louis, Mo.—A ten-week drive this summer to increase thenumber of registered Negro voters in nine key St. Louis wards by 30 per cent has been set, Earnest Calloway, president of the local NAACP branch, announced this week.

Mr. Calloway said the drive will be conducted in a strictly nonpartisan fashion, as we have no interest in seeking either more Democrats or Republicans. The program is primarily one of involving more people in this important process of democracy.

The community-wide registration campaign is to be directed by a committee composed of Democrats, Republicans and independents he noted. Two hundred canvassing volunteers will take part.

Pilot registration projects will be organized mainly in wards where present registered Negro voters range from eight to 45 per cent of the total registration, Mr. Calloway reported.

"In this concentrated drive," he said, "we will seek to extend the total registration figures among Negro voters from the present 60,000 to 30,000 by Labor Day."

34e 1956

NEGRO UNIT SEEKS 400,000-VOTE BLOC

Church and Lay Group Hopes to Make Lag on Civil Rights Laws 'Political Suicide'

Wed. 8-1-56

Sixteen Negro clergymen and lay leaders agreed yesterday to form a city-wide church committee for a drive to get out 400,000 Negro votes in New York in the fall.

The objective would be to show the power of the Negro at the polls and make it "political suicide" for elected officials to lag on civil rights legislation, a spokesman said.

The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, who presided at an organization meeting at the Mid-Harlem Community Church, 2044 Seventh Avenue, explained that a marked increase from about 260,000 Negro registrations in 1952 would show that "Negroes in New York are on the move."

Mr. Taylor is pastor of the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn and a vice president of the Urban League. He said the league and the Harlem Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations had pledged their support.

Specific plans for a campaign to register Negro voters will be discussed at a meeting Sept. 12, at a time and place to be decided. Every Negro church in the city will be invited to send a representative.

Proposals were discussed yesterday to raise $5,000 to finance a campaign. Suggestions for the drive included an automobile parade of early registrants to the city Board of Elections office and a mass rally with a nationally known speaker.

No officials for the tentative organization were chosen yesterday. However, Edward S. Lewis, executive director of the Urban League, and Mrs. Alice B. Arrington, executive director of the Harlem Y. W. C. A., were designated to take whatever steps might be feasible prior to the meeting Sept. 12.

NEW YORK

Political Action in New York

Commends Sept. 8-9-56

We commend the action of the 16 Negro clergymen in New York City who agree, last week, to form a city-wide church committee to launch a drive to get out 400,000 Negro votes in the fall. Pittsburgh Pa.

While the Negro populace is more conscious than ever of the necessity of increasing its political power, it unfortunately has not been utilizing its vote potential, with the result that twice as many whites as Negroes, proportionately, have been registering and voting, even in the large Negro communities where there is little or no obstacle to voting, except inertia and indifference.

It is to be hoped that Negro pastors all over the country will emulate their New York colleagues and get their congregations to the registration booths and to the polls.

Sampling Harlem opinion—

Party for poor is Negro view on backing Demos

News p. 40
Biloxi, Miss.

BY STEWART ALSOP

HARLEM, New York City, Sept. 20—The Negroes, whose votes could be decisive in a whole series of important states, are by no means wildly enthusiastic about Adlai Stevenson.

Herald 9-20-56

But they are even less enthusiastic about Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And, bar some dramatic and effective last-minute gesture on the civil rights issue, the president has missed an opportunity to cut heavily into the huge majority Stevenson scored among Negroes in ~~1952~~.

These conclusions Spring from many hours of interviewing Negro voters in this vast city-within-a-city, the greatest concentration of Negro voters in the country, in company with Louis Harris, the professional public opinion expert. The interviewing started in the slum areas. In several hours of climbing up and down the wooden stairs of rickety fire traps, we found not a single Negro voter who intended to vote Republican. Asked why, almost all would respond in much the same words: "We're poor people, and the Democrats are more for the poor people."

ALSOP

BY THE SAME TOKEN, in the slum buildings we met hardly anyone who was really stirred by the civil rights issue. What aroused the passions of the slum dwellers was the rent they paid for their miserable quarters.

"They condemn the building and then double the rent," said a big man furiously. "Now is that right?" He had been utterly apathetic about civil rights.

If there is such a thing as a solid bloc vote, it is in the Negro slums, where the people vote Democratic almost instinctively—if they vote at all. At least in the immediately foreseeable future, there is really no way for the Republicans to make important gains in the Harlem slums.

But by no means all of Harlem is slum, fortunately. And the change in political and social atmosphere when you move out of the slums and into one of the low-cost housing projects, or into a respectable apartment house, is downright astonishing.

NOT THAT THERE is much increase in Republican sentiment. Even in the really elegant apartments, the vast majority of Negroes consider themselves Democrats. (Our count, for what it is worth, was Stevenson 63 per cent, Eisenhower 20 per cent, don't know 17 per cent, as against a 1952 vote of Stevenson 78 per cent, Eisenhower 22 per cent.

The real difference is that, outside the slum areas, there are a lot of Negro voters who might have been persuaded to switch to Eisenhower—enough to make a big difference at the polls.

There is one issue, and one issue alone, which could cause such a switch—civil rights.

Harris has prepared questions on such matters as the Autherine Lucy case, the Emmett Till case and the riots of Clinton, Tenn., to test awareness of the civil rights issue. In the slums, more often than not, the questions elicited no response at all. In the projects and apartments, we at length stopped asking the questions—we had learned that everybody knew all the answers in detail. Outside the slums apathy about civil rights is replaced by a single-minded passion.

ADLAI STEVENSON is judged almost entirely by this standard, and he is often found wanting. Many Negroes are very moderate on desegregation—"You can't change people overnight," they say. But to many others "moderation" is a dirty word, and there is little enthusiasm among them for Stevenson as the apostle of moderation.

Among these we found a few—a very few—who meant to vote for Eisenhower. There was an intellectual lawyer who admired Stevenson, hated Nixon, but meant to vote for the president because "We'll never get anywhere as long as the Democrats think they own us."

There was a seaman who credited the president with desegregation in the Navy—"You wouldn't believe how different it is," he said.

Yet the administration gets very little credit for its civil rights achievements—no one person gave the Republicans any credit for the Supreme Court school decision, for example. And fully four out of 10 cited the president's failure to intervene in the Clinton riots as evidence of his indifference on the civil rights issue.

After many hours of interviewing, Harris and this reporter felt certain that the president had missed a major political opportunity. He might have picked up 10 or 15 per cent of the Negro vote by an all-out stand on civil rights—enough to decide a close election.

The fact that the president was almost certainly right, in terms of national unity, in adopting a go-slow policy, is no doubt beside the point. In strictly political terms, the point is that the much-advertised big switch to Eisenhower among Negro voters looks instead like a little switch, or even, conceivably, no switch at all.—(c.)

NEGRO LEADERS SPUR VOTER REGISTRATION

Times 9-20-56
New York

Forty Negro churchmen and comunity leaders registered en masse yesterday at the Board of Elections, 400 Broome Street. Their purpose was to call attention to a campaign for the registration of Negro voters so "we can put the right people in and the wrong people out" at the election, Nov. 6.

Today and tomorrow are the last days on which voters may appear at election boards to register centrally. Central registration, which began May 1, is primarily for persons who expect to be away from home during the regular registration period, when boards of registration sit in each election district.

The regular registration dates for the City and Westchester are Oct 8 through Oct 15. Elsewhere in the state, where personal annual registration is required, the dates are Oct 5, 6, 12 and 13.

The Negro groups registration yesterday was sponsored by the City-wide Church Committee on Registration. This is composed of the Urban League of Greater New York, the Young Men's Christian Association and the Young Women's Christian Association of Harlem and about seventy-five Negro churches. The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, pastor of the Concord Baptist Church, Brooklyn, was leader of the group.

Matter of Fact . . . . By Stewart Alsop

No Big Switch—

HARLEM—The Negroes, whose votes could be decisive in a whole series of important states, are by no means wildly enthusiastic about Adlai Stevenson. But they are even less enthusiastic about Dwight D. Eisenhower. And, bar some dramatic and effective last-minute gesture on the civil rights issue, the President has missed an opportunity to cut heavily into the huge majority Stevenson scored among Negroes in 1952.

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The interviewing started in the slum areas. In several hours of climbing up and down the wooden stairs of rickety fire traps, we found not a single Negro voter who intended to vote Republican. Asked why, almost all would respond in much the same words: "We're poor people, and the Democrats are more for the poor people."

By the same token, in the slum buildings we met hardly anyone who was really stirred by the civil rights issue. What aroused the passions of the slum dwellers was the rent they paid for their miserable quarters. "They condemn the building and then double the rent," said a big man furiously. "Now is that right?" He had been utterly apathetic about civil rights.

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The Unusual Shift Of New York Negro

An accurate followup of the unprecedented trend of leadership to President Eisenhower in the coming election would include many other favorable features. An analysis of ballots cast in the New York Daily News Presidential Straw Poll would indicate that President Eisenhower has accomplished what no Republican candidate has been able to do since the New Deal days.

This switch in loyalties has been a significant factor in helping the President to run consistently stronger in the straw polls than in the actual vote he got four years ago.

With nearly 9,000 straws tallied, the President was running at a three to 2 pace over Adlai Stevenson. The percentages were:

Eisenhower 60.8
Stevenson 39.2

It will be recalled that in making his first bid for office in 1952, Mr. Eisenhower won New York State in the election with 55.5 of the vote.

The late Franklin D. Roosevelt under abnormal conditions, one involving heavily the very existence of the nation's economic structure, did not cut as heavily into the dissatisfied and disturbed Negro vote, responsible for his remaining in over for some twenty years.

Under the return to normalcy, it will be seen that not only the straws are blowing Eisenhowerward, but the big tall timbers in the ranks of Negro Democrats show a steady trek back to the Republican administration.

Such leaders as Adam Clayton Powell, Democratic Congressman, representing a huge bloc of votes in the Harlem part of New York are on the fore for the Eisenhower ticket. The speeches he made in Philadelphia, New York and other key places are bringing that favorable reaction which would leave no grounds for a doubt of an Eisenhower victory.

There are many others, high up in the Democratic ranks who are crossing party lines for the open door policies of the present administration.

The poll still underway would further disclose that the trek to Eisenhower is of such volume that it cannot be offset within the few remaining days of this campaign.

34e 1956 NEW YORK

Civil Rights Main Issue For Harlem Negroes, Poll Shows

The Unusual Shift Of New York Negro

NEW YORK, N. Y.—By far the most important issue among Negro voters in Harlem is civil rights, with housing a close second.

This was revealed in a poll completed here in August by the New York City Youth-For-Eisenhower. The poll was organized and conducted, and the results analyzed after close consultation at every stage, with Elmo Roper and Associates, a major polling organization.

• • •

THE POLL was conducted in representative areas of Harlem. The findings revealed that those Negroes here who are most convinced that the Republicans have done and will do better on the civil rights issue than the Democrats, are in the age group 21 to 34.

The poll further showed that, as between Negro Republicans and Negro Democrats, the former had the most faith in their party as to civil rights.

IT WAS disclosed by the poll that "Eisenhower's support is strongest among the older voters (age 50 and over), next strongest in the middle group (age 35-45), and weakest in the youngest group (age 21-34)."

But, as indicated, "this youngest age group is more inclined than any other age group to believe that the Republicans would do better on the civil rights issue," than would the Democrats.

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The New York Times

SOVIET POLL-WATCHERS: Guest observers from Russia visiting a Manhattan polling place on St. Nicholas Avenue yesterday. From left, M. I. Rubenshtein, V. L. Kudryavtsev and L. N. Solovyev take a look at Miss Vilma Henderson's registration book. George Abrams, chief investigator for the Honest Ballot Association, explains the procedure

VOTE PROCEDURES IMPRESS RUSSIANS

3 Visitors, Touring Polling Places, Voice Surprise at Large Role of Police

By JACK RAYMOND

The three Russian observers of the American elections said yesterday they were impressed with the large role of the police, not merely in preserving order.

After a tour of polling places and Police Headquarters, they called attention to the fact that the Police Commissioner's Advisory Board on Elections met at Police Headquarters. They noted that votes were tallied there also.

"We compare this with our system in the Soviet Union," said L. N. Solovyev, head of the delegation, who is a member of the Supreme Soviet, his country's parliament.

"This is surprising to us," added M. I. Rubenshtein, an economist of the Academy of Sciences.

The third member of the group, which was escorted in the morning by George A. Abrams, chief investigator of the Honest Ballot Association, was V. L. Kudryavtsev, one of the editors of the Government newspaper Izvestia.

In the Soviet Union, Mr. Solovyec stressed in his "preliminary" observation, elections are conducted in all aspects by persons who are elected locally.

Mr. Solovyev has previously pointed out that there is only one party in the Soviet Union, the Communist party.

The Russian observers were invited by the State Department to witness the election campaign and voting. They arrived here Oct. 22 and have toured the country from coast to coast.

A Trip into Jersey

Yesterday in two limousines, accompanied by State Department officials and trailed by newspaper photographers and reporters, they stopped first in Harlem.

They watched voters at a poll-

ing place at 805 St. Nicholas Avenue, where they met Representative Adam Clayton Powell, the Democratic incumbent in the Sixteenth Congressional District.

Mr. Powell, who recently switched his support to President Eisenhower, posed with the Russians.

As the photographers voiced their demands, much to the annoyance of the Russians, Mr. Powell declared: "These are the only dictators we have in our country."

The Russians laughed also.

The group then drove across the George Washington Bridge to Public School 4 in Fort Lee, N. J., where the visitors saw a different type of voting machine. They inspected the machines and registration books carefully.

Voting Methods Observed

After returning to Manhattan, the delegates were driven to P. S. 69, 125 West Fifty-fourth Street, where they observed the voting procedures. They then went to Police Headquarters, where they met members of the advisory board, including representatives of all parties.

While there, a phone call was received from a business man who was advised that he must give his employes two hours off to vote or face possible penalty.

The morning tour ended at the temporary headquarters of the Honest Ballot Association in Rockefeller Center. There the Russians had an opportunity to study a sample voting machine. Mr. Solovyev entered the booth and drew the curtain but it was not known which levers he pulled.

All of the Communist visitors were impressed by the efficiency of the voting system, and Mr. Rubenshtein described the machine as "foolproof."

A three-man delegation from Rumania, the only other Communist country to accept the State Department invitation to witness free elections, also toured the city. They included Constantin Paraschivescu-Balaceanú and Ladislau Banyai, both members of the Rumanian Grand National Assembly, and George Macovescu of the Ministry of Culture.

'VOTE UP OR SHUT UP,' NEGROES ARE URGED

Special to The New York Times.

DURHAM, N. C., Feb. 13—A professor at North Carolina College, a Negro school here, urged students today to "vote up or shut up," to win their rights.

Prof. James T. Taylor, of the college's department of psychology, addressed about 750 students in the school auditorium in connection with Negro History Week.

The professor said it was the responsibility of Negroes to make "widespread and intelligent use of the ballot." Those who fail to vote, he said, "have no right to complain or boast about subsequent happenings and events in their municipal, state or national legislative bodies."

The best advice he could give, he added, was to "vote up or shut up."

He suggested that they look at the problems of segregation "realistically" and that they understand that "deep-seated prejudices and long-established customs, however wrong and undemocratic they may be, do not change overnight."

For this reason, he said, the Supreme Court had advised that desegregation be accomplished with "deliberate speed." He continued:

"I urge you, therefore, to join with those in both races, who in good faith and sincerity of purpose seek a solution to this problem as indicated by the supreme tribunal of our land."

Refused Permit To Vote, Negro Demands Action

WELDON, N. C.--(INS)-- A Weldon, N. C. Negro Monday called for the removal of the Halifax county registrar on the grounds that the official refused to permit him to register for voting.

Louis C. Francis, through his attorney, James R. Walker, Jr., requested the Halifax County Board of Elections to oust Fred Hoyle.

Walker said that Hoyle stated that Francis was not qualified to register, but the attorney added that other Negroes were also prevented from registering.

Discrimination Is Denied By Registrars In Weldon

WELDON, May 7 (AP) — Accusations that registrars in two counties discriminated against Negroes seeking to register in the May 26 primary were denied today.

James R. Walker Jr., Negro attorney of Weldon, said registrars in Halifax and Northampton counties used improper procedures in rejecting Negroes seeking to register.

Mrs. William Vincent, registrar of West Gaston precinct in Northampton, denied she had turned down any Negro who was qualified to register. The applicants, she stated, were required to read a section of the State Constitution and then were asked six questions based on the section. Those who answered five of the six questions were registered, she stated, adding she had registered five Negroes.

T. W. Cole, registrar at the Littleton precinct in Halifax County, said he used a series of questions on the Constitution of the United States to determine if the applicant could read or write.

Cole said those turned down were unable to write anything following the questions. If they could read or write, he said, it made no difference whether they knew the answers.

A state law specifies that those seeking to register must be able to show they can read and write the State Constitution.

Walker claimed that Cole used his car April 28 as a place for registering. Cole said this was true but that he did so because the polling place, the Littleton High School gymnasium, was being decorated for an event and "I did not want to mess it up."

Cole declined to say whether he had registered any Negroes during the two weeks the registration has been in process. This information, he added, would have to come from the Halifax Board of Elections.

Mrs. D. M. Chestnutt, registrar at Roanoke Rapids Precinct No. 6 in Halifax, said she had registered 14 Negroes. She denied she was absent from the polling place last Saturday and the Saturday before.

Voter sues registrar for $5,000

RALEIGH, N.C. — Charging that he was cheated of his right to vote because he failed to answer a series of questions put to him by his precinct registrar, a Halifax County citizen for 20 years has filed suit in U.S. District Court here.

The suit for $5,000 damages was filed last week by the Rev. Ernest Ivey, 62, against T. W. Cole, registrar of the Littleton Precinct in Halifax County, through Herman Taylor, Raleigh attorney.

* * *

THE SERIES of questions, as listed in the plaintiff's petition, were:

"1. What is the total membership of the House of Representatives?

"2. What is the total membership of the U.S. Senate?

"3. What would be the total vote of two thirds of the House and Senate?

"4. How many of the state legislatures must ratify an amendment to make it become law?

* * *

"5. THE 18TH Amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale and transportation of liquors. What was this act called? What year proclaimed?

"6. By what amendment was the 18th amendment rescinded?

"7. On what date each year does Congress convene?

"8. On what date every four years is the President of the United States inaugurated?

"A—First term?

"B—Second term?

"C—Third term?"

The petition in the suit contends that the Rev. Mr. Ivey can read and write sufficiently well to meet the voting requirements as specified in the North Carolina general statutes of the state constitution.

* * *

MR. IVEY went three times to the registrar's office prior to the May 26 Democratic primary but was not permitted to register, according to the petition.

He went to the registrar's office, according to his complaint, on the dates of April 28, May 5 and on one other occasion between those dates.

The minister charges that he was given an academic test by the registrar on matters pertaining to the Constitution, history and government.

* * *

HE CONTENDS that the test was not a literacy test designed to test his ability to read and write any section of the state or U.S. Constitution and that it was not even a token attempt at compliance with state law.

The test, he asserts in his petition, was arbitrary and intended to deprive him of rights and privileges of franchise because of his race and color.

Mr. Ivey has resided in the county for 20 years and in Littleton Precinct for 10 years, according to his petition to the court.

Attorney Fined For Talking "Too Loud to Woman

JACKSON, N. C. — (ANP) — A Negro attorney has given notice that he will appeal the $100 fine and 90-day suspended sentence given him last week for "talking loud" to a white woman registrar at a polling place at Seaboard.

Atty. James R. Walker Jr., who appeared before Judge Mallard Gay in Recorder's court last Wednesday, was convicted of forcible trespass and disorderly conduct growing out of the incident.

Mrs. W. H. Taylor, registrar at Seaboard, told the court that Walker caused a disturbance by loud and boisterous talking while she was registering a Negro voter. She testified that Walker demanded that she register two men and two women who accompanied him to the polling place.

Following Mrs. Taylor's testimony, Samuel S. Mitchell, Raleigh Negro attorney who defended Walker, asked Judge Gay to dismiss the charges. He contended he knew of no state law that makes it a crime to talk long and loud.

Say Laws Aim To Curb Negro Vote

RALEIGH (Special) — Three suits, all attacking North Carolina voting laws, were filed this week in Halifax, Northhampton and Wake Counties, according to Herman L. Taylor, local attorney, who is one of three lawyers asking rulings on the laws.

The Rev. Ernest Ivey, race minister of Littleton, has filed a $50,000 damage suit against T. W. Cole, registrar in the Littleton precinct, charging that Cole unlawfully failed and refused to register him. This suit was lodged in the U. S. District Court in Raleigh.

A sophomore at North Carolina College, Durham, Alexander Faison, who hails from Seaboard in Northhampton County, is suing Mrs. W. L. Taylor, a registrar, and contends that the state law which requires a person to read and write to the satisfaction of the registrar is unconstitutional and aimed at curbing the Negro vote. This suit was filed Tuesday in the Superior Court of Northampton County.

Weldon attorney, James R. Walker, Jr., has filed a suit suit also protesting violation of his constitutional right. Walker says that his ballot was not counted because he failed to vote for a specified number of candidates on the ticket. He is alleged to have voted for one person out of a slate of ten candidates.

A law, now in effect in 17 of this state's 100 counties, holds that a person must vote for the maximum number of candidates in order for his ballot to be valid. If the voter fails to do so his ballot is ignored. Halifax, in which Walker cast his vote, is one of the counties.

Attorneys Taylor and Samuel S. Mitchell, of Raleigh, and Walker are collaborating on all of the suits.

Crosses Burn As First Negro Votes

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C. — (ANP) — The first Negro ever to vote here did so last week in the midst of burning crosses, a parade of cars and white robed men who motored through a Negro section of town.

The long colored voter dropped his ballot in the box through a window from a special platform constructed outside the courthouse for Negro voters.

Four Negroes were registered, but only one voted.

Crosses Burn As First Negro Votes

FAYETTEVILLE, N. C., July 23.— The first Negro ever to vote here did so last week in the midst of burning crosses, a parade of cars and white robed men who motored through a Negro section of town.

The long colored voter dropped his ballot in the box through a window from a special platform constructed outside the courthouse for Negro voters.

Four Negroes were registered, but only one voted.

Shakes Finger At White Woman, Lawyer Fined $500

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 8-18-34

By A. M. RIVERA JR.

JACKSON, N. C.—A crowded courtroom in this little black-belt eastern Carolina community heard Judge Henry L. Stevens fine Atty. James Robert Walker Jr. of Statesville, $500 for shaking his finger at a white woman.

The case, which was shades of the widely publicized Mack Ingram "rape at 75 feet" case, grew out of efforts of Walker to get Negroes registered for the Democratic primary elections last May 12.

Walker was convicted in Recorder's Court on charges of "trespass and interfering with an election official," a decision which he appealed to the Northampton Superior Court.

When he arrived Monday with counsel to defend against the charges of trespass and interference he was informed by Solicitor E. R. Tyler that he had secured from the grand jury an indictment on a new charge, "assault on a female."

■

MRS. W. H. TAYLOR, registrar of Seaboard, N. C. (named for the train that passes through), testified that Walker came to her husband's store where she had set up the polls and asked why she had refused to register two applicants who had been turned down earlier in the day.

Mrs. Taylor told him that his clients could not read. Walker told her that they could read.

She told the Court that the lawyer pointed his finger at her and refused to leave the polling area after she had ordered him to leave. She stated further that he pointed his finger at a spot on the floor from which he told her that he was not leaving.

■

MRS. TAYLOR admitted that at no time did Walker use profane or threatening language. Mrs. Taylor's husband testified that Walker talked loud.

On cross-examination W. H. Taylor told the Court that he thought Walker talked loud to be "emphatic." The judge asked Taylor to demonstrate how loud Walker talked and he did.

The demonstration was not as loud as the lawyers had been in their presentation to the Court.

TWO NEGROES were members of the 12-man jury.

The state excused a third Negro because he admitted that he had paid a two-dollar membership to the NAACP eight years ago although he protested that he had not paid a membership to the NAACP since.

Walker can still be brought to trial on the original charges of "trespass and interfering with an election official."

Walker has filed other actions in state and Federal courts in an effort to break the barriers which prohibit Negroes from voting in eastern North Carolina. These cases test (1) literacy tests, (2) single-shot voting and (3) willful denial of registration.

■

WALKER AND the law firm of Taylor and Mitchell of Raleigh have filed a suit in the Northampton Superior Court against Mrs. Helen Taylor for refusing to register Alex Faison, a North Carolina College student.

They will seek in this action to have the N. C. literacy laws declared unconstitutional. They will contend that Negroes who meet the age, residence and citizenship requirement are entitled to vote without the literacy test.

These lawyers will also test the legality of the law passed by the 1955 General Assembly which permits 17 counties where the Negro population is equal or exceeds the white population to vote for less than the whole slate of candidates. This action is entitled Walker vs. the Board of Elections of Halifax County.

Pending in Federal Court is a civil suit which was brought by Ernest Ivey against T. W. Cole for willfully refusing to register him. Ivey is asking $5,000 damages.

Voter Education Real Need in N.C.

Courier Pittsburgh Pa. Sat. 11-3-34

By ALEX M. RIVERA Jr.

DURHAM, N. C.—The potential Negro voting power in North Carolina has often been erroneously set at a half million. In fact, of the 1,078,803 Negroes in the state 546,689 are of voting age, of which 532,119 are listed as under 25.

To arrive at the real voting potential we must subtract 35,555 illiterates. We must also subtract 151,225 functional illitrates (people of voting age but with less than a fourth grade education). This will leave us 359,909 eligible educationally to register.

Of this number, 184,302 are rural residents or farmers. When you take 371,082 from 546,689 you'll get 175,607, the only real figure that we can count on in this state. Of this potential, an estimated 100,000 Negroes are registered in North Carolina now.

■

IN THIS region where the Negro has lived traditionally on the overflow of the white man's economy, the Negro doesn't picture himself voicing an opinion in government. Aside from the socio-economic phase, the one-party system is the next reason for his apathy. Though this is not a valid reason, it is true.

Federal protection will help those who wish to vote now and can't but only by planned voter education and education in general will the Negro approach his political potential in the South. In far Southern states the picture is worse.

The switch from Republican to Democrat in 1936 was not as difficult as the switch from Democrat to Republican, it is felt by Southerners. All the state and local officials are Democrats and Negroes feel that it is better to be influential in the selection of a local sheriff, whom he'll see each day, than the President of the United States.

Negro Attorney Jailed Briefly In Northampton Voting Squabble

By JERRY ELLIOTT.

JACKSON, May 12 — Negro attorney James R. Walker Jr., of Weldon, was jailed temporarily this afternoon following an attempt by his two Negro clients to register as voters.

Walker was held in Northampton County Jail on charges of disorderly conduct and trespassing. He was released under $250 bond posted by Negro mortician Augustus C. Cofield, also of Weldon, a candidate for State senator from the Fourth District.

The arrest came in Gumberry after Walker apparently questioned the Seaboard registrar, Mrs. W. H. Taylor, for refusing to allow two Negroes to register as voters in the May 26 primaries.

Warrant Sworn.

Seaboard Police Chief J. R. Parker said he swore out a warrant before Magistrate Howard Rogers "on information and belief that Walker was interfering with a registrar" and that he refused to leave the store where registration was being conducted after being asked by the owner, W. H. Taylor.

After the hearing, probable cause was found and Walker was bound over to Northampton County Recorder's Court for trial Wednesday at 9:30 a.m.

Those attempting to register were Mrs. Maggie Garris, identified by Walker as a practical nurse, and Alexander Faison, identified as freshman at North Carolina College, Durham, and a veteran of the US Air Force.

Mrs. Taylor told Parker she showed Mrs. Garris part of the Constitution and asked her if she could read, write or understand it, the chief said.

She said Mrs. Garris said she couldn't do it, saw no sense in trying, and left.

When Walker arrived, Parker's statement continued, Mrs. Taylor said he informed her she was going to register his two clients and he was going to stay there until she did do it.

At the time she was registering Faison.

After Walker's demands, Parker said, Mrs. Taylor told him she was busy and to get out. He reportedly told her he was an attorney and he was going to stay. She then repeated her demands for im to get out, or she would have o close the polling place. Her husband, the store owner, also told him to get out.

Walker told newsmen that Mrs. Garris was making her third attempt to register.

He said that Mrs. Garris and Faison engaged him this morning and following a conference this afternoon, they went to the polling place, Walker said.

"I entered first with the two and some others out there. I was asked if I wanted to register. I identified myself as a representative of the clients just turned down and asked why people as qualified as they were did not pass the examination," Walker said.

"She said they mispronounced one or two words in a typewritten page she had them read, and one did not satisfy her completely as to the meaning of two of the words she picked out from what they read," he said.

"When I informed her that in my opinion the question was improper and not necessary for registration, her husband ordered me out of the place. He ran and pulled out some drawers as if looking for a pistol. Then she asked me to leave," Walker went on.

"I replied by asking her if she was going to register these qualified applicants. She said they'd never get registered by her."

Voting Rights Well Established

There have been more complaints in North Carolina about Negroes being denied registration to vote this year than in a number of years. Formal complaints have been made about one or more precincts in 10 counties and there have been informal complaints about precincts in other counties.

The present situation appears to be traceable directly to feeling engendered by the Supreme Court's decision on school segregation. Proponents of segregation in the schools are not serving their cause well by efforts to prevent qualified Negroes from voting and the more intelligent segregationists are having no part in such efforts.

The right of qualified Negroes to vote has been well established in North Carolina. At the beginning of the century Governor Aycock pledged that Negroes who could meet a reasonable literacy test would be permitted to vote in this State. That pledge has been kept with few exceptions and should be kept universally. North Carolina has not had a poll tax as a prerequisite for voting since 1920. That requirement was generally regarded as aimed at Negroes although it disfranchised many white people also.

Fortunately the complaints this year, though more numerous than usual, do not involve many communities and are mostly confined to one or two precincts in a county. There should be no cause for complaint anywhere in the State and there should be general recognition of the fact that voting has no connection with the school segregation issue.

Voting Discrimination Denied

Bladen and Pitt County officials yesterday denied that Negroes have been denied the right to register for the May 26 primary in their counties.

An NAACP leader had charged the day before that Bladen and Pitt were among 19 Tar Heel counties which had used various means, including unfair questions, to keep Negro names off registration books.

The charge was made by Charles A. McLean, NAACP field secretary of Winston-Salem. He lodged his complaint with the State Board of Elections.

At Greenville, County Attorney W. W. Speight "categorically" denied "any and all charges "that Negroes had been discriminated against in Pitt.

There has been no trouble in registering any voter in the county, Speight stated yesterday afternoon. No complaint has been received by the County Board of Elections, Speight added.

At Elizabethtown, Wilson L. Fisher, chairman of the Bladen County Board of Elections, also denied any Negro had been deprived of the right to register for the May 26 primary in Abbotts Township.

Fisher said he conducted an investigation after the charges were filed.

In Bladen, McLean charged, Negroes were required to read the entire Constitution. He pointed specifically to Abbotts Township.

Abbotts Registrar Billy McKeithan said no person of the Negro race had applied for registration by April 28 as alleged in the complaint.

McKeithan said only one Negro presented himself for registration during the entire three-week registration period and "we leaned over backwards to get him registered." The McLean allegation was the only known protest of any sort in the county.

Over 900 Negroes were placed on the registration books in 17 precincts.

New registration was required in Bladen's two largest voting precincts, Bladenboro and Elizabethtown, and the majority of the 900 Negroes reside in these areas.

No difficulties were reported in these two townships, Fisher said, where the majority of both whites and Negroes registering for the first time were asked to prove their ability to read.

NEGRO ATTORNEY CONVICTED IN VOTING DISPUTE IN N. C.

Jackson, N. C. May 21 — James R. Walker, Jr., Weldon Negro attorney appealed to the superior court Wednesday after being found guilty of two charges arising over voting registration dispute at Seaboard.

Found guilty of disorderly conduct and trespassing in connection with actions at registration place in Seaboard last weekend, Walker was sentenced by Judge Ballard S. Gay of North-Hampton Recorder's court to 90 days on roads on trespassing charges. The sentence was suspended upon payment of $100 fine and costs. He was ordered to pay costs of court on disorderly conduct charge.

No jury trial was requested and Judge Gay heard the case alone.

Walker posted $200 bond pending the appeal.

19 N. C. Counties Involved

Journal & Guide

NAACP Files Protest On Vote Restrictions

Sat. 5-26-56 Norfolk, Va.

Special to Journal and Guide

RALEIGH, N. C. — Charles A. McLean of Winston-Salem, field secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People of North Carolina, charged last week that qualified Negroes have been denied the right to vote in 19 counties of the state. Protest was made to U. S. Attorney General and Raymond Maxwell of State Board of Elections.

He also contended that registrars have used various tactics, including unfair questions, to prevent Negroes from qualifying to vote. It was disclosed that Mr. McLean had filed formal protests against nine counties with the State Board of Elections.

MR. McLEAN'S charges started a chair of denials. County Attorney W. W. Speight at Greenville denied "any and all charges" that Negroes had been discriminated against in Pitt county.

Others denying the charges merely by a statement were Wilson L. Fisher of Elizabethtown, chairman of the Bladen County Board of Elections; Abotts Register, Billy McKithan, and others.

* * *

THE NAACP official made charges of discrimination in Halifax, Northampton, Franklin, Nash, Bertie, Tyrrell, Bladen, Jones, Camden, Pamlico, Currituck, Mecklenburg, Greene, Pitt, Hertford, Person, Hoke, Hyde and at Fuquay Springs in Wake county.

Mr. McLean said two complaints came from World War II veterans. One of them, Andrew Marlowe, of Route 1, Supply reported that Mrs. Hamilton Robinson, registrar at Supply Precinct, refused to register him because he "mispronounced" some words while reading the North Carolina Constitution.

* * *

THE VETERAN said he "asked her which words and she only said that "I don't believe you can make it.'" He said he passed the educational test required of all servicemen.

The second veteran, Odell Trafton of R.F.D., Belcross, said he had been denied the right to register at the courthouse at Camden on April 28. Mr. McLean said Mrs. I. E. Harris, Creedmoor, registrar, requires a registrant to be a high school graduate, and to be able to name all candidates seeking office.

* * *

ANOTHER revelation in the current charges of discrimination is that Herbert J. Bryant of Bolivia, wrote a letter to Mr. McLean charging that E. O. Rabon, Bolivia registrar acknowledged to me today in the presence of two witnesses that the educational test is reserved for colored only."

Negro Voting Probe Opened

News & Observer

Sat. 5-26-56 Raleigh, N. C.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 27 — The Justice Department is making inquiries into Negro voting rights in five North Carolina counties.

The counties were listed today as Greene, Halifax, Camden, Brunswick and Granville.

Scattering compliants the Department said, also have been received from Warren, Bertie, Currituck and Northampton counties.

Noth Carolina complaints, it was noted, consist largely of alleged use of "various means to prevent Ngroes from registering not applied to white citizens."

One North Carolina complaint charged Negroes were required to both read and write the U. S. Constitution as a registration requirement.

Another charged that a registrar read the Constitution "at a rate of his own choosing" and Negro applicants were required to write it down from this dictation.

Officials said in contrast to other areas, North Carolina investigations do not involve "wholesale removals" of Negroes from the registration rolls.

NEGRO ATTORNEY IS CONVICTED IN VOTING DISPUTE; APPEAL PLANNED

Daily Worker

Atlanta, Ga.

JACKSON, N. C. — James R. Walker, Jr., Weldon Negro attorney appealed to the superior court Wednesday after being found guilty of two charges arising over voting registration dispute at Seaboard.

Found guilty of disorderly conduct and trespassing in connection with actions at registration place in Seaboard last weekend, Walker was sentenced by Judge Ballard S. Gay of Northampton Recorder's court to 90 days on roads on trespassing charge. The sentence was suspended upon payment $100 fine and costs. He was ordered to pay costs of court on disorderly conduct charge.

Thurs. 3-17-56

No jury trial was requested and Judge Gay heard the case alone.

Walker posted $200 bond pending the appeal.

HOW THIS SOUTHERN STATE CAN GET:

100,000 New Voters

Opra-Magazine Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-13-56 P. 4

34e NAC

This article refers to registration and voting in North Carolina but if you live in a southern state, you may find it useful in helping to get a good representation at the polls this November.

By S. F. Daly

1. You must be 21 years old.
2. You must possess a sound mind.

(Note: No reference here to education, but to not having any mental derangement like insanity or idiocy).

3. You must "be able to read and write any section of the (U.S.) Constitution in the English language, and show to the "satisfaction of the registrar" your ability to read and write any such section when you apply."
4. You must have lived in North Carolina at least one year and in the precinct or district in which you intend to vote, four months immediately preceding the election.
5. You must not have been convicted nor confessed guilt in open court, upon indictment, of any crime, the punishment of which is imprisonment in the State Prison, without having been restored to citizenship.

(Note: If you have been sentenced or fined for such a crime, but have paid the fine or served the time, you are still eligible to register so far as this requirement is concerned).

Any North Carolina citizen who meets the five requirements above, whether man or woman, colored or white, is legally qualified to register.

Incidentally, while all men between 21 and 65 pay a $2 poll tax in North Carolina, it is a tax pure and simple and neither it nor any other tax has anything to do with registering or voting.

* * *

IN ALL SOUTHERN states, including North Carolina, usually in the small towns and eastern rural areas, there are a few "obstinate" registrars who, themselves being only a couple of steps from illiteracy, disqualify qualified colored voters. They usually take one or more of three forms:

1. The most common and effective method is for the registrar to claim that the registrant "cannot" read and write the U.S. Constitution" to his (the registrar's) satisfaction."

Teachers and professionals have thus been "refused," and more colored registrants have been refused by this method than by all others combined.

The best remedy here is to have family constitution reading and writing circles, or even on a community level, always with a good dictionary.

The pastors of our 3,500 churches, presidents of our 11 colleges, principals of our approximately 250 high schools could do the inspiring.

Teachers in our colleges and high school social studies classes and civic leaders could do the training of our people along with the help of high school and college students. This could add 100,000 to our registrations in two years.

Another remedy is for the registrant to get a voter in his precinct who knows and is known by the registrar, to accompany him to register and introduce and recommend him.

THEY'RE LEARNING TO VOTE—Practicing on a dummy voting machine is Freda Fuller, Jeannette Mitchell and Loretta Owens. It's a good idea for all citizens to learn to use a voting machine correctly for many votes have been thrown out because of improper use.

standard procedure. Once put off, thousands of them never come back.

The remedy, of course, is intelligent persistence.

3. The registrar literally "goes hunting or fishing," except on the three registration Saturdays.

The remedy here is simple. The fourth, third and second Saturday before any primary or election are always registration Saturdays (as are the days between), but the law requires him to have books at polling places on these three Saturdays. Go there then.

* * *

IN NORTH CAROLINA'S new Uniform Permanent Registration System it is only necessary that the citizen registers once in the general election (October even years) and once in the primary (May of even years).

2. Another method to prevent registration is for the registrar to just "put the colored potential registrants off." This is a standard procedure. Once put off, thousands of them never come back.

The remedy, of course, is intelligent persistence.

3. The registrar literally "goes hunting or fishing," except on the three registration Saturdays.

The remedy here is simple. The fourth, third and second Saturday before any primary or election are always registration Saturdays (as are the days between), but the law requires him to have books at polling places on these three Saturdays. Go there then.

* * *

IN NORTH CAROLINA'S new Uniform Permanent Registration System it is only necessary that the citizen registers once in the general election (October even years) and once in the primary (May of even years).

Since the system was instituted just two years ago every citizen must re-register or see his name removed from the registration books. You will then be administered this oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of North Carolina not inconsistent therewith; that I have been a resident of North Carolina for one year, and of the . . . township or district for four months."

* * *

YOUR NAME is then entered upon the registration books and you are then registered, and ready to vote come November.

If you move from your precinct, you must either come back to your precinct to vote or get a certificate of removal from the registrar where you are registered.

It is wise to get this certificate of removal because the registrar to whom it is presented must receive it. It is unlawful to vote in two precincts in the same election.

If you live in a city, you must also register in the "Municipal Election and Municipal Primary," which are held in spring of uneven years. Recheck occasionally.

* * *

AFTER YOU make sure that you meet the five requirements mentioned above for registering, you should present yourself to your registrar preferably at your polling place on Saturday October 13, 20 or 27 or at registrar's home on an intervening day between the hours of 9 a.m. and sunset for registration.

If these five qualifications are met satisfactorily to the registrar, he will record in the book of registrations your: (a) name, (b) age, (c) place of birth, (d) present address and township or precinct, and (e) with what party you desire to affiliate. (You need not affiliate with any party, if you desire, but then you cannot vote in a primary).

For Non-Partisan Drive To Get Out Vote Of Negroes

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Jan. 19— Spurred by the "poor showing" that Negroes in Virginia made in registering and voting during a recent school referendum in that state, the NAACP branch here has established a new committee for political action.

In making this announcement, branch president Dr. James E. Levy said his executive coommittee "thought that this new committee could do a good job in our town."

Acting on a recommendation of the NAACP national office, the political action group will carry out non-partisan campaigns here to get moore Negroes to register and vote. The branch acted on the matter last week.

Following the Virginia election, which in effort provided the first step for future legislative measures to circumvent the Supreme Court's anti-segregation scoool decision, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins issued a statement asserting that the Association will increase its register-and-vote work.

Berry Leads Fight For Vote System

CINCINNATI, Ohio — Always a vigorous fighter, Vice-Mayor Theodore M. Berry is leading an intensified fight to retain the voting system of PR (Proportional Representation) here in the face of bitter attempts of disgruntled opponents to do away with the system.

Opponents are Republicans who lost out last fall in councilmanic elections to place a majority in council.

Berry, powerful figure in the Charter Party, holds the important posts of vice-mayor and Finance Committee chairmanship.

The latter post determines Cincinnati's fiscal policies and last year adopted Berry's one percent poll tax to insure Cincinnati's solvency.

CLOSE PROBE

Engaged currently in a bitter hassle with the GOP council minority, who seek to throw out PR in the May primary election, Berry is leading an investigation of what appears to be multiple signatures on a number of petitions gathered by the GOP Charter Improvement League, which wants to place PR.

Clashing sharply with city solicitor Henry M. Bruestle, who had ruled that it was unnecessary to file advance copies of the proposed anti-PR petitions wi— him, Berry told the council that Bruestle should not be allowed to represent it when it takes the issue before the Ohio Supreme Court. He said he was in favor of hiring a new counsel.

THEODORE BERRY

GOPs Protest Only Negro Registrars

3 Other Women Continue Work; Are not Notarized

By Bill Dillard
Of the Eagle Staff

Republican leaders who last week raised such a fuss over four Negro women employed to register voters in five Greenwood areas, attacked no other enrollment points in the city, although registrars in other areas "possessed the same status," John Ritter, secretary of the Tulsa County Election Board said today. not notarized or deputized as required by election laws.

Out of 45 enrollment points set up within the city by the election board, the five Greenwood precincts were the only places closed. This left 40 princincts available for white voters in Tulsa.

Registration books were seized from Booker T. Washington school and Vernon A.M.E. church February 27 and returned to the courthouse after GOP leaders questioned the authority of four Negro women employed by the election board to do the job.

Lincoln Park Recreation Center, Dunbar elementary school and Progressive Baptist church were the other places to be used as focal points.

Board Hired Seven

Ritter said originally the board had employed seven temporary women—four of them Negroes—to work as registrars but because of GOP opposition, only three were retained.

"These three women have not been notarized or deputized," commented Ritter, "neither have their qualifications has been questioned. They work from this office just as the other women were doing and there have been no complaints. The Greenwood area was the only placed in question."

Arthur Lee Price, Republican State Senator, James T. Rasbury, city GOP chairman, and J. J. Jackson, chairman of the Tulsa county GOP told the registrars in the Green ood area were in question because they were

Not Protesting Negroes

They said they were not protesting registraton of Negroes but the method Ritter was using in enrolling voters.

Ritter, on the other hand denied using illegal methods of registration and said the COP attack was a "deliberate, planned methodical attack." He said the idea of having books sent to this district was politically pure with no ulterior motives.

Negroes in Tulsa have begun to ask these questions about the GOP action.

1. **Were these four Negro women under fire because of their race.**
2. **Why didn't the Republican leaders attack other areas?**
3. **If registrars must be notarized and deputized, why weren't the three other women legalized?**
4. **How long would it have taken to "authorize" the Negro registrars, if it were required?**
5. **Are Republicans trying to keep the Negro vote to a minimum?**

Both Democratic and Republican leaders have stated that withdrawal of registration books from the Greenwood area was not because of racial antagonism, although a Negro Democratic leader hinted that the action might have been sparked because Negroes are becoming more aware of the importance of voting.

'Spies' Sent Out

One of the Negro women said the GOP had sent "spies" out to watch the registration process, which lasted one day only, February 27. Ritter said the GOP sent no representatives to oversee other areas.

During the last three days for registration, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, March 7, 8 and 9, the election board will be opened from 8 a. m. to 9 p.m., Ritter said.

Negro leaders are encouraging all citizens to go to the courthouse and register so they may exercise their right to vote.

Civic Leader Speaks

In a radio broadcast Wednesday evening, beginning at 6:05, Mrs. Seymour Williams, prominent civic leader and wife of the well-known retired school coach, urged citizens to register during the remaining registration period. She was heard over station KRMG.

The basis for the GOP attack on registration in the Greenwood area was created when a story appeared two weeks ago in The Eagle telling of a campaign by the North Tulsa Ministerial Alliance to get all Negroes eligible to vote.

The alliance is a non-partisan, non-political group which has supporters of both Democratic and Republican parties in it.

Ritter reafirmed his statements that after the Primary election he would establish the registration program on a county-wide basis.

Vote Against James Nance

Unquestionably, Oklahoma Negroes have been favored during the past year in having a fair set of state officials, who have implemented the Supreme Court decision respecting segregation. Our governor, attorney general and state superintendent have cooperated together to the end that Oklahoma is near the top of the heap in seeing to it that the constitution of the United States is regarded as the supreme law of the land. They have administered the law with sincerity and integrity for which all who believe in democracy and freedom should be thankful.

But a new legislature is soon to convene in this state, at which time men of the type of Bill Shipley of Okmulgee, will seek to undo the good work done the past twelve months by our state officials. It will be recalled the worst feature our school officials have had to face during the current term is the vicious transfer system, sponsored into law by Bill Shipley. We certainly want no more of his kind in the oncoming legislature.

Down at Purcell, in McClain county, there is developing a serious threat in former state Senator Jim Nance. Nance has seen service in both the house and senate, and is currently seeking to return to the lower house. He is opposing state Representative Henry H. Montgomery. Montgomery did fine work in the last legislature, and seeks to retain his position.

The Black Dispatch believes it would be derelict in its duty if it did not tell its readers in this area that Jim Nance is one of the most reactionary men who ever sat in the Oklahoma legislature. He arises from the dead past. He might have changed with the new concept of freedom and democracy, but we cannot afford to take that chance. Not only in McClain county, but all over Oklahoma, Negroes should seek to place their votes behind men of good-will, and who believe that a black citizen is entitled to equality in citizenship. This is the question Jim Nance should be asked when he presents himself for the black vote. The black man must not allow himself to be purchased, but must from now on deliver his ballot into the hands of those who offer the most in genuine citizenship.

Several years ago Jim Nance loaned his time and efforts to compelling Negro office seekers in this state to identify their racial extraction on the ballot. What was Nance's intention and objective in making the Negro require with a rule not demanded of a white office seeker? Does Jim Nance feel that Negroes should hold office in this state?

The time has come when black men must vote objectively, and solely for the best interests of American citizenry. In this primary election it should be obvious to all that integration will be best served if Jim Nance remains at home as a private citizen.

Friday, June 22 is Final Day for Registration

Books Now Open at County Court House, Other Places

Time is running out for Tulsa area residents who have neglected to register for the July 3, primary election the Tulsa County Election board declared Monday.

Registration books will close June 22, at 9 p.m.

The Election board announced that their offices in the Court House will be open evenings until 9 p.m., to assist last minute would-be voters during the final week of registration, June 18 through June 22.

In addition, the Board outlined a schedule for additional registration points including the following: Sand Springs City Hall, June 18-19; Limestone school, June 20; Douglas Aircraft and American Airlines, June 21; and the West Tulsa Community State Bank and the Humpty Dumpty market in the Sheridan Village shopping center, June 22. These points will be open for registration from 3 p.m., to 9 p.m. on the given dates.

As Ye Sow, So Shall Ye Reap

The inconsistency of those who controlled politics in Oklahoma, in their early day reluctance to permit Negroes to vote and hold office, should, in the judgment of the Black Dispatch, continuously be pointed out. We think there is constructive value in pointing out that in many ways governmental conditions could not be worse.

Take, for instance, the revelation being disclosed in a Wagoner county courthouse, where citizens admitting they can neither read nor write, declare they voted in the last state senatorial election three and four times. Folk will wonder, in many sections of the state, how such terrible conditions could exist. It was shocking reading Tuesday's papers, to learn that Mrs. Louella Matthews testified under oath Monday she voted three times for Senator Russell, and that one of the absentee ballots she voted was cast three or four days before the election. She voted twice on the day of the election. Obviously this ignorant woman voted under instruction of someone higher up who knew better. The entire testimony Monday was a sordid tale of official corruption and infamy.

Explanation of this outrageous conduct is given when you learn that Wagoner county is one of the counties where at the time of statehood Negroes outnumbered whites. Officials first entered into collusion with state and federal district courts to disfranchise Negroes, and later on, under Governor Robert L. Williams, the infamous election law that has never been repealed was effected, under which Negroes sent two election officials to the penitentiary, who were later pardoned by President Woodrow Wilson. These two men were named Guinn and Beale. Later, after long years of hypocritical defense of election steals in Wagoner county, and the almost complete disfranchisement of Negroes, the Oklahoma Conference of Branches, NAACP, won the I. W. Lane case in the Supreme Court of the United States. Old man Lane died two years ago.

While Negroes now vote in Wagoner county, it can be seen that across a period of thirty years a design and scheme was perfected to effect dishonest elections. Just before statehood, a Negro named P. B. J. Hudson was elected a county commissioner in Wagoner county, but the double-dealing of state officials immediately ended political preferment for black citizens in that political sub-division and laid the ground work for all of the chicanery with which the friends of Senator Russell were able to rob Senator Tom Payne of an election. Citizens should not arise in righteous wrath against what is going on now without making a survey of what has been happening across a quarter of a century. Was it justifiable for whites to rob Negroes of their ballot more so than it is justifiable for one white to rob another by the same rules?

A review of disfranchisement as it was boldly and without shame visited upon Negroes thirty years ago, is again constructive and valuable just now, for the reason we are presently lending our ears to marble-hearted, conscienceless citizens who tell us it is perfectly all right for state government to temporarily step aside from constitutional guarantees to deprive Negroes of an education. All sorts of artifices and tricks are proposed to the majority group, having no color of law or our established rules, morals and customs, to deprive black people of the right to enter their progeny in tax supported classrooms. Many citizens, who go to church and profess Christianity, and who actually believe when they go to heaven they will find jim crow there, are to be found in the ranks of segregation. What is happening today in Wagoner county is a fine way to illustrate how, when people sow the wind they later suffer from the whirlwind.

Perhaps some years later, when we wake up without a public school system, to find that we have a generation of illiterates and delinquents because people who should know better "cut off their nose to spite their face," we will at long last discover "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." If this nation actually stands for "equal rights to all and special privileges to none," the simulation and hypocrisy of Citizens Councils, John Kaspers and the Ku Klux Klan cannot be accepted.

This disaster is directly ahead of us if school boards are permitted, as down in Clay, Kentucky, by state government to tell Negro children the Supreme Court of the United States did not protect them when it rendered a memorable opinion in May 1955. The lessons we are learning up in Wagoner county this week should have a sobering effect upon citizens who feel warranted in misconstruing the Constitution of the United States whenever a black face hoves in sight.

They feel Ike is for the rich whites—

News Sun. 10-14-56
Birmingham Ala.

Negro voters of squalid slums in Philadelphia are for Adlai

BY JOSEPH ALSOP

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 15—Philadelphia's 32nd Ward—one of those Negro sections in the Northern big cities which both Democrats and Republicans are now watching with breathless attention—is nowhere as bad as the worst of Harlem and nowhere as good as the best.

In this Philadelphia ward there is little to compare with wide areas of slum clearance housing that promise a new decency and hope to the poor in Harlem.

JOSEPH ALSOP

There is nothing, either, quite so evil as Harlem's even wider areas of stinking cliff-high slum apartments that are fully as horrible as the worst slums of Bombay. The 32nd Ward is, rather, a classical Negro section in the old style, where the Negroes have taken over street after street built for fairly prosperous white people 70 or 80 years ago.

The more ambitious and successful Negro families live in—often even own—little stone-built row houses that must once have housed a solid middle class family apiece, and today house anywhere up to eight or 10 Negro families apiece.

PUSH YOUR WAY into these tenements past the children playing on the steps and sidewalk because they have nowhere else to play. Climb the rickety dark stairs. As you pass by, avert your eyes if you are wise, from the single foul bathroom that serves the two or three families on each floor. Knock at the crazy doors. Peer into the crowded rooms, furnished with the squalid castoffs of our industrial civilization, whose products, somewhere, do not seem to age very gracefully.

Are you gripped—you must be gripped—by a deep shame that this rich country lets so many of its Negro citizens live in such a manner. Even so, even the worse of Philadelphia's Thirty-second Ward lacks the dark, downright Asian squalor, the foulness and grim hopelessness of the worst of Harlem.

And this difference seems to have considerable political importance, judging by the results of an intensive door to door inquiry recently conducted in company with a professional poller, John Kraft.

ON A SIMILAR expedition in Harlem, this reporter's partner found that the slumdwellers thought little about civil rights and were voting solidly Democratic simply because "The Democrats are the party of us poor people."

In contrast, he also found a passionate preoccupation with civil rights wherever Negro families had achieved more decent living conditions, and in these sections of Harlem there was considerable resentment of Adlai E. Stevenson's "moderation" on the civil rights issue.

In Philadelphia's Thirty-second Ward, in contrast, where almost no one can escape from slum conditions but the slums are somewhat less appalling, the economic and civil rights issues are blended in almost everyone's mind.

But here in Philadelphia, they seldom mention Adlai Stevenson's "moderation" on the civil rights; instead, they say, "The president could've did more to help our people."

TYPICAL OF the more articulate was Irene Bennett, a sturdy, intelligent woman who works for Wanamakers and is rearing her large brood in part of one floor of a tumbledown house on Camac Street. She is no Stevenson enthusiast, but after careful thought she gives the greatest weight the president's inaction during the school troubles in the South.

"The deciding factor with me is which party is going to do the most for my people," she says.

More belligerent, and more representative of the less thoughtful, more directly emotional voters was Celia Cook, a little, white-haired, hard-working old lady who lives in a room like a cave in one of the North 12th-st slums.

"I don't like Republican's." she said. "They're for the rich. And I don't like Mr. Eisenhower at all, either. He's done everything for the white people and nothing for my people. Why, look at all those trouble down South. Isn't he president? Why can't he do something?"

HOWARD NORRIS, an ambitious clerical worker who is buying his own house on North-st, took the exceptional view that "although Eisenhower has ducked the civil rights issue, I always remember these Southern governors are Democrats. So I'm for the Democrats just because I think they're the party of the little man."

But two of the rare Republican voters, both women, said they did not like the president because "it seems like he could've did a lot more for the colored people." They then added, with a giggle, that they were Republicans all the same, "Because everyone round here is Republican."

THAT NOTION of the two women was certainly erroneous. The vast majority of the voters of the Thirty-second Ward chose Adlai Stevenson four years ago. The Democratic lead was so decisive that there were few Republicans left to switch; yet we found a couple of switches none-the-less.

Unless our rather large sample was somehow badly distorted, this crucial Negro ward of crucial Philadelphia should give Adlai Stevenson as large as a proportional majority as he got four years ago. And if our switches are indicative, he may even gain a percentage point or two on top of that.

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Republican

GOP Leader Says Negroes May Shift

Daily World
Sun. 3-13-56

CHICAGO—(A N P)—Dr. J. B Martin, Chicago Republican leader, predicted last week that the nation's Negro voters may shift to the Republican Party in the 1956 general elections.

Atlanta, Ga.
3-16
5 p.

Martin said that "on his record, President Eisenhower should be supported by Negro voters. He has done what other Presidents occasionally talked about but left undone."

He said, however, that both Eisenhower and Gen. Herbert Brownell are making some mistakes in tackling current law violations.

"The common sense of the Negro does not believe that Brownell cannot do anything about the Till case, the Montgomery boycott or the Autherine Lucy case," Martin said.

Negro Vote to Win for Adlai, S.C. Demo 'Regulars' Predict

Journal & Constitution 11-5-54
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 11-4-54
34 C

Byrnes Joins Palmetto Independents And Will Support Virginia's Byrd

By S. L. LATIMER JR.
Editor, The Columbia State
Special to The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

COLUMBIA, S.C., Nov. 3—For many years South Carolina with its one predominant party was something of an onlooker when Presidents were elected, but that day has passed and the contest for votes in the Palmetto State is now a spirited one with the fight being between two widely-differing groups within the Democratic organization.

The Republicans are also represented on the ballot and likely will do better this year, but the real question is whether the Stevenson-Kefauver ticket will get the state's eight electoral votes or will they go to an Independent slate supporting Gov. Byrd of Virginia and Rep. Williams of Mississippi?

The Independent movement is composed of dissident Democrats, who will support the Democratic ticket other than for presidential electors. Generally speaking those taking part are the same as those backing Eisenhower as an independent in 1952. Also many of them backed Thurmond-Wright in 1948.

Byrnes Backs Byrd

James F. Byrnes, who supported Ike as an independent four years ago, came out for the Byrd ticket last week. He said he opposed both Stevenson and Eisenhower, but that if there were no choice except between the two, he would vote for Eisenhower. He is proud of Ike's record as far as national defense and foreign policy are concerned, but scored him for his judicial appointments.

Strom Thurmond has been on a tour of the Far East and has taken no active part in the campaign. His return was awaited to see if he would make any announcement.

SOUTH CAROLINA

In the meantime the regular Democratic organization, headed by Neville Bennett, has been making an active campaign and the Republicans now in the hands of a new faction, have been making a drive for dissidents to support Eisenhower through the GOP ticket rather than through the Independents. The Independents in turn are arguing that the Eisenhower people should vote with them and keep Stevenson from carrying the state.

The Stevenson-Kefauver lineup has the advantage of the party machinery. Also it seems certain that the Negro vote, about 60,000 or 70,000 will go en masse for Stevenson and Kefauver. This would give the regular ticket quite a head start. In 1952, the Negroes' vote turned the tide in Stevenson's favor.

In 1952, the Democrats received 172,000 votes, the Independents 158,000 and the Republicans 10,000. If the same vote is cast this year, it can be seen that a more or less solid Negro vote for Stevenson and Kefauver would give that ticket quite an advantage.

For some weeks the strength of the Independents was discounted by some observers, but this is no longer the case. It is recognized now that it is a real battle for ballots.

The regular ticket, it appears, is strong in the Piedmont, while the Independents are strong in the coastal and central parts of the state. But it is a situation hard to analyze and the strength hard to predict just as it was in 1954 when a surprise vote elected Thurmond on a write-in ticket over the party's regular senatorial nominee.

Voter Can 'Split'

Under South Carolina law a split ticket can be voted. A person is pledged to support only the nominee of a primary in which one participates. Therefore a Democrat is pledged to back a person nominated in the June voting, but none other. And a presidential preference was not asked in the June primary. In fact, there is no legal provision in South Carolina to hold a presidential primary.

Up until 1948, when South Carolina broke out of traces in favor of the States' Rights candidates, it could be taken for granted that South Carolina would vote for the Democratic nominees. There was no doubt about the result, and few people took the trouble to vote. But not so now. More people are registered than ever before and it is possible that the largest general election vote in the history of the state will be cast Tuesday.

Voting drive draws support of Tenn. Elks

MEMPHIS — A state voter registration campaign and a nationwide program of education for those who can not read or write, were two of the principal items covered here recently as Tennessee Elks held a three-day convention.

The education program, according to George W. Lee, grand commissioner of education, will help prepare the way for the advent of integration.

Setting up the education program were Mr. Lee. Robert H. Johnson, grand exalted ruler; and Charles P. McClane of Steelton, Pa., Herbert E. Jones of Washington, James W. Wilson of Jackson, Miss., and James E. Derrick of Knoxville, all grand lodge officers, and representatives of the Department of Education from seven Southern States.

* * *

THE PROGRAM will be sent to every Elks Lodge and Temple and will call for:

"Grass roots committees on local state and regional and national levels to work with men of goodwill in order to stop the growing storm of racism which threatens to divide us and redivide us and set us one against the other so that Communism an Facism can win here and in other sections of the world."

The Elks also awarded $250 scholarships to Memphis winners of an oratorical contest.

Lafayette Seymour, senior at Booker T. Washington High School, won a try at a $1,000 district scholarship by placing first in the local contest.

Second place went to Gwindell D. Bradley, Hamilton High senior, and the third award was captured by Hoise Clemons, senior at St. Augustine High School.

Joseph Clark of Washington, special assistant to the postmaster general, praised the Elks' educational program but said that more money was needed for scholarships.

Requirements For Voting In State When One Is Away

He must be 21 years of age.

He must have resided one year in the state and three months in the county.

He must be a registered voter.

The serviceman's registration is automatic when an absentee Armed Forces ballot is voted.

The application form to be used in requesting a ballot, Federal Post Card Application (Form 76) may be obtained from the voting officer on the serviceman's post. This application should be sent to the Election Commissioner of the County of residence of the serviceman. The application will be accepted any time before October 10th if the serviceman is in the United States. If the serviceman is overseas, his application will be accepted any time before September 1st.

Ballots will be mailed to servicemen in this country at least as early as October 15th. Ballots will be mailed to servicemen overseas at least as early as September 10th.

Marked ballots will be accepted up to and including the day of election.

FBI BEGINS CHECKUP OF BALLOT CHARGES

Report Of Irregularities Being Sifted

WARD OK-ED DOG TRACK

By CLAYIN T. CRAFT
From The Commercial Appeal West Memphis Bureau

WEST MEMPHIS, Nov. 23. — The Federal Bureau of Investigation Friday launched a preliminary investigation of the Nov. 6 election in West Memphis.

A. M. Bryant, special agent in charge of the Little Rock division of the FBI, said the investigation is being made to determine the facts of reported irregularities in the election.

Going To Washington

"Our findings will be forwarded to assistant attorney general Warren Olney III of the Department of Justice in Washington," Mr. Bryant said.

He said Mr. Olney will determine if a full-scale investigation of the election is warranted.

The investigation was started after the West Memphis Daily Sun charged irregularities in Ward Four South here. The newspaper reported that 562 of 574 eligible persons voted as shown by election results.

A door-to-door canvass conducted by the newspaper officials shows, they charge, that 109 of 347 persons contacted denied voting in the election.

Ward Four, predominently populated y Negroes, gave heavy approval to dog racing at Southland track here, voting down Amendment 49 which would have outlawed pari-mutuel etting in Arkansas.

He Wouldn't Comment

Edward Waller, Crittenden County election commissioner said, "I can't make any conclusive comment about unsupported allegations which appear in a newspaper story, but I'm sure other election commissioners, as well as myself, will always give proper consideration to any complaint that is officially presented."

"That policy prevails in past elections as well as, future elections held in the County," Mr. Waller said.

Mr. Waller said no official complaints have been made to him concerning irregularities at the polls.

James Hale, chairman of the Commission, said he had not talked to Robert Chowning, editor of the accusing newspaper, and had no comment to make.

FBI Visits Editor

Mr. Chowning said two FBI agents visited him following publication of a "house-to-house canvass made by our newspaper in Ward Four South." The voting precinct is predominantly Negro.

The poll showed that one out of three eligible voters did not go to the polls, but figures released by election officials indicated a 98 per cent turnout.

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TENNESSEE

Professional Men And Women Lax In Setting Example

Buying Power And Voting Strength, Properly Used, Can Solve Most Problems On Road To First-Class Citizenship; Those In Authority, North And South, Show Much Respect For Voters But Little Or None For "The Disfranchised" Whether By Force Or Neglect Of Duty, Say

For many years, the Nashville GLOBE has specialized in constantly urging colored citizens to get prepared to vote and to make it a religious duty to vote in ALL elections.

This newspaper will do this in the great year of 1956.

In the past, the GLOBE has said and says again, that there are just TWO things which the white man will bargain with the Negro to get for the white man's benefit.

The TWO THINGS, it has been pointed out are the Negro's BUYING POWER and his VOTING STRENGTH.

This has been proved conclusively in the past several years.

Among the benefits that have been gained for the Negroes here in recent years are city policemen and policewomen; member of the City School Board, city councilmen, deputies on the sheriff's staff and other considerations. These have come as a result of a considerable increase in the voting strength of Negroes in the city and county.

The increase in job opportunities, and a realistic accomplishment of gaining fair employment can come, and come only, because of the Negro citizens having something to offer for fair employment considerations in addition to his brain and brawn. His voting strength, for instance.

White political leaders in Nashville will do exactly as such leaders have done in numerous other places, even in the South, when the Negro fights for his right to vote and then regularly goes to the polls and votes. If the Negro segment of the population here expects to elect persons to the state legislature, they must first cast votes in such numbers as to get in position to bargain for legislature representation.

If Negroes expect to get on Capitol Hill the job opportunities—get the jobs to which they aspire, they must realize that these will come only from being such a strong voting element as to gain and retain the respect of politicians in position to make the appointments.

The GLOBE has all along regretted that many such leaders as preachers, teachers and other professionals have seemed never to have taken the matter of voting seriously enough to be constantly emphasizing it to the groups they lead.

In the past, often there have been ministers who became content with small money gifts from politicians in consideration of the opportunity given politicians to deliver political speeches in churches.

The thus-favored politicians have been made to feel and to say, "We bought your folk—paid your preachers, in front, for what you did for us on election day."

Records have disclosed that school teachers and professors, supposed to be devoted to teaching their charges all of the virtues of good citizenship, have nevertheless, themselves neglected in many individual instances to exercise their own right duty to register and right to vote.

It will be recalled the publication last year of lists of persons who had failed to cast votes in any state-wide election in a period of four years, rendered many ineligible to vote untidl they registered to vote again. Many of these delinquent swere school teachers and doubtless some were preachers.

As bad as that was, it was not as bad as those hundreds of leaders of groups who had neither registered nor voted for years and years. There are plenty of such who are not among us and boasting that they do not bother to vote and leave that "to the white folks."

Once upon a time the TENNESSEAN was a newspaper which advised Nashville Negroes not to bother with politics—that the "white man" would treat the Negro better if he did not mess with politics." But at that time as now, it was in those places where the Negro CAN and DOES vote where his race gets better considerations than in any place where he is disfranchised either by his own laziness or the rough tactics of authorities, not as respectable as the authorities in Nashville and Davidson county.

In Nashville, even at present, one can hear telephone conversations between merchants and colored customers about like the following:

MERCHANT: "Hello is Goldie Green there? If so let me speak to her, this is Mr. Blackmier calling. —CUSTOMERS's Husband: No sir Mr. Blackmier she ain't here?

MERCHANT: "Well is that Goldie's husband, Silver Green, I am talking to?

Answer, "Yes sir, Mr. Blackmier, this is me.

That kind of attitude of a merchant toward his customer, including the disrespect shown colored women in the way letters are addressed to them is quite uncomplimentary upon the part of business people who say they appreciate the business they get from Negro customers.

It was "disrespect for customers" that brought about that paralyzing boycott which Negroes recently visited upon the bus company of Montgomery, Alabama. More than likely the attitude of the bus company toward colored customers will be drastically changed in the very near future, solely because of their buying power and skill in using it.

Buying Power can be and should be secured and used effectively in the march of Negroes toward the goal of first-class citizenship.

And most certainly the voting strength of Negroes every where should be secured by registering, voting and using it to the best advantage.

The Texas Vote

The voters in the state of Texas have voted overwhelmingly for segregation in the schools, for interposition and for stronger laws against intermarriage.

By voting 471,021 to 122,811 to keep segregation, Texans need not think that they have legally "voted down" the Supreme Court decision. Texans and citizens of other states can go to the polls as often as they wish to express their views on segregation but there is no way for them to change the Supreme Court decision declaring segregated schools unconstitutional..

By voting four to one for segregation, Texans have expressed their sentiments but that is about all. The move toward integration will continue in Texas and everywhere else. A news item this week reveals that 71 school districts in the Lone Star state have adopted policies of integration. One by one, the districts will discover the advantages of maintaining one set of schools as against the dual system and will discard segregation slowly, perhaps, but surely.

Those busy analyzing the July 28 vote are crediting Negro voters with the more than 100,000 votes cast against segregation. We don't believe that every vote for integration was cast by a Negro because there are many white persons in Texas who are ready to abide by the Supreme Cort decision. At least a few of the votes against school segregation must have been cast by them. The majority of the votes against segregation probably were cast by Negroes and it is gratifying to know that more than a hundred thousand Negroes in Texas went to the polls to express their views. At least there is freedom of expression in the Lone Star state.

On the question of interposition, the same ones who voted for segregation approved this method of trying to get around the Supreme Court decision.

On intermarriage, we don't think there is much the voters can do about a matter so personal and individual as the selection of a life partner. If two people want to get married, there are plenty of states which will tie the knot. And if they don't want to get married, there is no law on earth which will make them do so. It is up to the individual. All of the hullabaloo over intermarriage is just so much waste of time. The fathers who are so concerned lest their daughters "marry a Negro" need only to teach those daughters how to say "No."

One bright note about the Texas election was the large vote received by Ralph Yarborough, who will be one of the two candidates in the run-off election August 25. Yarborough was the candidate chosen by the Texas Negro Voters League as the "least of evils" among those running for governor. At least, the men with the worst records as far as race relations are concerned lost out.

Absentee Voting At Courthouse July 8 Thru 24

HOUSTON — Absentee voting is being conducted July 8 through Tuesday, July 24 in the office of County Clerk W D Miller, 206 Harris County Courthouse.

Traveling salesmen, railroad men and citizens, who are expecting to be away vacationing or maybe out of the city on other purposes, are permitted to cast their ballot for candidates in the first primary Saturday, July 28, by going to Mr Miller's office 206 county courthouse and vote any day between July 8 and 24.

Tuesday, July 24, is also the last day to change precincts on poll tax receipts of those who have moved away from the precinct where they lived prior to January 31. Voters must live in the precinct where they vote.

Wednesday, July 25, is the last day for those who have become eligible to vote after Jan 1, 1956, by reason of age or residence to secure poll tax exemptions in order to vote in the run-off primary Aug 25. Amendments voted on and passed during a city election last August changed the city election from even years to odd years. Although the mayor, council and other officials won't have to run this year much attention will be focused on the School Board elections.

Four of the seven-man board are up for re-election at the General Election Nov 6. They are the chairman of the board, Mrs Olon Rogers, dean of the board, Dr Henry Petersen a veteran of 17 years; Mrs Frank Dyer and Jack Tucker.

Mrs Rogers, a liberal has already said unless there is a "material change" she will not be a candidate for re-election. One president of the board, James Delmar, a conservative, has indicated he does not intend to seek reelection. Mrs Dyer has made no statements as yet concernnig the expiration of her current term come Jan 1, 1957. The other member whose term expires this year is Mr Tucker, liberal.

A presidential election year, there will be two national offices voted on. This year 16 state positions and 38 local positions. A presidential election year also calls for two county conventions, one was staged last May and the other has been set for Saturday, August 4.

The Way We'll Vote

For Governor: Write in name of Dr Lonnie E Smith. (We shall have scratched the other six names of candidates printed for governor.)

For Lieutenant Governor: C T Johnson.

For Attorney General: Tom Moore.

For Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, Place No. 3: James R Norvell.

For Judge, Court of Criminal Appeals: W A Morrison.

For Treasurer of the State of Texas: Warren G Harding.

For Commissioner of Agriculture: John C White.

For Congressman-at-Large: Bill Elkins.

(You can put an "x" in the square opposite the name you want to vote for, or you can cast your vote by striking out all those in any particular bracket that you don't want to vote for, leaving just the one you want to vote for. In the case of the write-in vote, strike all of the guberna-torial candidates and then write in the name of Dr Lonnie E Smith. In case you are using the voting machine, put "No" against all of the candidates by the usual marker on the machine, then ask the judge to open the machine so that you can get to the write-in vote, which is on the right side of the machine, when it is open you will find a little plate there for you to write the name of Dr Lonnie Smith in. When you then pull the master lever to register your total vote, the write-in is registered along with the others and the machines is cleared for the next vote.)

Texas To Vote On Integration In Marriage

AUSTIN — (ANP) — A bill aimed at giving Texas Democratic voters the say-so as to whether they want integration will be the center of attraction for voters of the state July 28.

Included is a "for" or "against" referendum on interposition, and another seeking the "perfection" of present state laws banning intermarriage between whites and Negroes.

The state Democratic Committee has approved the measures and the racial questions were presented to the committee in petition form signed by 153,868 voters.

In Ft Worth Woman May Be Sentenced For Vote Fraud

FORT WORTH — The Tarrant County district attorney said last week that he will seek the maximum penalty the law allows-five years in prison- for Mrs Charlie Mae Allen in the Precinct 120 vote-fraud case.

Mrs Allen, conducted the August 25 Democratic runoff election in the Lake Como box as precinct chairman, and is charged with making a false vote convass.

Stories are quite conflicting as to the part Mrs Allen played in it, but the district attorney stated that she alone would be held responsible for "putting the fraud over." He further stated that he felt she was "persuaded by someone else" to carry through with what he reported was the illegal counting of 353 ballots. But he is not sure now just who else is involved.

MRS ALLEN USED WRONG METHOD

The wrong method was used by Mrs Allen in marking the absentee voters. She stated 25 minutes after the polls opened Saturday that 400 ballots had been cast. A check of the absentee records showed that only nine such ballots had been marked. Officials went into the ballot box at the County Clerks office and the ballots were counted there the night of the election.

Whoever it was working with Mrs Allen, stated the D A's office, failed to give her the proper information as to how to really do a good job on the boxes. They failed to check on the people who they were using, and also on how the ballots were cast for absentee votes.

Absentee votes are counted separately at the courthouse and are never returned to the home

precinct.

DA TELLS HOW PLAN WAS WORKED

Election supplies were delivered to Mrs Allen Friday night. The young mother of four children, took the list of poll tax purchasers and a list of the precinct's qualified voters to Mrs Lucille Giddings, a clerk.

Mrs Allen told Mrs Giddings that a pencil mark and the stamped word "voted" showed who had cast absentee ballots.

Mrs Giddings was ordered to copy 353 names from the list of poll tax purchasers onto the list of people who had voted. She worked from 9 p m Friday to 1 a m Saturday, copying the list that Mrs Allen had given her, thinking she was recording the absentee votes.

On Saturday, half an hour before the polls opened for the run-off, Mrs Allen told two other clerks, that she had 353 absentee ballots. She ordered them to tear off the stubs and put them in the stub can, place the blank ballots in the ballot can, and record 353 votes for these candidates:

Ralph Yarborough for governor, Doyle Willis for state senator, Tom Moore for attorney general, Don Gladden for representative Position One; Tommy Shannon for representative, Position Five.

Mrs Stella Jenkins of 5713 Fletcher stated that she wrote the names in the book, but paid no attention to how they were listed.

The investigation began after the canvassing subcommittee's discovery Tuesday that several hundred voters in the predominantly Negro precinct in Lake Como had been listed as having voted alphabetically.

WORKERS RELEASED AFTER INQUIRY

Several of the workers had been taken into custody but released. The grand jury heard testimony from 17 other witnesses. All were not involved in the scandal, it was reported.

The complaint against Charlie Mae Allen accused her specifically of "falsely calling, or causing to be called, the names of Mary Frances Walker, Jessie Bell Mitchell, Douglas Mitchell and others" when she knew they did not in fact, cast a ballot."

Mrs Allen refused to talk to any reporters and refers them to her attorney, Ernest May.

Mrs Allen, a native of Fort Worth, is quite prominent in the city having taken part in other political affairs. It was in Dallas when Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt was there, that she was cited for her work in bringing up the largest number of poll tax receipts issued. She is the daughter of Rev and Mrs J E Green, pastor of the True Light Baptist Church in the city.

Friends of Mrs Allen are doing all that they can to help her in this scandal. Some say she is guilty, but others feel that this type of 'fraud' could not have been executed by her alone.

A $5,000 bond was posted by Dorsey Adams, a local real estate man.

Other precinct boxes are now under investigation.

$5,000 BOND POSTED — Mrs Charlie Mae Allen, a Tarrant County election judge of Precinct 120, was free Thursday on $5,000 bond posted for her by Dorsey Adams, real estate man. She was charged with willfully making a false canvass of her precinct's vote.

Ft Worth Star-Telegram Photo

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INDIANS IN UTAH FILE BALLOT SUIT

Times P. 77-L

Ruling Likely Before Nov. 6 on State Vote Law Curbing Reservation Dwellers

Herald 10-14-56

Special to The New York Times.

SALT LAKE CITY, Oct. 13—Utah's Supreme Court is expected to rule before the Nov. 6 election on the voting rights of Indians living on reservations in the state.

New York

In question is the constitutionality of a Utah law requiring Indians to acquire an off-reservation residence to vote. The suit was filed by Prestor Allen, vice president of the Affiliated Ute Citizens of Utah.

Several hundred half-blood and quarter-blood Utes, as well as full-blood Ute tribesmen live on reservations in eastern Utah. The action was filed against the clerk of Duchesne County, who refused a primary ballot to Mr. Allen.

K. Roge Bean, assistant state attorney general, argued that the statute did not discriminate against Indians, because it was applicable to whites as well as Indians living on Federal reservations.

The attorneys arguing for suit were Robert V. Barker of Washington, and John S. Boyden of Salt Lake City.

"Congress enacted a law in 1924 holding: Indians are citizens," Mr. Barker said. "In view of this, the Utah law violates both the United States Constitution and the Utah Constitution."

The United States Constitution declares that no state shall abridge the right of citizens to vote on account of race or color and guarantees equal protection under the law.

The Utah Constitution provides that all citizens, with a few exceptions such as in the case of criminals and institution inmates, shall be eligible to vote.

Mr. Barker asserted in his plea:

"Reservations are definitely a part of the state, Indians are paying taxes to cities, counties and school districts on their lands and are entitled to a voice in selecting Congressional representatives and other officers."

To require Indians to leave the reservations, thereby leaving their homes, to be eligible to vote is an obvious abridgement of their rights, he stated.

Virginia Leaders Weigh Sharp Negro Vote Switch

Evening Star Fri 11-9-56
Washington D.C. p. 23

RICHMOND, Nov. 9 (AP).—Virginia politicians had a new factor to contend with today as they weighed the outcome of Tuesday's presidential election—the sharp switch of the Negro vote to the Republicans.

This switch was apparent in a number of cities and in the Norfolk area 2d district was credited with throwing the district to President Eisenhower. A check of the vote in Negro precincts in Richmond, Norfolk, Newport News, Hampton, Warwick and elsewhere showed a sharp reversal of the 1952 results.

One large Richmond precinct, which had given Adlai Stevenson a 4-to-1 edge in 1952, went 2 to 1 for Eisenhower this time. Another Richmond precinct, 8 to 1 Stevenson last time, reversed and produced a 3-to-1 margin for Eisenhower.

Mr. Stevenson had carried the 2d district in 1952, and the Negro switch this time was regarded as massive. What was the case in Norfolk was duplicated in other parts of the district—Portsmouth, South Norfolk and Norfolk County.

Norfolk Cited as Example

In Norfolk, for example, two precincts which had given Stevenson 1,111 votes to Eisenhower's 178 four years ago this time gave 1,262 to 308 for Eisenhower.

In Roanoke, reports were that the Negro vote was about 3 to 1 for Eisenhower—a factor not regarded as much different than previously. The swing in Roanoke was noted in 1952.

Publisher P. B. Young of the Norfolk Journal and Guide, a well-known Negro spokesman, said he believed Negroes switched to Eisenhower because they felt the President "was a bit more sincere in whatever he said on the civil rights issue . . . than Stevenson."

Oliver W. Hill, Richmond attorney on the NAACP legal staff, said the switch appeared to be a protest against the local Democratic Party leadership because of its pro-segregation views.

A Democrat, Mr. Hill said he didn't regard the Negro vote as much of a Republican indorsement. He said he felt the President's personal popularity and the Middle East flareup were also factors in the change.

Doubts G. O. P. Follow-Up

Meanwhile, a Virginia Democratic Congressman whose district was the only one in the State to remain Democratic in Tuesday's election discounted the possibility of a Republican follow-through in the race for Governor next year.

"All the Democrats need do is to find the man who has the ability to do the job and we won't have any trouble," said Representative Abbitt of Appomattox. Mr. Abbitt's 4th district stayed with Adlai Stevenson by the narrow margin of a few hundred votes in the face of the Eisenhower avalanche elsewhere in the State.

Final unofficial returns from all of the State's 1,876 voting places showed the avalanche to be:

Eisenhower, 389,206; Stevenson, 266,685.

Republicans have been talking confidently of carrying the State's presidential leanings into the governorship race. They optimistically pointed to what happened after the 1952 Eisenhower victory when their nominee, Ted Dalton, caused trembling in the Democratic ranks with his strong but losing run for Governor against Thomas B. Stanley.

See No Political Hay

But Mr. Abbitt predicted the Byrd organization would unite behind a single candidate for Governor and be able to offset Republican efforts to make capital of Eisenhower's impressive victory. And other Democrats were quick to point out the G. O. P. didn't make any political hay on the congressional front where the lineup remained the same after the election—eight Democrats and two Republicans in the Virginia delegation.

If segregation continues to remain a vital issue in Virginia politics—and all signs indicate it will continue to be for some time—then Democrats may have to seek out some new campaign material suitable for mending fences with the Negro voters.

Mr. Abbitt didn't evaluate the possibility—nor was he asked—of an adverse Negro vote in next year's race. What he discussed was the necessity of fielding the "strongest possible" candidate to carry out the wishes of the people rather than "just one to get out here and whoop and holler."

Mr. Abbitt has been mentioned as a possible candidate along with Attorney General J. Lindsay Almond, jr., State Senator Garland Gray, Lt. Gov. A. E. S. Stephens, House Speaker E. Blackburn Moore, Delegate Robert Whitehead and others.

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VIRGINIA

Register To Think

From The Washington Post

AS VIRGINIA attempts to defend its standpat position in school desegregation suits, a number of new and highly restrictive laws are coming into operation which soon must be tested in court. The Virginia General Assembly, which enacted the notorious Stanley school plan during its special session in September, also engaged in an orgy of recrimination against the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The result was a series of laws that constitute a modern-day version of the Alien and Sedition Acts. The invasion they make into the liberties of Virginia citizens still is not fully understood.

* * *

Chapter 32, for example, requires the registration with the State Corporation Commission of any person, firm or association having as a principal function or activity the promoting or opposing in any manner of legislation on behalf of any race or color, or having as a principal function or activity **"the advocating of racial integration or segregation."** (Bold face ours.) Other chapters revive the ancient crime of "barratry," or stirring up litigation; require the registration of persons or groups soliciting or expending funds for litigation in which they do not have a direct interest; and establish a legislative committee to investigate groups which "seek to influence, encourage or promote litigation relating to racial activities in this state."

* * *

The saving grace of these laws, particularly Chapter 32, is that they are so loosely drawn as to be almost impossible of enforcement. There are no standards for what constitutes a principal function or activity, or even for what constitutes advocacy or opposing legislation. Is a racially integrated church or school covered? Taken literally, Chapter 32 might well require the registration of churches, parent-teacher associations, educational groups and the like — complete with lists of all contributors and members as well as full financial statements. The plain fact is that the Assembly aimed at the NAACP with buckshot and sprayed the whole populace in the process. It is a matter of some sadness and shame that State Senator Fenwick and Delegate Mann of Arlington sponsored the most restrictive legislation and Delegate Thomson of Alexandria sponsored the bill establishing the investigating committee.

* * *

There can be little doubt that such restrictions on the right of advocacy, and possibly on the freedom of religion, constitute patent violations of the First Amendment. The Legislature has sought to inhibit the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in securing the constitutional rights of its members; but the invasion of the rights of members of the pro-segregation Defenders of State Sovereignty and Individual Liberties is almost as severe. The state has no business tampering in the area of conscience and belief; the exercise of free speech is inextricably bound up with the exercise of free thought.

Perhaps the very extremism of such restrictions and the humiliation that will descend when they are declared unconstitutional will be a tocsin that will bring the Legislature to its senses. But it is sad to realize that in the meantime Virginians who inhabit the traditional shrine of freedom will, in the words of a Norfolk Senator, have to look to the Federal courts to defend their liberties.

Virginia Voters Geared Preparing For State Election

RICHMOND, Va. — (ANP) — Virginia Negro voters are turning their backs on the Democratic party.

The trend away from the Democrats is not only seen in the way Negroes voted on Nov. 6, but on plans shaping up in political organizations to get out a large Negro vote next year against Democratic aspirants for Governor of Virginia.

J. Lindsay Almond, Jr., Virginia's attorney general, has thrown his hat in the ring for governor. He is the first leader to announce his candidacy. Mr. Almond has fought hard to prevent any section in Virginia from complying with the desegregation decision of the U. S Supreme Court.

34e 1956

Says Negroes Made Poor Showing At The Va. Polls

World P. 3
Fri. 1-20-56

RICHMOND, Va. —(ANP)— The Virginia Legislature this week rushed plans for a constitutional convention to set up segregated private schools after voters of the state approved the plan by a majority of more than 2-to-1.

Birmingham Ala.

The most surprising factor of the vote was the failure of Negro voters to show up in expected large numbers. In pre-vote registration Negroes out-numbered whites as much as 18-to-1.

According to reports only 5,000 Negroes went to the polls in Richmond; Roanoke had 2,000 qualified Negro voters, but only 1,000 voted; in Prince Edward County Negro voters were out-numbered almost 9-to-1.

Perhaps the most startling example of how Negroes failed to vote occurred in Charles City, where the measure was defeated by a 513-344 vote. Charles City is in a predominantly Negro county, where Negro children constitute 77 per cent of the school population.

No one was ready with an answer for the surprisingly small turnout of Negro voters. The fact that they had registered in such large numbers had caused predictions of a close vote.

This is what the Virginia vote means: the legislature will call a convention to amend the state constitution to allow use of state funds for so-called private schools.

Thus, Gov. Thomas B. Stanley, apparently with the support of a majority of the state's citizens, hopes to avoid integration of the public schools.

A Justice Department official said shortly before the vote that it was doubtful if the measure would stand up in court.

Stanley, jubilant over the outcome, said the private school plan will be of "tremendous assistance" to the legislature in dealing with the segregation problem.

"The people have expressed themselves decisively and I consider their action a mandate to me and to members of this body," Stanley said in an address to the legislature.

From Dallas, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, said the approval of the amendment will bring chaos to the school system in Virginia.

Wilkins said that adoption of the proposal was "a bad thing for all of Virginia and a distinct danger to the public school system. I think the result will be chaos."

Other criticism came from Dr. George S. Counts, New York State chairman of the Liberal Party, who accused Stanley and his supporters of playing "squarely into the hands of Moscow."

Dr. Counts charged that the 2-to-1 vote for the amndment "proved substantially correct a long editorial in Izvestia," a Russian newspaper.

He said that Virginia's action "is as damaging to the cause of liberty as the conspiratorial activities of all Communists in the U. S."

Oliver W. Hill, who lost a court test over the constitutionality of the proposed vote, said that if the state does not show good faith toward the Supreme Court ruling against segregated schools, legal steps of some other kind will be taken.

Mystery: What Happened To Virginia Negro Voters In Election On Schools?

Call
Fri. 1-20-56
Pittsburgh City, Pa.

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Sees Vote As Mandate

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Segregation Seen In Virginia Voting Issue

Star Sat. 4-7-56

Three Democrats Enter Fight for Broyhill Seat

P. 28-C
Washington

By ALEX R. PRESTON

Entry of three Democrats in a nearby Virginia primary contest to choose an opponent for Republican Representative Broyhill may foreshadow a revival of the sorely-tested issue of segregation in public school.

Filing fees of $450 each have been paid to State Treasurer Jesse W. Dillon by these three:

Warren D. Quanstedt, 43, Washington attorney who recently headed the Fairfax County Save Our Schools (SOS) Committee.

Morton S. Beyer, 34, an official of Capital Airlines who operates a cattle farm at Herndon in Fairfax County.

Julius Brenner of Arlington, a partner in an Arlington bakery firm.

Petitions Out for Fourth

It is reported that petitions also are being circulated by Thomas H. Woods, Falls Church dry cleaner, preliminary to his filing as a candidate.

Possibility of the school segregation question being raised in the campaign stems from the fact that Mr. Quenstedt's SOS committee recently led the Fairfax County fight against a State constitutional amendment prior to a January 9 referendum.

The amendment is part of Virginia's plan to get around the Supreme Court's school segregation decision and the SOS committee was opposed to this step. The committee won the battle in Fairfax County but lost it in the overall State-wide referendum returns.

On the other hand, Representative Broyhill was among those in Congress who signed the so-called Southern Manifesto protesting the Supreme Court decision.

During the State-wide campaign on the constitutional referendum to permit public tuition grants for educating children in private schools, Mr. Broyhill refrained from entering the controversy. The entire 10th district represented by him, which includes Arlington, Falls Church and Alexandria, in addition to Fairfax, voted against the plan to sidestep the Supreme Court.

Signed Manifesto

By signing the Southern Manifesto, Mr. Broyhill aligned himself with other Southern members of Congress whose aim is to avoid compliance with the court decision.

So far, none of those who paid the filing fee have filed with 10th district Democratic Chairman Charles R. Fenwick. They have until midnight Wednesday to do so. Payment of the fee to the State Treasurer is the first step in qualifying to run in the primary.

Regardless of who wins the Democratic race, he is expected to have an uphill fight against Mr. Broyhill, particularly with President Eisenhower again a candidate. Mr. Broyhill first won election i nthe Eisenhower landslide in Virginia in 1952 and strengthened his hold on the office when he was re-elected in 1954.

Mr. Broyhill probably will be renominated without opposition at a 10th district Republican convention next month.

Until now, no primary contests have developed in any of the other nine congressional districts. Democrats of the 6th District will hold a convention to name an opponent for Republican incumbent, Representative Poff.

Republicans in the 9th District held a convention about two weeks ago and nominated former Representative William Wampler of Bristol, to oppose Representative Jennings, Democrat. Mr. Jennings unseated Mr. Wampler in 1954.

Sees voter interest up in Virginia

RICHMOND

At the conclusion of a two-week tour, Joseph F. Simmons, director of political action, Virginia State Conference-NAACP, expressed gratification at the interest in suffrage activities evident in all sections of Virginia last week.

The tour embraced a series of political action meetings that drew representatives from the cities and counties of each of the 10 Congressional Districts of the state.

While the meetings were initiated by the state NAACP, invitations were extended through local NAACP units to other civic, religious and fraternal organizations interested in increasing the colored vote in Virginia.

* * *

USING THE THEME, "If You Don't Vote in Virginia, You Don't Count in Virginia," Mr. Simmons, assisted by State NAACP Executive Secretary W. Lester Banks, guided the representatives in setting up county and city political action committees.

Meetings were held in Winchester, Lawrenceville, Newport News, Danville, Norflk, Roanoke, Fredericksburg and Richmond While all the meetings were classified as successful, it was pointed out by Mr. Simmons as being significant that the most successful meeting was held in Lawrenceville.

This meeting drew representatives from the Fourth Congressional District — the area from which greatest opposition to public school desegregation has arisen. It will be recalled that Rep. Watkins M. Abbitt represents that district.

Says Non-Voting Negroes Offer Argument Against Equality

By VICTOR GALVERTON

ASHLAND, Va. — (ANP) — "Every Negro who doesn't vote is an argument against equality or opportunity", declared Mrs. Sarah Patton Boyle of Charlottesville, Va., in an address prepared for delivery at the 16th annual conference of the Virginia Voters League here Sunday afternoon, (Sept. 23).

Mrs. Boyle, who is one of the leaders in Virginia and the South for desegragation and civil rights for Negroes, was one of several speakers who were on the all-day program of the league which met at the John M. Gandy high school. She praised the NAACP for publicizing the evils of segregation.

Shift Of Colored Voters To GOP Seen In Virginia

William S. White, political analyst for the New York Times, reported evidence of a shift of Virginia colored voters to the Republican Party for the coming Presidential election after making a hurried survey of the state's political outlook this week.

The Times article reported that Victor J. Ashe, an attorney and member of the Democratic Central Committee of Norfolk, "foresees a Negro shift to the Republicans for local reasons and because of the 'Eastlands, Byrds and Olin Johnsons on the national scene."

IN HIS REPORT on the general situation in Virginia, **the Times staff writer stated:**

"In common with the rest of the South, Virginia regards the Negro as mentally, physically and socially inferior. He is used, tolerated and even loved so long as he stays 'in his place.' His place, in the estimation of whites, is in his own residential section, school, church and restaurant.

Reporting a sidewalk interview in Norfolk, the article related:

"I'm for Andrews," said a jeweler. "You walk down the street, you see those niggers crowding white people off the sidewalk and you'll see what we're up against. We got to teach those folks up North to let us alone. We can settle our own problems."

Estimate 94,000 Negroes Eligible To Vote In Va.

NORFOLK, Va. — (ANP) — Dr. G. W. C. Brown, who was elected president of the Virginia Voters League at its recent annual conference in Ashland, Va., is calling upon the local chapters in 18 counties and three cities to conduct an intensive campaign to get Negroes to pay their poll tax and register to vote.

It is estimated that about 94,000 Negroes in Virginia are qualified to vote. For the past two years Virginia Voters League officials under the direction of Amos C. Clark, executive secretary, have been trying to increase the voting strength of Virginia Negroes to 100,000. Dr. Brown, who has been stressing the importance of the ballot in the crucial struggle of Virginia Negroes for full equality, thinks the league chapters and other groups in various localities should set 150,000 as the goal for the current campaign.

The civil liberties department of the Elks and civic groups in every Virginia community are expected to support the poll tax payment and registration drive of the Virginia Voters League.

The league, according to Dr. Brown, is using several plans to get more Negroes on the qualified voting list. All families in the state are requested to see to it that every one of voting age qualifies to vote. Social and civic clubs, fraternal organizations, professional groups, churches and other organizations and business places are requested to see that all their members and employees qualify to vote by Dec. 5.

All churches in Virginia are asked to select a civic committee composed of a member of each auxiliary in the church to conduct a poll tax payment and registration drive among the members. Several pastors in the state have already begun work along this line.

34e 1956

VIRGINIA

Nonvoting Afro-American in Virginia

Sat. 2-11-56

The state of Virginia has just voted, by a margin of two to one, to call a convention for amendment of the state constitution in a scheme to by-pass the U.S. Supreme Court decision outlawing the segregation of whites and colored people in public schools.

Baltimore, Md

On the face of this overwhelming vote, it might be argued that this was the people speaking, and in a democracy segregated schools must therefore remain in the state of Virginia.

But was this the people speaking . . . was it American democracy in action?

* * *

A LOOK beneath the surface of this supposedly overwhelming victory of the segregationists would indicate neither was the case.

Consider these points:

The segregation vote was looked upon as a "heavy turnout" in that it was surpassed only by the 620,000 recorded by the Eisenhower landslide — but in that heaviest vote in 1952, only 31.3 per cent of the potential vote went to the polls and Virginia ranked a disgraceful 44th among the 48 states in voter participation.

(This compared with West Virginia's 73.3 per cent of the potential vote cast in 1952 and a ranking of 14th among the states.)

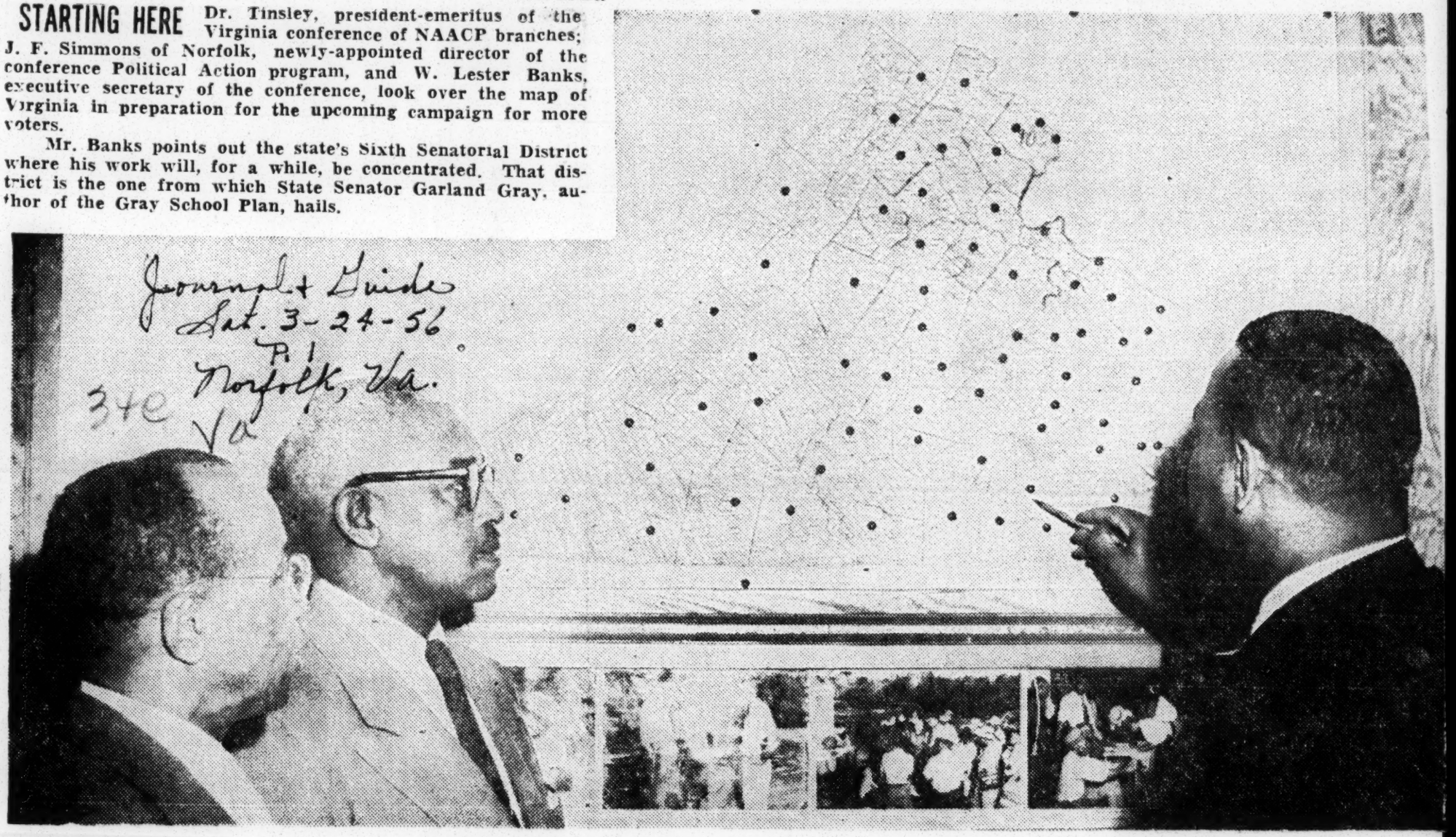
* * *

VIRGINIA IS A poll tax state and anyone who fails to pay the tax is denied his right to vote. Consequently many colored persons in Virginia, being at a slave-bordering economic level, are unable to pay the tax and therefore lose their voting franchise.

In two southern Virginia precincts, where a third of the school population is colored, the vote was 91 to 0 for the white supremacy convention plan . . . Indicating that even where colored potential voters make up a sizeable portion of the population they were denied the right to vote on a matter of vital interest to them—**Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette.**

STARTING HERE Dr. Tinsley, president-emeritus of the Virginia conference of NAACP branches; J. F. Simmons of Norfolk, newly-appointed director of the conference Political Action program, and W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the conference, look over the map of Virginia in preparation for the upcoming campaign for more voters.

Mr. Banks points out the state's Sixth Senatorial District where his work will, for a while, be concentrated. That district is the one from which State Senator Garland Gray, author of the Gray School Plan, hails.



Journal + Guide
Sat. 3-24-56
P. 1
Norfolk, Va.
34e
Va

Heads State-Wide Drive For Voters

Mr. Simmons Maps Plans; Others Set

Journal & Guide Sat. 3-24-56 Norfolk, Va.

Political Action Is Needed To Tie In With Legal Program

P. 1

Special to Journal and Guide

RICHMOND, Va. — Declaring it to be the goal of the NAACP to coordinate its legal program with a vigorous Political Action program, a long-range and intensified educational Political Action program was launched last week by the Virginia State Conference-NAACP according to W. Lester Banks, executive secretary.

The program is being coordinated by a state Political Action Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Barbara S. Marx of the tenth Congressional District, and vice-president of the Arlington county branch-NAACP.

* * *

THE MEMBERSHIP of the committee with the Congressional District represented include: First district—Atty. W. Hale Thompson, Newport News; Rev. H. H. Lee, Accomac; and W. W. Baytop, Gloucester; Second district — Dr. S. F. Coppage, Norfolk; Third district—Mrs. Lillian Washington Jordan and Attys. Roland D. Ealey and Oliver W. Hill, all of Richmond; Fourth district — Mrs. Carlene B. Wooden, Surry; Rev. H. W. McNair, Amelia; T. O. Wyche, Southampton, and Mrs. Julia E. Tucker, Greensville; Fifth district — J. S. Carrington, Halifax, and William B. Muse, Martinsville; Sixth district—Dr. Harry T. Penn, Roanoke, and L. P. Jackson, Covington; Seventh district—Mrs. Emma J. Garner, Winchester, and Dr. Charles Waller, Staunton; Eighth district—Mrs. W. S. Thornton, Hanover, and Dr. Philip Y. Wyatt, Fredericksburg; Ninth district—Reginald Carter, Bluefield, and James Calfee, Bristol.

The organizational structure precedes from the Congressional Districts downward to the county or city, to the magisterial district or ward, to the precinct, to the block or church community level.

* * *

TO ACCELERATE this intensive vote drive, Dr. E. B. Henderson, president of the Virginia State Conference—NAACP announced this week the appointment of Joseph F. Simmons of Norfolk as director of the Conference's Political Action program.

Mr. Simmons, a retired government worker, is widely known for his organizational abilities and has served with distinction for a decade as president of the Virginia State Association, I. B. P. O. E. of W.

President Henderson stated that the Political Action Director will work under the supervision of the NAACP's State Political Action committee, and his activities will be coordinated by the conference's executive secretary.

While the program will be state-wide in character, Mr. Simmons will devote special attention to the Sixth State Senatorial District—the district it will be recalled from which State Senator Garland Gray of the "Gray Commission" hails.

NAACP Warns Arlington School Board To Let Woman Register or Face Suit

Sat. Eve. Herald Washington, D. C. Wed. 4-18-56

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People yesterday warned the Arlington School Board to move toward integration or face court action.

P. 38

Edwin C. Brown, NAACP counsel, said he will also "file suit immediately" if the University of Virginia's extension center in Arlington doesn't allow an Alexandria Negro woman to register.

In a letter to School Superintendent T. Edward Rutter Brown asked for "satisfactory answers" to five queries on integration in the county by April 25.

If the answers are not satisfactory or forthcoming by that date, Brown said he will file suit asking for the admission of a group of Negro children to white schools.

The Arlington school board shelved a detailed integration plan drawn up in January after it received an explosively unfavorable reaction from the Virginia General Assembly. The plan was to go into effect in September.

The woman seeking admission to the extension center is Mrs. Lucille L. Penn, of 3821 Elbert ave. Brown said she was told by the director, John N. G. Finley, to write to the dean of the university at Charlottesville concerning her request.

He said Mrs. Penn received a letter from Dean George B. Zehmer which stated she could not register for classes at the center. She will re-apply, Brown said.

RICHMOND REPLY

Times

On March 11 this department of The New York Times Magazine printed excerpts from a letter postmarked Richmond, Va., commenting on an article about race relations in Tuscaloosa, Ala., published on Feb. 26. The letter made these points:

P. 235 Sat. 4-15-56

(1) "I live in the South 'at peace' with my neighbors, but I had better not write a letter to the local newspaper or the strings behind the scenes will begin to move if the thought expressed is not sufficiently humble."

New York P. U.

(2) "I can vote 'freely' if I stand politely, hat in hand, until the last late white man has paid his poll taxes."

(3) "I can register to vote if I can get any political official to state the dividing lines of the precinct."

(4) "If the white registrar is not going fishing or shopping and I have persisted politely for days, maybe I can register."

(5) "If the officials at the voting booth, all white, are in a good mood, maybe I can vote if I enter respectfully enough."

On March 16 The Richmond Times-Dispatch printed an editorial commenting on this letter, in which these points were made:

(1) "In so far as this newspaper is concerned, we publish many letters from Negroes that are about as far from humble as could be imagined. If any 'strings' behind the scenes have 'moved,' we never heard of it."

(2) "White and colored are served at the tax windows in the City Hall on a first come, first served basis."

(3) "There is no problem about finding out what the dividing lines of a Richmond precinct are. This is the first time we ever heard of such a problem here."

(4) "The registrar's office in City Hall is open from Monday through Friday from 8:30 to 5 o'clock, and anybody who is qualified can register, if he goes there."

(5) (Answering the letter's point 5.) "Since Negroes by the thousands have been voting in Richmond for many years, this is obvious tripe. One would never suppose from the foregoing that a Negro Councilman was elected in Richmond a few years ago, with the aid of many white voters * * *."

Investigation by the Southern Regional Correspondent of The New York Times bears out the statements of The Richmond Times-Dispatch on these points as far as Richmond itself is concerned. The correspondent adds, however, that "the writer may have been trying to convey a mood of the South in general, as he perceives it."

Negro Vote Too Strong; Rub It Out

Defender P. 1 Sat. 6-2-56 Chicago, Ill.

MONROE, La. — One thousand of the 4,000 Negro voters whose names were stricken from the registration list here had been restored by the end of the week.

But the political row stirred up by the action has not quieted down. In fact, it's so bitter that it threatens to divide the town — politically at least.

In a recent municipal election, the Negro vote was credited with being responsible for the election of the mayor. In retaliation, the opposing political faction had the names of every Negro voter in the city removed from the books.

Among those whose names were removed was the principal of the high school who has a masters and a law degree; about 100 teachers with college degrees, ministers, doctors and other college trained persons.

James A. Noe, a former governor and millionaire oil and radio tycoon, who frankly admits he believes in racial segregation, criticized the retaliatory action.

He is credited with being leader of the movement that is succeeding in gradually restoring the name of the Negro voters to the list.

The first 1,000 restored as quickly as they were stricken include those most obviously qualified to vote. The other three thousand are being screened and it is predicted their voting rights will be restored within a short while.

Noe declared that he has no interest in Negroes as such, but that as an American, he feels that the right to vote should not be taken from citizens simply because of their race, or because some disgruntled politicians are dissatisfied with the outcome of an election.

WOMEN EQUAL RIGHTS

34e 1956

WOMEN'S RIGHTS BATTLE GOES ON

Times-Picayune

Susan B. Anthony Week Occasion for Move

Wed. 2-22-56

By ARTHUR EDSON

WASHINGTON, Feb. 21 (AP)—Yesterday was ladies' day in the nation's capital.

P. 30

For it was the start of Susan B. Anthony Week, and the women are whooping it up for an equal rights amendment to the Constitution.

New Orleans

Susan Brownell Anthony. Born 136 years ago in Adams, Mass. Real, tough fighter for women's rights. Said she has as much right to vote as any mere man. Tried it in the 1872 election. Fined $100. Highly indignant. Never paid it. Kept right on slugging until her death in 1906.

34e

But, great heavens, ladies, don't women vote now? And hasn't a woman every right a man has, and maybe even a mite more?

No, say the ladies, loudly, insistently.

Want Equal Rights

And Rep. Katharine Price Collier St. George (R-NY) told the House:

"We who believe in the equality of the sexes before the law will not have achieved our dream, or the dream of Susan B. Anthony, until we have equal rights under the Constitution."

But where do women fail to have equal rights now?

Alice Paul of the National Woman's party says it's in the field of economics that women are hurting.

"You take government contracts," she said. "They forbid an employer from discriminating because of race, creed or color. But what about sex? Women not only are barred from the better jobs, but they often are paid less than a man doing the same job."

But aren't some laws needed to give working women special protection?

'Don't Help Women'

Miss Paul gave an unladylike snort.

"Ask the women who work under them. They don't help women, they hurt them. Take the law that is supposed to protect women from night work. Well, it may keep some girl from getting a good job as a waitress, or keep her from playing in the nightclub band. But it doesn't bar charwomen. The charwoman always is excepted. Why? Because no man wants to be a charwoman."

Politically, women are advancing. But the Women's Bureau says Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina and West Virginia still keep women off juries. Other states permit a woman to dodge jury service merely by saying, "Excuse me, I am a woman."

The Colonists fetched along a passel of laws regulating females, and some remain on the books. Such as the law Pennsylvania has —or had a couple of years ago— that takes a firm stand against the overly talkative.

It labeled her a common scold, and conviction called for dousing in a pond while strapped to a ducking stool.

That is not a pressing issue, though, in the current fight for equal rights. Pennsylvania hasn't dunked a common scold since 1824.